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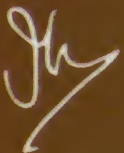
Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

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The *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru* has established its position as the single most important, authoritative, and reliable source on Nehru's life, work, and thought. It is indispensable to the scholar, fascinating to the layperson, and at times something of a primer in politics, democracy, and world affairs, as Nehru intended his periodic letters to his chief ministers to be. It provides a panorama of home and the world as seen from the centre of power in India by an acutely sensitive observer and skilful player. Given the literary talent, creative urge, and singular position of the author, it is a continuous source of pleasure, sometimes of amusement, and always of enlightenment.

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**Selected
works of
Jawaharlal
Nehru**



WITH STUDENTS FROM NEFA, NEW DELHI, 28 JANUARY 1959

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

Second Series

Volume Forty Six

(1 January – 28 February 1959)

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FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

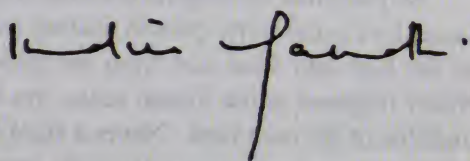
That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both

within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interests in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.



New Delhi
18 January 1972

Chairman
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

EDITORIAL NOTE

This volume deals with the two months of January and February 1959, the central event of which was indubitably the Nagpur Session of the Indian National Congress and its resolution on land ceiling, so pregnant with consequences. Among other major events were Indira Gandhi becoming the Congress President, the sensational resignation of M. O. Mathai, Nehru's Special Assistant, and an international ideological controversy around Nehru's article, "The Basic Approach", and the Soviet critique of it.

Many of the speeches have been transcribed; hence the paragraphing, punctuation, and other such details have been inserted. When no text or recording of a speech was available, a newspaper report has been used as a substitute. Such a newspaper report, once selected for publication, has been reproduced faithfully; other information has been added only by way of annotation. Words and expressions which were inaudible or unintelligible have been shown by an ellipsis between square brackets thus: [...]. The letters to the chief ministers are reprints of an earlier series, *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, ed. G. Parthasarathi (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1985-1989), 5 vols. Emendations have been made where necessary, but the annotations differ in some respects. Unless otherwise noted, all items are from Delhi or New Delhi. Most items here are from Nehru's office copies. In personal letters, and even in official letters composed in personal style to persons like B. C. Roy or Govind Ballabh Pant, the salutation and concluding portions were written by hand; such details are not recorded in the office copy. Therefore these have been inserted in Nehru's customary style for such persons, but the editorial intervention is indicated by square brackets. Information on persons may always be traced through the index if it is not available in the footnote. References to the *Selected Works* appear as SWJN/FS/10/..., to be understood as *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, First Series, Volume 10. In the case of the Second Series, it would be SWJN/SS/.... The part and page numbers follow the volume number.

Documents, which have been referred to as items, are numbered sequentially throughout the volume; footnote numbering however is continuous only within a section, not between sections.

As in Volumes 44 and 45, Nehru's speeches or texts in Hindi have been published in Hindi and a translation into English has been appended in each case for those who might need or want a translation.

A large part of Nehru's archives are housed in the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library and are known as the JN Collection. This has been the chief source for items here, and has been made available by Shrimati Sonia Gandhi, the Chairperson of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund. Unless otherwise stated, all items are from this collection. The Nehru Memorial Museum and Library has been immensely helpful in so many ways, and it is a pleasure to record our thanks to it. The Cabinet Secretariat, the secretariats of the President and Prime Minister, various ministries of the Government of India, All India Radio, and the Press Information Bureau, all have permitted us to use material in their possession. We are grateful to *The Hindu*, the *National Herald*, and *Shankar's Weekly* for permission to reproduce reports and cartoons.

Finally, it is my pleasure to thank those who bore the heavy burden of preparing this volume for publication, most of all Geeta Kudaisya, helped by Fareena Ikhlās Faridi, Malavika Menon, and M. Christhu Doss. The Hindi texts have been prepared by Neelabh; the translation from the Hindi was done by Chandra Chari and finalized by Neelabh. Chandra Murari Prasad ably handled all the computer work, including preparing the entire text for the press.

MADHAVAN K. PALAT

I. GENERAL

(a) Chief Ministers

1. To Chief Ministers¹

January 19, 1959

My dear Chief Minister,

The month of January has become one full of conferences, congresses and the Republic Week. We have gone through a number of these conferences and now are on the eve of Republic Day.

2. The most important of these conferences was, of course, the Congress Session at Nagpur.² Reading some of the press reports about it, I have felt that justice was not done to it and that even the factual reports were not adequate.³ I hope I am not unfair to the reporters or the editors, but it did appear to me that these reporters or editors, not liking what was happening in the Congress Session, tried to minimise its significance. As a matter of fact, the Nagpur Congress Session was not only very significant, but also remarkably successful. I have attended, I think, over forty sessions of the Congress. I think that this recent Nagpur Session will occupy a high place in them. It was important because of the astonishing popular enthusiasm in Nagpur. It was important also, of course, because of the decisions arrived at. The crowds in the Session itself and in Abhyankar Nagar, where the Congress was held, were overwhelming. It has to be noted that only ticket-holders were admitted to the Congress Session, and that over one hundred thousand tickets were sold to visitors for the Session.

1. File No. 25 (30)/59-PMS. The letters in this sub-section have also been published in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 5 (New Delhi, India: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1989), pp. 196-208 and 210-218.
2. The 64th Session of the Indian National Congress was held at Abhyankar Nagar in Nagpur from 9 to 11 January 1959 with U.N. Dhebar as President. See pp. 164-261.
3. For example, *The Times of India* of 13 January described the resolution on reorganisation of agriculture as too vague; *The Hindu* of 11 January said: "while the resolution displays a great concern for the improvement of agriculture it is nevertheless completely unrealistic in its proposals for changes in property relations in the countryside"; and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of 15 January was critical of the Congress for saying nothing on the border clashes between India and Pakistan, on Kashmir, and on Goa.

3. Some people may have got rather mixed up about a certain cultural show that took place on the last day at Nagpur. This had nothing to do with the Congress. The Bombay Government in order to encourage their drive for the savings campaign, had arranged this cultural show, and every person who had bought savings certificates of a certain amount was entitled to attend this show. I believe they collected for their savings a sum of nearly rupees one crore and twenty lakhs. A very large number of persons, therefore, wanted to attend, and even this accommodation for a hundred thousand was not adequate. Hence, the attempts at pushing forward, which led to some minor disorder. Obviously, the attraction was the cinema stars who were performing in this show. It was evident that the most powerful attraction in India, as perhaps in most other countries, are cinema stars.⁴

4. To come back to the Session itself. There were two resolutions only,⁵ apart from the resolution on foreign affairs⁶ and the condolence resolution.⁷ Deliberately, a multitude of resolutions was avoided, and attention was concentrated on two. These two, as you know, had been circulated in draft form two weeks earlier, and full opportunities had been given for their consideration and discussion even before the Congress met. The draft resolutions were themselves based on long discussions previously by big committees formed for the purpose. Planning has been under discussion for a considerable time. The resolution dealing with agricultural problems was the result of the deliberations of a committee appointed by the AICC at Hyderabad some months earlier.⁸

5. The Planning Resolution was concerned chiefly with the approach to the Third Plan and, to some extent, with perspective planning.⁹ This Third Plan is still two years distant, but, as I have told you previously, the Planning Commission has been discussing it informally for some time past and a small all

4. Inaugurated by Nehru on 11 January to mark the end of a drive to collect small savings.

5. These were on planning and agriculture. See pp. 164-168 and 173-174.

6. See pp. 169-170.

7. On Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Dr Khan Saheb and other Congressmen. See, p. 278.

8. The AICC Sub-Committee, set up under U. N. Dhebar in October 1958 at Hyderabad, was to propose an integrated programme of agricultural development, including land reform, to the AICC.

9. See pp. 182-215.

party committee of Members of Parliament has also been formed for this purpose. We wanted the fullest discussion of this subject in the country before the draft Third Five Year Plan took shape and it was particularly important that the right approach should be made now. Unfortunately, many people still think of planning as consisting of a list of projects or of some priorities. It is obviously much more. During the past few months what appeared to be a deliberate attempt was made to make out that the Second Plan had been too big and therefore the Third Plan should be on a smaller scale. This ignored the realities of the situation. There are some basic facts and inherent compulsions which cannot be ignored. We have to think in terms of the population we have to provide for and this population is an increasing one. Thus we have to take into consideration the population as it will be at the end of the Third Plan. It has been calculated that even if we decide to maintain our economy at the present level, we would have to invest a very large sum of money, taking into consideration various factors, including the increase in population. If we have to advance further, as we must, the investment has to be proportionately larger. There is no escape from this in India or in any other country which is planning for progress. You have probably received the Planning Commission papers which are being sent to you. These papers bring these points out quite clearly.

6. The second aspect to be considered is that of strengthening the base of our economy so that advance can be progressively more rapid. That means adequate agricultural production and a heavy industry base. In addition, of course, we have to progress in many other lines, including medium, small and cottage industries, transport and education. All these are really integrated and any lapse in one important sector leads to bottlenecks.

7. The third factor which we had to keep in mind was the general direction of our planning. Was it to be a clear advance towards socialism or away from it? This clarification was necessary because much had been said in criticism of our objective of a socialist pattern of society. That objective was decided upon by Parliament, by Congress as well as other parties not only because it was a natural development of our thinking, but because we considered it the only way to deal satisfactorily with the problems that faced us. While keeping that objective in view all the time, we had to remember always the foundations that had been laid in India by Gandhiji. That applies to our thinking and our methods. To coordinate all this may not always be an easy matter, but it has to be done, or else, we fail.

8. I think that the Nagpur Congress Resolution on Planning was, in the circumstances, a right approach. Essentially it is meant for the guidance and training of public opinion as well as a direction to the Government and the Planning Commission. Many people say that the Congress has become some

kind of a camp follower of the Government.¹⁰ This is, I think, basically not true. It is inevitable that when leading personalities in the Congress and the Government are to a large extent the same, the direction of both should also be the same. But it has to be remembered that the push forward in regard to basic policies has come from the Congress organisation, representing public urges, and the Government and the Planning Commission have followed these up and worked them out in detail.

9. The resolution on Agriculture dealt with various aspects of the problem.¹¹ Many things that were said in that resolution were old themes. In one respect, however, new ground was covered. This was in relation to joint farming by cooperatives. There has been some argument about this even inside the Congress.¹² That argument is now settled and the objective of our land policy is to build up, first of all, service cooperatives in every village in India, the next step being joint farming. It is possible to take up joint farming even at an earlier stage where people agree to it and this is feasible.

10. Greater powers and authority for the panchayat were also emphasised. Thus the panchayat and the village cooperative become the foundations as well as the strong pillars of our democratic structure both in administration and in economic matters. No one imagines that these changes can take place easily or quickly. But they have been clearly laid down and it is for us now to make the necessary effort to bring them about. Such an effort should not be a party effort but an all India effort.

10. For example, J.B. Kripalani, PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Sitamarhi, Bihar, claimed that the first two Plans had been drawn up just before the general elections and asked whether "the Third Plan was going to be a national plan," and "will it cease to be the basis of the Congress election campaign." *The Hindustan Times* of 16 December 1958 observed that "the Working Committee cannot—or cannot be expected to discuss candidly the defects and deficiency of the planning effort for which its own partymen in power must take the responsibility. The Committee, after all, is the Central Government leadership in another name."

11. See pp. 176-181.

12. At the Subjects Committee meeting on 10 January, Charan Singh, UP Minister of Revenue and Transport, while criticising ceiling on land holdings, joint and cooperative farming, and state trading in foodgrains, asked the Government to "seek the verdict of peasants before passing the resolution." N.G. Ranga, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Tenali, Andhra Pradesh and Secretary of the CPP, raised the issue of ceiling on rural incomes and wanted a ceiling on urban incomes also.

11. The Congress decisions have not met with much favour in the bigger newspapers of India.¹³ Some of these are often described rather incorrectly as pro-Congress newspapers. The fact is that they represent the opinions of certain sections of the community which are more allied to the private sector. The reactions are therefore not surprising. The attempt to stampede the Congress in a particular direction, away from its declared policy, having failed, there was a certain disappointment. Unfortunately, there has been a tendency on the one part to decay the public sector and on the other to condemn the private sector. Neither is justified unless the attempt means an attack on the basic policy of the Congress and the Government. We have deliberately kept a large field for the private sector and I am convinced that that is the right policy in present conditions in India. But the public sector is bound to grow in extent and importance and the essence of planning is to have certain broad controls even in regard to private sector. There cannot be a rigid demarcation between the two, but the broad lines of division have been laid down. Having accepted the private sector within that sphere, we should give it a measure of freedom to function in it without much criticism or obstruction. As a matter of fact we live in an atmosphere of criticism and denunciation of both the private and public sectors. The result is a disinclination for anyone to take the initiative or do anything unusual. Progress cannot be made in this atmosphere.

12. Much has been said, wrongly I think, about the failure of State enterprises.¹⁴ As a matter of fact they are doing rather well and some have done exceedingly well. I have no doubt that they will improve and will be a source of revenue for developmental purposes. The idea that State concerns should be run on a no-profit no-loss basis is a relic of the past and has no relation to planning or to present conditions. We have to make profits in the public sector to add to our resources for development.

13. For example, *The Statesman* of 10 January 1959: "Statements of policy are often so woolly and long-winded that it takes more than ordinary application to find out even what they are supposed to mean....Trying to be all things to all men often leads to being nothing to anybody....A political imperative should read and sound like one;" or, *The Times of India* of 19 January commenting that not high-sounding resolutions but patient and hard work by tens of thousands of cadres in the countryside could educate the farmer in new ways of farming and new ways of living.

14. Bapu Nath Pai, PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Rajapur, Bombay State, demanded on 25 November 1958 a probe into the working of steel plants which suffered from "bungling, lack of vision, lack of vigour and lack of good and sound planning." On 28 December 1958, *The Hindustan Times* criticised Nehru's insistence on the State sector and argued that it would only "jeopardize democratic institutions" and lead to a decline in "public services and corruption of political and private morals."

13. It may interest you to see what a conservative viewpoint is in regard to our planning and our economy in general. The Governor of the Reserve Bank of India¹⁵ recently said:¹⁶

“All competent opinion, both in India and abroad, has, I think, accepted the position that while the Second Five Year Plan was big in relation to the resources feasible at the time, it was in reality a modest Plan in the light of the inherent need of the situation. There can be little doubt that the Third Five Year Plan will have to be a pretty big Plan if it has to take note of the major political and economic compulsions inherent in our Constitution.”

14. Here is another extract from the address of the Governor of the Reserve Bank:

“The most significant figures are those of the national income and the per capita income. At constant prices (1948-49), the figure of national income in the last pre-Plan year was Rs. 8,850 crores. In 1956-57, the latest year for which figures are available, the income was Rs. 11,010 crores, showing an increase over six years of twenty-four per cent. The per capita income increased over the same period from Rs. 246 to Rs. 284, an increase of fifteen per cent. The pace of increase was fairly steady throughout the period.”

15. Most countries would take credit for this measure of progress. Instead of this, there is a general outcry in India at the lack of progress. Certainly, we should go ahead faster. But let us hold on to facts.

16. I have written to you previously about the remarkable achievements in production in China.¹⁷ The latest reports are that there has been a certain revision in their policy or programme, and the targets laid down for the next year have been lowered. It was found that the pace set in 1948 could not be kept up and was leading to complications.¹⁸ Yet, we must admit that quite remarkable

15. H.V.R. Iengar.

16. On 7 January 1959 at Bombay.

17. See SWJN/SS/44/pp.427-428 and SWJN/SS/45/pp. 500-501.

18. 1948 is clearly an error. Nehru is referring to the Great Leap Forward, which the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) announced in May 1958. The CCP Politburo resolution of 29 August 1958 on the People's Communes declared they were the “basic social units of communist society” to “accelerate the speed of the socialist construction...” and that “the attainment of Communism in China is no longer a remote future event.” However, on 10 December 1958, a CCP plenum resolution said that industrialisation would take “a very long time” and “the transition from Socialism to Communism” would take “fifteen, twenty or more years, counting from now.” The resolution also reaffirmed the family life and well-being of the masses. Mao called for the 1959 steel targets to be reduced from 30 million to 20 million tons, and also suggested that the government publicise grain production statistics that were lower than the highest internal estimates of the times.

advances had been made there. We are sending expert teams for enquiry on the spot.

17. We have had a bumper rice crop.¹⁹ The intensive Rabi production drive, which was launched in many of the States in August last year, has proved a success. We have found, however, that with a little more advance planning, better results could have been achieved. Accordingly, a scheme has been drawn up for the Kharif production campaign 1959, and this will be launched in all the States. You must have received a letter from our Minister for Food & Agriculture²⁰ dealing in some detail with the Kharif production campaign.²¹ I feel sure that this will be a success and, indeed, that our food production will go up now at a much more rapid pace than in the past two or three years.

18. I have written to you about certain schemes launched by the Madras State. These related to mid-day meals in schools and a large part of the land revenue collections going to the panchayats.²² Our Home Minister, Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, who was in Madras recently, personally saw what this mid-day meal campaign was like. It was, indeed much more than that; the whole idea was that the residents of the village should help in looking after the village school and supplying its needs insofar as they could. Our Home Minister was greatly impressed by the success of this venture. The Madras Government will be sending you fuller details of this.

19. The Madhya Pradesh Government has also taken a step in regard to education which is commendable. At present, it is practically impossible for the children of low-salaried parents to have any higher education unless they get scholarships. Even the scholarships they get are seldom adequate, and an exemption from tuition fees means little. We can thus imagine how many of our brilliant young people are prevented from taking advantage of higher education. That is a dead loss to the State, apart from its personal aspect. The Madhya Pradesh Government have, therefore, decided to give substantial scholarships to every student who has proved himself good at his studies and who is unable to meet his expenses for higher and, more particularly, technical

19. Rice output rose from 24.9 million tons in 1957-58 to 29.7 million tons in 1958-59.

20. Ajit Prasad Jain.

21. It pointed out that while the Rabi campaign stressed wheat and dry crops like gram, the new campaign's focus would be rice, jowar, maize, bajra and ragi, non-official participation, advance planning by farmers, irrigation, and improved methods of cultivation.

22. The reference is to Nehru's letter to Chief Ministers dated 31 December 1958, paragraph 7 and 8. See SWJN/SS/ 45/ p. 17.

studies. I commend this example for your consideration. I am enclosing a note²³ by the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh²⁴ on this subject.

20. Two days ago, I paid a visit to Ambala, to inaugurate a project which our Army there had taken up for building houses for themselves.²⁵ This question of housing accommodation for our Army has been a very difficult one. At the time of Partition, two-thirds of the Army came to India and one-third went to Pakistan. But, two-thirds of the accommodation went to Pakistan. Thus our Army was very badly placed in regard to houses. A very large number of them have been a living in dilapidated tents. Of course, there has been a building programme, but its progress has been relatively slow. This lack of suitable accommodation has hit our officers and men in the Army badly. Many of them have spent three years in Kashmir under difficult conditions, or a long period in the Naga Hills in even worse conditions. They have been separated from their families. When they are transferred back to their home stations, they naturally expect to have reasonable accommodation where they could live with their families. But this has not been available as a rule and they often continue to be separated from their families. It is to the credit of our people in the Army that they have put up with these hard conditions without too much complaint.

21. The cost of building a sufficient number of houses was very great, and we could not easily find the money. An offer was made by the officers and men of the famous Fourth Division stationed at Ambala, to build these houses themselves. Ultimately, this offer was accepted and, of course, every help was given to them for this purpose. I went to Ambala to inaugurate this housing colony which consisted of over one thousand seven hundred houses. The actual work began on these houses on the 16th June, 1958 and on the 16th January 1959, seven months later, the work was completed, and I was asked to inaugurate this colony. This was a remarkable and successful effort. Many people joined in this common understanding, but the chief credit must necessarily go to our men of the Army. Apart from the fact that these seventeen hundred or more houses were built during a period of seven months, they have saved a lot of money to Government. This is an example of how things can be done without the intervention of long procedures, contractors, etc.

22. One particular incident at Ambala impressed me very greatly. At the inauguration ceremony, all the twenty-five thousand men and their wives and children were sitting in an open-air, temporary and kutcha stadium. They sat there in order, each battalion separately. As soon as the proceedings were over,

23. It proposed studentships based on "poverty-cum-brilliance."

24. Kailas Nath Katju.

25. In fact, 16 January 1959. See pp. 626-636.

signal was given for food to be served. Within ten minutes, all the twenty-five to thirty thousand persons there got their food in thalis served to them. The expert and disciplined way this was done was surprising and most impressive. The food was very good and varied, and all of us ate the same type of food. Everything was done quietly and efficiently, without the usual shouting that accompanies such occasions. I realised more than ever the value of Army training.

23. I am not referring to foreign developments in any detail in this letter. Mr. Otto Grotewohl, the Prime Minister of the German Democratic Republic, has been to India.²⁶ So has President Tito of Yugoslavia.²⁷ In Cuba, a revolutionary uprising has succeeded.²⁸ The Soviet Government has made a new proposal for a so-called East-West meeting to work out a German Peace Treaty.²⁹ But this has not been accepted by the other parties.³⁰ Mr. Anastas Mikoyan is now in the United States of America, and his visit is considered a major event.³¹ Whatever else it results in, it has certainly lessened the tensions between the Soviet Union and the U.S.A.

24. A good omen for the new year—both the Rourkela and the Bhilai plants are going to begin producing pig iron early next month.³² The President has kindly agreed to be present at both these sites on this significant occasion and bless these undertakings, which mean so much to India.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

26. Otto Grotewohl visited India, 12-20 Jan. 1959.

27. Tito was in India from 13 to 19 January 1959; spent two days in Delhi; met Nehru thrice and their talks lasted several hours. No record of these talks is available with us. A press communiqué issued by the MEA on 15 January said that “the discussion covered current international problems in Asia and Europe”; reposed their faith in peaceful coexistence and policy of non-alignment; expressed the hope the ongoing negotiations at Geneva for cessation of nuclear tests would meet with success.

28. On 1 January 1959, President Fulgencio Batista resigned and soon after Fidel Castro took over as Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief.

29. On 10 January, the Soviet Government circulated a draft treaty on the German question. It was to be binding on both East and West Germany, envisaged their exit from the Warsaw Pact and NATO respectively, the withdrawal of all occupation forces, and declaring Berlin a free city pending complete unification.

30. On 16 February 1959.

31. A. I. Mikoyan, the Soviet First Deputy Prime Minister, visited the US from 4 to 20 January 1959.

32. On 3 and 4 February 1959 respectively.

2. To Chief Ministers

February 13, 1959

My dear Chief Minister,

The Budget Session of Parliament has begun, and we have had the President's Address to the Joint session. There is no major announcement in this Address and yet, I think, it strikes a new note and I would invite your attention to it. The emphasis in the Address is on the domestic situation and, more particularly, on planning.³³

2. In Paragraph 6 of the President's Address, reference is made to the Third Plan and it is said: "It is hoped that by the end of the Third Plan, a sound foundation will have been laid for future progress in regard to our basic industries, agricultural production and rural development, thus leading to a self-reliant and self-generating economy". I hope that you will appreciate the significance of this statement. It is not the expression of a vague hope, but indicates the way we are approaching this Third Plan. It means that after seven years or so, we should have not only assured an adequate agricultural production and a sufficient supply of foodgrains to meet any contingency, but also built up a strong industrial base. In particular, that the machine building industry will have advanced enough to produce the heavy types of machines, including an iron and steel plant. Once we have arrived at that stage, our economy becomes more resilient and self-feeding. It can then grow without repeated tremendous efforts, although great efforts will still be needed. If we succeed, we cross the barrier of poverty and underdevelopment and move forward at a greater pace. So long as we do not reach that position, we shall always be struggling with the inevitable consequences of poverty and underdevelopment, trying to catch up, but making little substantial progress.

3. To move forward slowly means that we never catch up as our progress is countered by the growth of population,³⁴ continuing heavy unemployment and other burdens. There is thus little choice in this matter. The Third Five Year Plan will necessarily have to indicate the nature and depth of this effort.

4. We have to advance on two fronts simultaneously. There is the food and agriculture front, which is of the first importance; and there is the heavy industry front, which is essential for rapid industrialisation. Developing heavy

33. On 9 February. It also referred to the situation in the Naga Hills, and the Indian contribution toward lessening world tensions.

34. The population, according to the mid-year estimate, had increased from 36.75 crores in 1952 to 40.28 in 1959.

industries does not, of course, mean that we ignore the lighter industries for consumer goods. Much less does it mean that we attach little importance to small and cottage industries. These small and cottage industries must continue to play a vital role especially to give employment and, at the same time, to have a widespread structure of production.

5. It is relatively easy, though it requires resources on a big scale, to put up plants for heavy industry. A substantial step has been taken in the big steel plants, and the machine-building plant is also under way. Others must follow. What is much more difficult is to organise rural development and a greatly increased supply of foodgrains. I have no doubt that the pace of increase in the latter will be much greater now than previously. The community development movement has been definitely oriented towards agriculture and results are already visible. I think that the Agriculture Departments in States are also more alive to this task. Gram Sahayak Camps have proved effective instruments for food production.

6. The lead given by the Nagpur Congress in regard to land reforms, panchayats and cooperatives, is an essential base for a rapid advance in agricultural production. There has been some criticism in regard to these land reforms and cooperatives, especially joint farming cooperatives.³⁵ I think that the decisions of the Nagpur Congress in regard to these matters are essentially right and have to be followed up with vigour. We cannot go on arguing about these matters indefinitely. Those decisions were taken after a great deal of thought and consultation, and it may interest you to learn that they have been widely welcomed even in other countries. They hold together, and we should not ignore any one of them.

7. There is the question of ceiling on land. We have discussed this for years. I hope there will be an end of this discussion now, and we shall proceed to business. Then there is the strengthening of the panchayats and the building up of service cooperatives in every village in the country. Some people are rather alarmed at the prospect of giving more powers to the panchayats or the

35. Generally, they feared coercion. H.M. Channabasappa, Congressman from Mysore warned against imposing cooperation; N. G. Ranga told the Punjab State Farmers' Convention at Doraha on 31 January 1959 that the "Nagpur approach" was "contrary to the fundamental concepts of democratic socialism"; Brij Behari Mishra (UP) protested that "people who lived in the villages would never agree to joint cooperative farming"; and K. M. Munshi, former Governor of UP, declared on 1 February 1959 that "nowhere in the world has cooperative farming on a voluntary basis worked" and "in the absence of adequate and enforceable safeguards...zealous legislators, ministers and bureaucrats, impelled by vague slogans, are sure to drive farmers into joining farming cooperatives against their will."

cooperatives because they feel that they might not be properly used.³⁶ It is quite likely that there will be misuse of such powers, but that is no reason for not giving them. If a spirit of self-reliance is necessary, as it is, then it is equally necessary to start giving these powers even taking a risk of misuse.

8. Much criticism has been directed to joint cultivation and the prospect of this leading to collectivisation has been darkly hinted at.³⁷ There is, of course, no intention whatever to do that, and I do not think it is feasible or desirable in India. But I do think that the only effective course open to us is ultimately to have joint cultivation on the village basis. But it must always be remembered that at the present moment we are laying stress on service cooperatives. The next stage will come later and with the consent of the cooperatives already established. It is open to any cooperative, whenever it chooses, to have joint cultivation. In fact, there are at present hundreds of joint cultivation cooperative societies and I have had visits from some of their members, who told me how they had increased their production by fifty per cent since they took to this joint cultivation. Joint cultivation maintains the proprietary share of each member in the land.

9. Cooperatives can only develop rapidly by a simplification of the rules and procedures. This is a matter for your immediate attention.

10. The whole basis of our present approach is to spread out power and authority to the village and its inhabitants. Only thus can one counter the increasing tendency to centralisation and greater bureaucracy. Bureaucracy is inevitable and centralisation is also to some extent inevitable in the modern complex social set-up, and more particularly if we aim at socialist patterns. In a sense it might be said that one of the basic problems of today in the world is how to balance the inevitable tendency to centralisation with individual freedom and initiative which come from decentralisation. The cooperative method offers a combination of the two.

11. We have had a bumper rice harvest³⁸ and we look forward with some confidence to another good harvest during the Rabi season. And yet, it is disheartening to read of food prices going up and scarcity in some areas. How has this curious state of affairs come about? Partly at least it appears to be due to the change-over to wholesale State trading in foodgrains, which has not been liked by the old machinery for distribution. We had to rely partly on that

36. Jayaprakash Narayan, during his convocation address to the Kashi Vidyapith in Banaras on 10 February 1959, warned against cooperatives becoming "puppets" of bureaucrats although he was in favour of the cooperative movement.

37. Warning by Deen Dayal Upadhyaya of the Bharatiya Jan Sangh on 19 January.

38. See fn 19 in this section.

old machinery and it is normally not wise to entrust a new type of work to people who dislike it and who think it is against their own interest. But there was no choice for us at present and till we build up some new machinery. That does not mean that we should weaken at all in our plans for the State controlling the wholesale trade in foodgrains. That is inevitable and has come to stay, and no amount of pressure should be allowed to make us deviate from the path we have chalked out.

12. As you know, we have appealed for the cooperation of all parties in regard to food production and for planning generally. While this cooperation is promised to us, it is distressing in the extreme to find some of the Opposition Parties deliberately creating trouble on the food front. In Bengal, both wholesale and retail prices were fixed,³⁹ and now we have an agitation supported, oddly enough, by even so-called leftist groups, against this control. In some places, we see the curious combination of the old wholesaler and other groups which normally stand for a progressive policy of State control.⁴⁰ We have to face all this, unfortunate as it is.

13. There has been another and equally strange activity in Bengal of some parties against the proposal to end camps for displaced persons and rehabilitate them in other states and especially at Dandakaranya which is a mighty and very costly scheme especially undertaken for this purpose.⁴¹ One can only come to the regretful conclusion that some people and some parties do not judge of any matter on the merits, but feel that every chance should be exploited to give trouble to the Government.

14. As we are having good harvests, we must try to build up big reserves. Probably by the end of March, the present difficulties in regard to food prices in some areas will have ended. But, meanwhile, it is true that these high prices have an upsetting effect and steps must be taken immediately to counter these effects.

15. Many of our old credit societies, though meant for the villages, were controlled by city people, who were not interested in the villages. Vested interests grew up, and the money earned was used for other purposes. This is one of

39. By the Rice and Paddy Price Control Order of 1 January 1959.

40. Members of the CPI and the PSP walked out of both Houses of the West Bengal Legislature on 10 and 11 February on this question. They demanded strong action against black-marketeers, higher procurement price for paddy, and opening idle rice mills.

41. The Dandakaranaya Development Authority, financed by the Centre, was set up in September 1958 to rehabilitate some 35,000 refugee families from East Pakistan in an area of 35,600 square miles in parts of Madhya Pradesh (now Chhattisgarh), Orissa and Andhra Pradesh.

the reasons why we have been insisting that there should be village cooperatives controlled by the village people and that the official element should be kept far except for advice and general help.

16. It is interesting to note that the Martial Law regime in Pakistan has introduced what appear to be fairly sweeping land reforms, where not even compensation is provided for in many cases.⁴² To those of our people in India who criticise our land reforms, this example of a country which is socially backward should give food for thought.

17. We talk of the great effort necessary now and in the Third Plan of a united advance forward, of austerity and all that, and yet if one reads the newspapers one finds all kinds of agitations in various parts of the country. There is the Akali Dal calling for an agitation against the Gurdwara Amendment Act in the Punjab.⁴³ There are the Praja Socialists organising a strike of sugar cane growers.⁴⁴ There are the Communists and others continually organising processions, marching up and down the streets of Calcutta to protest against something or other.⁴⁵ Indeed, it is sometimes a little difficult to follow what they are protesting against. The main fact is that their chief activity is to protest, whether rightly or wrongly does not matter so much. Here we are celebrating with great popular enthusiasm Republic Day, and there is a sense of elation in the country whenever this day approaches and reminds us of what we have achieved and what we have still to achieve. We see also, in spite of many petty failures and mistakes, a steady march forward and strong foundations being laid for the New India for which we work. We note, with some degree of self-satisfaction, that we are much better situated than a number of other countries where politics and economic conditions are in a fluid and not too happy a state. Foreigners, of all degrees of eminence, visit us and are genuinely surprised at the progress made in India and the dynamic effort that is behind it. And yet, we live in an atmosphere of criticism and agitation. Perhaps that is the virtue of democracy, and it is good in the long run to have that rather than no criticism.

42. On 24 January 1959, Pakistan abolished the jagirdari system and fixed land ceilings with compensation through bonds redeemable after 25 years.

43. Master Tara Singh objected to the Punjab Vidhan Sabha's Gurdwara (Amendment) Bill of 31 December 1958. He claimed that elections to the SGPC from PEPSU under the proposed Act threatened Sikh cultural and religious freedom and also strengthened his opponents.

44. The PSP organised a strike of sugar cane growers in Uttar Pradesh from 5 to 10 February to press their demand for a share in the increase in the sugar price.

45. For example, on 11 February 1969, the CPI led a demonstration in Calcutta demanding supply of enough rice to retail shops.

But I would wish that the scales were properly balanced and the picture of India moving forward should be seen in some perspective. We have naturally to face all kinds of difficulties and social conflicts. We have to pay the price for them with labour and sacrifice, but we make a steady advance towards the goal, and that is a sufficient recompense.

18. I should like to clear up one aspect of our land reforms which appears to have created some confusion. In some of our States a big effort has been made for the consolidation of holdings. Some people have imagined that the new programme set out for cooperatives, etc., makes such consolidation unnecessary.⁴⁶ That is quite wrong. We must proceed with consolidation of holdings as that is essential from many points of view.

19. You may have received an interesting book—*Bihar Through the Ages*—which the Bihar Government has issued under the distinguished Editorship of Shri R.R. Diwakar,⁴⁷ who was till lately Governor of Bihar. This gives a fascinating survey of Bihar. It might be worthwhile for other States to have similar surveys written. In doing so, of course, we must always remember that the picture of a State must be seen in the context of India, just as today India has to be seen in the context of the world.⁴⁸

20. I have not written to you anything in this letter about developments in the international sphere. There has been some slight improvement, and I think it is generally recognised that in spite of the difficulties that confront us, there is no great fear of war or other major catastrophe. The visit of Mr. Macmillan, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, to Russia is not likely to yield any major result at this stage.⁴⁹ Yet it is to be welcomed, and may help in somewhat easing tensions.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

46. On 14 January 1959, *The Tribune* reported that the Consolidation Department in Punjab would soon be closed since, after the Nagpur resolution, the leaders in Punjab thought that "every landowner, big or small, would join the village cooperative, [and] the question of uneconomic holdings did not arise."

47. Nehru wrote the foreword to *Bihar Through the Ages* (Bombay: Orient Longman, 1959) which is reproduced in SWJN/SS/40, pp. 244-245.

48. However on 2 February, Nehru wrote to R.R. Diwakar slightly more sceptically: "Your suggestion that other states might bring out publications similar to *Bihar Through the Ages* is a good one, but of course much will depend on how this is done. It may increase the provincial spirit or have the reverse effect. On the whole, I think it is worthwhile trying to do so and I shall mention it to the Chief Ministers."

49. From 21 February to 3 March 1959.

(b) Speeches

3. Speech at Nagpur⁵⁰

BEGINNING OF NEW MOMENTOUS POLICY

Nehru On Importance Of Nagpur Congress
PLEA FOR HARD AND COOPERATIVE WORK

NAGPUR Jan. 11—Prime Minister Nehru yesterday said that the resolutions on planning and land reforms passed by the Nagpur Congress would mark the beginning of a new momentous policy.

Mr. Nehru, who was addressing a mammoth gathering here today, said: "The Nagpur session will stand out as a mighty peak in our history and the name of Nagpur will be remembered for these momentous resolutions we have passed."

The Prime Minister devoted his entire 90-minute speech to these "new methods" of solving the "disease of poverty" embodied in those resolutions and creating a "new picture" before the people, "a new picture of a new future".

Mr. Nehru said that the resolutions marked the beginning of a new policy or "the working of the old policy in a new way". "These resolutions contain a new message, a new stress, a new glimpse, and a new policy."

The Prime Minister said that the Nagpur Congress of 1920 had blazed the trail of a great movement. The Congress of 1959 would also blaze a similar trail which in the years to come would change the face of India, "give her people living under the shadow of poverty a new India, a new world."

The Prime Minister said that India had to enter on this new adventure of fighting poverty with a firm resolve and an iron determination. "India is not a country which can be a second or third rate country. If India has to live as a real nation, it must be a first rate country, a powerful country, not for conquering other territories, but for becoming a real power in the economic and political way."

GOA ISSUE

In a brief reference to Goa, Mr. Nehru said that this part of India was still in the possession of foreigners. Goa was India's part and it would come to India.

50. PTI report of speech at a public meeting, Nagpur, 10 Jan. 1959. From *Pioneer*, 12 Jan. 1959.

"This matter of Goa is still a problem because ours is a peaceful policy and we do not want to do anything which might mark a departure from this policy of peace. We do not want to settle this problem through any war or conflict because India stands for peace and peaceful settlement of all problems in the international sphere. Let it, however, be remembered that sooner or later, Goa will come to India."⁵¹

Nehru said that the people had to learn to work in a cooperative way in every sphere. The service cooperatives proposed to be built up would help people in developing, this co-operative spirit. These co-operatives would also undertake joint farming although this could not be done immediately.

COOPERATIVES

"Now joint farming cannot be done at once. We have to explain this to the people. But one thing was clear that we can certainly have co-operatives in other spheres right away, whether joint farming is there just now or not. The villagers through the service co-operatives could start replacing the bania in the matter of their other needs like seeds, manure, loans, etc."

Mr. Nehru said that that villager could only hope for a better life when the land problem was solved. With the coming of joint farming and development of small industries, the life in the village would change.

The Prime Minister said that while small industries were important, India could not solve her problems without heavy industries and big and gigantic schemes like river valley projects and steel plants and machine-building plants.

Mr. Nehru said that the people must work hard to develop their own country. It was dangerous to depend solely on foreign aid although a little aid had to be taken some time or the other. This "begging for foreign aid mentality" was bad in every way. Beggars could never build up a nation.

The Prime Minister said that big industries could only be set up in the state sector. These big things did not bring in immediate profits and required a huge

51. The Portuguese enclaves of Dadra and Nagar Haveli were administered by India from 1954 following local anti-Portuguese movements. Goa, Daman, and Diu remained in Portuguese hands until December 1961. These latter territories witnessed several mobilisations against Portuguese rule; on 19 April 1958, the Goa National Congress interrupted their movement and called upon the Portuguese Government to negotiate with India; and the next day the Ministry of External Affairs abolished the permit system for travel between India and the Portuguese possessions.

capital. This was an activity where the capitalists could do very little. No capitalist could invest five hundred crores in steel plants and the like.

Mr. Nehru said that India was on a pilgrimage of uplifting 40 crores of people—a pilgrimage that required hard and co-operative work.⁵²

4. Speech at Ambala⁵³

Nehru Blames Traders for Raising Prices
“Government Building Food Stocks,” says P.M.

From our Special Representative

Ambala, Jan. 16

A call to his countrymen to join in a united effort to wage a war against poverty and ignorance in India was made by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru here today while addressing a gathering of about one lakh of people whom he spoke for about 45 minutes from a decorated rostrum.

Pandit Nehru, who was in a fine and happy mood, told his audience about a number of things including the food situation. He also gave them the message of the recent Congress Session held at Nagpur after 38 years, the last one having been held in the year 1920⁵⁴ which, he said, was the first session of India's National Organisation where Gandhiji appeared as country's new leader and gave a new orientation to the Congress programme and policy.

The Prime Minister assured the gathering that in the Punjab every effort was being made to get over the situation created by the high price of foodgrains.⁵⁵ Five hundred food depots had been opened and an equal number would be opened, he was told, soon, if considered necessary. At these depots, cheap

52. *The Hindu* of 11 January 1959 reported Nehru saying: “In these times, all petty conflicts of caste and province and the like become utterly out of place. In the present world people are looking at the Moon and trying to go there. Are we through our stupidity to remain bogged down in the morass of petty internecine quarrels?”

53. Report of a speech at a public meeting, Ambala, 16 Jan. 1959. From *The Tribune*, 17 Jan. 1959.

54. The 35th Session of the INC, 26-31 Dec. 1920.

55. According to a statement by A. P. Jain on 12 February 1959 in the Rajya Sabha, the wheat price index (base year 1952-53=100) had moved from 84 in March 1958 to 114.4 in December 1958, and to 129.96 by the end of January 1959. See also *Economic Survey*, 1957-58, p. 5.

food was being given to thousands of people. He regretted, however, that the recent shortages of foodgrains was man-made and prices had been raised by vested interests. He wished this had not been done. It was a matter of regret that the traders had taken mean advantage of the situation and had been instrumental in raising the prices to a highly undesirable level. It was on that account that the Government decided to start State trading in foodgrains in order to keep prices at a reasonable level and not allow the vested interests to do whatever they liked to earn their own profits. May be that the Government also erred somewhere in its calculations. But the main fact remained that there was no paucity of food otherwise had it not been so created by the vested interests and selfish people. According to the Government's new policy of State trading, licences would be issued to the wholesale dealers in foodgrains. Details would be worked in consultation with those in the trade and others. The Government would, however, keep control in order not to let prices go up. He hoped that as a result thereof, a difficulty which had arisen this time, will not be allowed to be repeated.

Building Up Stocks

Continuing, the Prime Minister said that the Government was determined to build up stocks of wheat as they had done in the matter of rice of which 20 lakh tons were being stored. He praised the Punjab for the help that it gave always in the matter of food to Kashmir, Delhi and Himachal. That help had always been appreciated by everyone, he added. There was no reason, therefore, he said, why the Punjab should not be helped when the food situation itself became bad. He felt confident that as a result of the ready help from the Centre, there will be no further difficulty in respect of food in the Punjab.

Changing World

The Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru referring to the Russian achievement in so far as they had thrown a rocket which had bypassed the Moon,⁵⁶ asked his people to realise how swiftly the world was changing. It was unfortunate that they were not able to keep pace with the changing world. They were living in the Sputnik age where speed was continuously annihilating distances. As a result thereof the world seemed to [be] becoming one unit. His countrymen,

56. Luna 1, launched on 2 January 1959 from the Baikonur Cosmodrome, was the first unmanned spacecraft to reach the vicinity of the Moon.

said Pandit Nehru, have a lesson to learn from what was happening around them. They must cease thinking in terms of their State, their community or their sect. They should regard not only their country as a unit but the whole world as a unit.

Earlier the Prime Minister began by telling the gathering that he had come to talk to them as also to listen to them. He, however, would have no time to listen to them though he would try to draw their attention to a number of important matters, facing them today. He desired that they must learn to give up wasting their time in petty matters and quarrels and think of the bigger issues before their country. He said he had come after several years to Ambala Cantt. even though he had been to Ambala city about two years back.⁵⁷

Praise for Armymen

Telling his audience of his mission today in Ambala Cantonment, the Prime Minister paid a handsome tribute to the Indian Army, the Fourth Division—on their having built about 1500 houses for themselves through a united effort.⁵⁸ It was indeed a record to feel proud of. These men did not belong to the profession of house builders and the task which they completed in seven months, in fact, five months, because two months were of heavy monsoons, if given to P.W.D., might have taken about five years and would have been done at perhaps double the cost. The achievements of the 'jawans' and officers for providing housing accommodation for themselves was most praiseworthy, he added. Their army-men had to remain without houses whether they were at the Kashmir border or at the Assam border. Even when they returned to other Cantonments, they could not find roofed accommodation and were thus unable to live with their families. They had set a fine example of self help for which, he said, they deserved the praise of each one of their countrymen.

Wonderful

What had struck the Prime Minister most at today's function of the army-men was the way in which hot lunch was served to about 30,000 people at the same time within about 10 minutes at the conclusion of the function. Each unit had

57. An enforced halt for one and a half hours, on 3 September 1957, owing to bad weather, en route to Kashmir.

58. The "Amar" project, inaugurated by Nehru. See pp. 626-636.

brought its own food for the Bara Khana as they call it. The orderly manner and the fine way in which the lunch was laid out for every one had stuck him as a most commendable performance. He was wonder-struck to see how quietly and how nicely it was done. It was a community lunch where everyone ate together. Yet there was not even a whisper, not to speak of a loud voice. One could think of the noise that is made by people at a marriage party or any other similar social function where not many guests are to be served. In contrast, to that what he saw himself at the function was most pleasing to his mind. He thought that if they could all do things like that and act in that manner, they would be able to take a long stride on the path of progress in their march towards happiness and prosperity.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru while advising the people to think in a big way and become unmindful of petty matters drew their attention to what Russia had achieved in so far as its rocket had bypassed the moon. That showed the speed at and the manner in which the world was changing. Science was giving more and more power in the hands of man. Anyone, whether an individual or a nation which would remain unaware of the changes that were taking place all the world over, was bound to be left behind while the world will go ahead. He desired that they should keep their minds open which should be receptive of what was happening around. Speed was now annihilating distances and the world was becoming one unit. They should learn from America and Russia, which countries had progressed by the wisdom of their people and their desire to grow and progress. Russia had its own methods and policy, of course. In India also, the Prime Minister said, they should all get together and declare a war on poverty and ignorance. They had attained freedom by following the path shown to them by Gandhiji. That freedom should be maintained by fighting internal strife and availing of the new resources now being made available to them.

Those resources they should utilise to fight against their difficulties and should plan out things for their progress and prosperity. They were spending Rs. 500 to Rs. 600 crores on their steel plants which would begin to give them dividends very soon. In fact, they had already started adding to their country's wealth by production. The steel plants and the oil which they had struck in their country now were bound to add to their resources to go ahead. They had now only to plan and work wisely. Their age was the age of revolution. By revolution was not meant only the use of violence and throwing of the bombs but a change that came about in the life of the community or the nation. Even if they wanted to remain unconcerned about the Russian attack made on the Moon, they should at least change their hearts and their minds as also their slogans. They should prepare themselves to fight against poverty and ignorance

by new weapons. They should remember that the age of the horse as the quickest means of transport had gone by and they were now in an age where air planes can fly over distance of thousands of miles in a couple of hours. In India they should change their mental attitude and at least begin thinking in terms of the unity of their country. They must remember that a small state or a bigger state here or there had no significance. Real strength lay in the unity of all the states, making up together one big India.

Result of War

Pandit Nehru continuing his speech said that the world having become smaller, everyone had begun to realise the dangers involved in the breaking out of a war. Science had so grown that if the modern weapons of war were employed, not only will the enemy be killed but the killer himself would be no more. That was why the countries in the world of today and the nations were afraid of fighting with each other. If a war breaks out today, it would mean ruination of every one. Lord Buddha, whom the Prime Minister called as the greatest man, had once said that the best quarrel was one wherein all concerned would win. In the age of today, however, in any quarrel between the nations, no one will win but everyone will lose.

Object of Planning

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that the object of their planning was to provide food for everyone as also clothing, shelter, education, health services and employment. That could be done only if they would be able to add to their resources and make use of the new atom power for their own good. In the matter of planning, they were now deciding upon the third phase which would be finalised in consultation with the people in order to plan for the greatest good of the largest possible numbers.

Referring to the recent session of the Indian National Congress at Nagpur, Pandit Nehru said that he saw unbounded enthusiasm at that session like the one which he had not seen at any other session of India's national organisation. This he said, was the forty-second session in which he had participated which showed that he had now grown sufficiently old. He, however, added, "I may have grown in age and I have undoubtedly. But I assure you that I am still young at heart and possibly my mind is still fresh." The Prime Minister himself enjoyed his own observation and in this he was joined by the mammoth gathering which cheered him for what he had said.

Work Instead Talk

Pandit Nehru said that he heard many people shouting that India was dying and so was the Congress. He disagreed with such people entirely. He was convinced that India was destined to go ahead on the road to progress and prosperity in spite of what some people may say or do. A good deal of noise was created last year regarding the shortage of exchange. It was, however, forgotten that this happened because we purchased machinery which was certainly highly productive. Unfortunately, he said, in their country people were in the habit of shouting 'Hai, Hai' and doing nothing. "People indulge in such loose talks (Bakwas as he called it) which is so horrifying," said Pandit Nehru, "without caring to do what they should." He had no hesitation in saying that such people were to be found in the Congress Organisation also and not merely outside. He, however, asked them to remember that they should all learn to work instead of indulging in talking only. For that purpose, he extended an invitation to all the parties in the country to join hands and work for the welfare of the country by sharing the burden and responsibility of building up new India. Of course, the Congress had to share the largest responsibilities and carry the heaviest burden.

Congress Programme

In respect of the Congress programme as decided upon at Nagpur, Pandit Nehru pointed out that they had passed only two resolutions this time; one relating to future planning in the rural areas and the other in regard to the development of agriculture. Larger the number of resolutions an organisation adopted the lesser practical it would be and the lesser the number of resolutions adopted, the greater would be the living force of that organisation. In particular, Pandit Nehru explained the new programme of the new set in the villages of India of tomorrow. He said a panchayat with more and more of rights and powers, a cooperative and a school were the biggest needs of a village in the India of tomorrow. They were going to build these in as large a number as it would be possible, for on their achievement in that direction as also cooperative farming will depend the future of the Indian villages. Cooperative farming will add to their production without taking away the right of ownership.

Don't Feel Afraid

Concluding, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru warned his countrymen against the danger of the feelings of despondency which some people always tried to create. He said "whenever any event takes place, anywhere near our country there are a

class of persons whose hearts become sad and they begin to sink. They become despondent. I wish some medicine could be prescribed for such ailing hearts in order that blood may begin to flow into the tired veins of such people. These people appear always to be terrified of whatever happens around them. They suffer from fear complex. I want to tell my countrymen what Gandhiji told us. He wanted us not to feel afraid of anything. That is the message which I wish to give you here and to my countrymen while I wish you a happy New Year” (loud applause).

On his arrival at the meeting place Pandit Nehru, who was accompanied by the Chief Minister of the Punjab⁵⁹ and the Defence Minister of India,⁶⁰ was received by the President of the State Congress Committee, Sardar Darbara Singh,⁶¹ the General Secretary, Pandit Gorakh Nath, M. L. A., Shri Hans Raj Sharma, Chief Parliamentary Secretary and a large number of Congressmen. Immediately on arrival, he went up to the rostrum and was greeted by the mammoth gathering whose greetings he acknowledged with folded hands.

State Congress

President Sardar Darbara Singh extended to Pt. Nehru a warm welcome as the “messenger of peace and hope of India as also of the world”.

Having addressed the meeting, the Prime Minister of India drove straight to the aerodrome to fly back to Delhi. He was seen off at the airport by the Chief Minister, Punjab, Food Minister, Major General Kaul,⁶² the Commissioner, Ambala Division, I. G. Police, D. I. G. Police, Ambala Range, D. C., Ambala, S. P., Ambala and many high ranking military officers.

The Prime Minister was presented by Major General Kaul, an album containing the full pictorial record of the “Amar” project, prepared by Mr. A. S. Seth, a press photographer.

59. Partap Singh Kairon.

60. V. K. Krishna Menon.

61. (1910-1990); Congressman from Punjab; MLA, Punjab, 1952-69; Minister, Government of Punjab, 1956-57 and 1962-67; Chief Minister, Punjab, 1980-83; Congress, Lok Sabha MP, 1971-77; Congress, Rajya Sabha MP, 1984-90.

62. Major-General B. M. Kaul, GOC, Fourth Division of the Indian Army.

5. Speech at Ramlila Maidan, Delhi⁶³

इस [यह] दिन हमारे इतिहास में एक खास जगह रखता है। ... यह दिन तो क्या गाँधीजी ... हमने भी नयी दिल्ली में [एक] सड़क का नाम तीस जनवरी मार्ग रख दिया। लेकिन ये तो दिखाने की बातें हैं। असल बात तो यह है कि यह जो एक ज़बरदस्त हस्ती हुई हिन्दुस्तान में जिसने एक उलट-पलट किया हिन्दुस्तान में, और सबमें उलट-पलट बड़ा — लोगों, करोड़ों लोगों के दिलों में — जिसकी वजह से एक बड़ी शहंशाहियत हिल गयी और हटी यहाँ से। ये सब बातें हुई जो कि तारीख में लिखी जायेंगी। लेकिन जो और भी बुनियादी बात हुई, वो यह है कि हिन्दुस्तान के दिल और दिमाग पर असर कितना हुआ और कितना बाक़ी है; और किसी क्रूर यह भी कि दुनिया के दिलो-दिमाग पर क्या असर हुआ; क्योंकि जो कुछ उनका पैग़ाम था, वो एक माने में दुनिया के लिए था; यह सही है कि हमारे लिए खास था। यह कोई कहे कि हम उनके बिलकुल रास्ते पर चले, हर बात जो उन्होंने कही थी, यह तो नामुनासिब हो[गा] कहना, शेखी करना है, और किसी क्रूर सही भी न हो। बहुत दफ़े हम उस रास्ते से भूले, भटके, गिरे, अलग हुए। फिर कुछ याद आयी, फिर ऊपर जाने की कोशिश की, कुछ गये। मेरा खयाल है कि कुछ-न-कुछ याद उनकी क़ायम रही और कुछ-न-कुछ उसका असर हमारे काम पर, नीति पर रहा। ज़्यादा रहता तो और अच्छा था। गाँधीजी ने बहुत बातों में हमें रास्ता दिखाया। कुछ वक्ती बातें, कुछ बुनियादी बातें। अब दुनिया बदलती है और मैं नहीं जानता कि गाँधीजी इस समय होते तो इस समय किसी खास बात में क्या सलाह देते, क्या नहीं देते। हाँ, कुछ-न-कुछ हम समझ सकते हैं, लेकिन पक्की तौर से कहना मुश्किल है। लेकिन असल बात तो थी बुनियादी बातें, जो उन्होंने कहीं, जो कि वक्त्र से नहीं हटतीं, वक्त्र बदलता रहे, लेकिन कोई सिद्धान्त होता है, वो क़ायम रहता है और बातें होती हैं, वो बदलती हैं।

आप देखें कि आजकल की दुनिया क्या है जिसमें हम रहते हैं। आजकल आपका हिन्दुस्तान क्या है, हम क्या हैं, हमारे सामने क्या सवाल हैं? दुनिया तो आजकल की यह है कि अब लोग चाँद और तारों पर पहुँचने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं और इस दुनिया को छोड़ कर रॉकेट्स वगैरा फेंके हैं जो कि चाँद के करीब तक पहुँचे हैं। वो [उनके] चाँद पर पहुँचने से कोई हमें फ़ायदा हो या नुक़सान हो, यह सवाल नहीं, लेकिन इससे एक बात ज़ाहिर होती है जो हमें हमेशा याद रखनी है कि किस तेज़ी से हमारी दुनिया बदल रही है, कैसे नयी-नयी ताक़तें आ रही हैं इन्सान के क़ाबू में। एक ज़बरदस्त ताक़त है जो आज तक दुनिया ने नहीं देखी कि चाँद तक कोई चीज़ पहुँच सके और शायद चन्द बरस बाद और भी दूर तक। चाँद पर पहुँचना-न पहुँचना अहमियत नहीं रखता, लेकिन जो बात अहमियत रखती है, वो एक बदलती हुई इनक़लाबी दुनिया, जिसमें ये ज़बरदस्त ताक़तें इन्सान के हाथ में आती हैं। सारी दुनिया पिछले सौ-दो सौ बरस में बदली है, इसलिए कि नयी ताक़तें इन्सान के हाथ में आयी हैं ... जो आजकल की दुनिया की तहज़ीब

63. Speech at a public meeting on the eleventh death anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi, 30 Jan. 1959, Ramlila Maidan, New Delhi. AIR tapes, NMML.

गिनी जाती है ... साइंस से, विज्ञान से, टेक्नॉलोजी से, वगैरह और जिस ताक़त ने यूरोप और अमेरिका को [एक] बहुत आगे कर दिया, दौलतमन्द कर दिया, ताक़तवर कर दिया, [....] खुशहाल कर दिया, क्योंकि उसने दुनिया की छिपी हुई ताक़तें ... प्रकृति से फ़ायदा उठाया उन मुल्कों ने। हम अपनी जहालत में पड़े रहे। हमने नहीं कोशिश की। हम गिर गये, हम गुलाम बने, हम पिछड़ गये, हम ग़रीब बने, बात याद रखने की है। हमारे मुल्क में बहुत हुनर हैं, हमारे लोगों में, लेकिन पहली बात यह है ... याद रखनी है, हम अपनी कमज़ोरी से, लाइल्मी से [...] गिरे। दूसरे के हमले से कोई नहीं गिरता है, कोई बड़ा मुल्क, अपनी कमज़ोरी से गिरता है। खैर, हम फिर आज़ाद हुए अपनी ताक़त से, आखिर में, अपनी एकता से, और आज़ाद होते ही फिर यह सवाल, बड़ा सवाल हमारे सामने आया कि हम कैसे अपने मुल्क को ऊँचा करें, खुशहाल करें। ग़रीबी के गड़ढे से निकालें। ये सब बातें आयीं।

फिर खामखा के लिए सोचना पड़ा कि यह बात हमें देखनी है कि और मुल्क कैसे हुए, किस ढंग से बढ़े हैं। मेरा मतलब नहीं है हम और मुल्कों की नक़ल करें। उनकी अच्छी बातें हैं, बुरी बातें हैं, लेकिन हमें हरेक से सीखना है जो अच्छी बात है। और अब मोटी बात थी कि और मुल्क खुशहाल हो गये, दौलतमन्द हो गये, सौ-दो-सौ बरस में और हम पहले से ज़्यादा ग़रीब हो गये। अब यह कोई नारों से कोई हालत बदलती नहीं। तरकीब निकालनी होगी, सोचना पड़ेगा, वो बातें करनी होंगी जो और दुनिया ने कीं, जहाँ तक मुनासिब है। अगर उन्होंने नयी ताक़तों से फ़ायदा उठाया, साइंस ने जो निकालीं, विज्ञान ने, हमें फ़ायदा उठाना है। ये सवाल हमारे सामने आये ... और उसके पीछे मुल्क की मेहनत, परिश्रम, क्योंकि अपनी मेहनत और परिश्रम से हम बढ़ते हैं ... ये आये और इस पर बहुत विचार हुआ, प्लैनिंग कमीशन, योजना का कमीशन बनाया, विचार करने को, सलाह-मशवरे और पंचवर्षीय योजनाएँ, यह सब आप जानते हैं, एक पुरानी कहानी हो गयी, लेकिन इसके पीछे यही ढूँढ़, यही कोशिश कि किस तरह से हम जल्दी-से-जल्दी इन बातों से, इन ताक़तों से फ़ायदा उठायें। ये ताक़तें हैं। यह बिजली चमक रही है, यह ताक़त है, जिससे बड़े-बड़े कारखाने चलते हैं, इसलिए हम जाके बिजली पैदा करते हैं, भाखड़ा नांगल में, दामोदर वैली में, और सारे, जहाँ-जहाँ मौक़ा मिलता है, क्योंकि यह रेल चलती है, या हवाई जहाज़ चलते हैं, ये विज्ञान की ताक़तें हैं।

हमने बड़े-बड़े उद्योगशाले विज्ञान के बनावे, विज्ञान के बढ़ाने के लिए। हमने बहुत ज़्यादा बढ़ा दिया, इंजीनियर्स को बनाना, बहुत लाखों इंजीनियर इस वक़्त मुल्क में पढ़ाये जा रहे हैं, बढ़ते जा रहे हैं, क्योंकि आजकल की दुनिया वैज्ञानिक और साइंटिस्ट और इंजिनियर की होती जाती है। ये सब सिलसिले बैठे, लेकिन अगर हम सारे मुल्क को बदलना चाहें तो कुछ लोग प्लैनिंग कमीशन में बैठ कर नहीं बदलेंगे; या कोई गवर्नमेंट ऑफ़ इंडिया के जो वज़ीर हैं वो नहीं बदलेंगे। हाँ, हो सकता है, वो कोई रास्ता दिखा दें। हो सकता है कि कुछ एक क़ानून ऐसा बने जिससे कुछ आसानी हो, लेकिन आखिर में इतना बड़ा काम जो चालीस करोड़ आदमी से ताल्लुक़ रखता है वो जब तक कि करोड़ों आदमी उसमें न लगे, तेज़ी से नहीं हो सकता। वो ज़माना गया, अंग्रेज़ी ज़माना, कि माँ-बाप सरकार करती है और हाथ पर हाथ रख कर लोग बैठते हैं, बड़े

अफसर, ज़माना दूसरा हो गया। और इसलिए ज़रूरी है कि लोग, आम लोग, इस बदलती हुई दुनिया को समझें और समझें कि उनका उसमें क्या हिस्सा है, क्या काम है, क्योंकि करोड़ों के काम की ज़रूरत है जिसमें, चन्द की नहीं। यह भी हो सकता है कि हमसे गलतियाँ हों, हुई हैं, आइन्दा होंगी ज़रूरी [ज़रूर ही,] क्योंकि आप जब उठते हैं और चलते हैं तब, और जितनी तेज़ी से आप चलने की कोशिश करें, उतना ही ठोकर खा कर गिरने का भी अन्देशा है।

अब कोई आदमी सोचे कि भाई चलने से और दौड़ने से ठोकर खाने का अन्देशा है, इसलिए हम बैठे रहें या चारपाई पर पड़े रहें तो ठीक है, ठोकर खा कर नहीं गिरेगा, लेकिन वो कोई माकूल बात नहीं है, न मुल्क के लिए, न इन्सान के लिए। इसलिए हम बढ़ते हैं और तेज़ी से बढ़ने की कोशिश करते हैं, लेकिन ... और अगर ठोकर खा कर गिरे तो उससे घबराते भी नहीं। बशर्ते कि उठ कर फिर से चलने की, उठ खड़े होने की [...] ताक़त हो, फिर आगे बढ़ने की। आखिर हमारी स्वराज्य की लड़ाई में गाँधीजी के नेतृत्व में बार-बार हम ठोकर खा कर गिरे, लेकिन उनकी लीडरी [की] खूबी यह थी कि जितनी दफ़े हम गिरते थे, उतनी ही दफ़े खड़े हो जाते थे फिर, तो गरज़ कि यह ज़माना ... मैं चाहता हूँ यह आपके पीछे तस्वीर रहे इस इनक़लाबी ज़माने की, क्योंकि हम उसको अक्सर भूल जाते हैं अपने अन्दरूनी झगड़े, अन्दरूनी दिक्कतें, परेशानियों से कि इस वक़्त दुनिया कितनी ज़बरदस्त छल्लांग मार रही है। आगे कहाँ उनकी छल्लांग ले जायेगी, कोई नहीं जानता है। यानी दुनिया को उससे फ़ायदा होगा या तबाही होगी, यह कोई नहीं जानता; लेकिन एक बात तयशुदा है कि जहाँ है वहाँ दुनिया नहीं रहेगी, चलती जाती है और ऐसे मौक़े पर जो मुल्क इस बाज़ी में पिछड़ जाते हैं या जिनके बाज़ू में कुब्वत नहीं है, या टाँगों में ताक़त नहीं है, चलने की तेज़, वो पिछड़ जाते हैं, और पिछड़ जाते हैं, कमज़ोर होते हैं, और कमज़ोर हमेशा मार खाने की निशानी होती है हरेक की।

तो फिर यह सवाल बड़ा सवाल है जो कि हमारे पोलिटिक्स पार्टी [हमारी पोलिटिकल पार्टियाँ] हैं, दल हैं, जो-जो हों, अपने-अपने, उनकी नीति है, पॉलिसी है, जो भी कुछ हो, लेकिन यह सवाल सब से बड़ा पोलिटिकल पार्टीज़ का और इसको कोई नहीं समझता अगर, तो वो एक पुराने नारों में रहता है, जिससे आजकल की बदलती हुई दुनिया से कोई बहुत सम्बन्ध नहीं।

आप निगाह डालिए, पिछले दस-ग्यारह बरस तक, ग्यारह बरस आज हुए गाँधीजी के गुज़र जाने को, सख़्त बरस हुए, मुश्किल हुए, लेकिन ... और आप ग़ौर से देखें, मुश्किलें जो अक्सर हुई हैं, वो भी ऐसी हुई हैं जो कि बढ़ती हुई क्रौम की होती हैं। आगे तेज़ी से बढ़ने की कोशिश की मुश्किलें हैं, एक पड़े रहने की नहीं और आप में बहुत लोग शायद गये भी हों यहाँ नुमाइश पिछले क़रीब चार महीने से है और शायद अब आजकल में ख़त्म होने वाली है, एक छोटी-सी तस्वीर उससे आपको दिखी होगी कि हिन्दुस्तान में क्या-क्या हो रहा है, कितनी मुश्किलफ़ बातें नयी हो रही हैं। नये-नये काम, नये-नये कारख़ाने, नयी-नयी उमंगें आपको नज़र आयेंगी, जो कि एक जगह रह कर आम तौर से नहीं दिखतीं। आप देखें यहाँ क्या हो रहा है देहली में, लेकिन आपको नहीं मालूम और जगह क्या हो रहा है। नुमाइश भी एक छोटी-सी तस्वीर है, कोई तस्वीर तो उसमें असल में आ नहीं सकती पूरी तौर से, क्योंकि बड़ा मुल्क है, बहुत हज़ारों-लाखों काम

हो रहे हैं, लेकिन फिर भी एक छोटी तस्वीर आयी आपके सामने, बाहर के लोग आये, अक्सर और मुल्कों के, उनको ताज्जुब हुआ कि हिन्दुस्तान में यह हो रहा है, यह हुआ है और यह होने वाला है। ताज्जुब की बात है। मैं खुद जो जानता हूँ, खबरें आती रहती हैं, देखता रहता हूँ हिन्दुस्तान भर में, मुझे कुछ अक्सर ताज्जुब होता है कि क्या-क्या कहाँ-कहाँ हो रहा है।

तो यह नहीं कि हम कोई जमे हुए हैं, काफ़ी हम तेज़ी से बढ़ रहे हैं। लेकिन बढ़ रहे हैं हम यह सही है; लेकिन वाक़यात भी तेज़ी से बढ़ते जाते हैं और सवाल यह है कि वाक़यात को हम पकड़ लेंगे कि हमारे आगे रहेंगे दुनिया के वाक़यात और जगह। तो एक ज़बरदस्त रेस-सी हो जाती है। अलावा और वाक़यात में एक बड़ा वाक़या यह है कि हिन्दुस्तान की आबादी तेज़ी से बढ़ती है और हिन्दुस्तान के आबादी के बढ़ने के माने यह हैं कि ज़्यादा खाने वाले पैदा हो गये, ज़्यादा उनके लिए ... पचास लाख सालाना बढ़ते हैं, तो पचास लाख ज़्यादा खाने वाले हो गये, पचास लाख कपड़े पहनने वाले हो गये, पचास लाख ऐसे हो गये जिनके लिए काम ढूँढना है, काफ़ी बड़ी बात हो जाती है और इसलिए यह भी एक निहायत ज़रूरी बात है। आपने सुना होगा, फिर मैं दोहरा देता हूँ कि इस बढ़ती हुई आबादी के लिए भी इन्तज़ाम करना चाहिए कि इस तेज़ी से नहीं बढ़े (हँसी)। यह आपका हँसना मुनासिब है, लेकिन वो मसला हल नहीं हो जाता है हँसने से और काफ़ी यह ग़ौर करने की बात है, क्योंकि जितना मुल्क बढ़ेगा उसका बढ़ना रुक जाता है, क्योंकि हमने कुछ तरक्की की, पीछे घसीट लिया जाता है कि इतने ज़्यादा बेकार लोग हो गये, रोज़गार की उनको ज़रूरत है, खाने की उनको ज़रूरत है, बोझ बढ़ता जाता है। तो काफ़ी ग़ौर करने की बात हो गयी। और इस वक़्त मैं ज़्यादा उसके निस्वत नहीं कहता सिवा इसके कि आपको याद दिलाता हूँ, इसके इन्तज़ाम हमारी गवर्नमेंट की तरफ़ से भी हैं और कुछ शायी भी होते हैं और आप भी दरयाप्त करें, क्योंकि यह एक ज़रूरी बात है।

ख़ैर, लेकिन असल में जो बात हमारे सामने अलावा इसके वो तो एक यह है कि हम किस तरह से अपने समाज के संगठन को, अपने इन उद्योगों को, अपने ज़मीन के संगठन को, क्या करें उसमें जिससे मुल्क तेज़ी से बढ़े। दो बातों की हमें ज़रूरत है। अब्बल उसमें यह है कि मुल्क में काफ़ी धन-दौलत पैदा हो। तभी तो ग़रीबी दूर होगी। धन-दौलत के माने सोना-चाँदी नहीं, सामान ज़मीन से पैदा हो, खाने का सामान, कारखाने से पैदा हो और सामान, वही होती है धन-दौलत। सोना-चाँदी तो व्यापार की चीज़ है। तो किस तरह से मुल्क में यह पैदा हो। पहला सवाल।

दूसरा यह है कि जो यह पैदा हो वो थोड़ी-सी जेबों में नहीं रह जाय, किस तरह से वो ठीक-ठीक फैले आम जनता में। मेरा मतलब नहीं और यह मुश्किल है कि तराजू में तोल कर आप हरेक को एक-एक हिस्सा बाँटिये, बँटवारा हो, यह बात होती नहीं। लेकिन यह बात भी नामुनासिब है [ये] ऊँच-नीच जो हिन्दुस्तान में है इस वक़्त। ऊँच-नीच नहीं होनी चाहिए। अब लियाक़त की ऊँच-नीच तो कोई रोक नहीं सकता; लेकिन ऊँच-नीच और नहीं होनी चाहिए; और हरेक को मौक़ा मिलना चाहिए तरक्की का जहाँ तक उसमें ताक़त है और लियाक़त है। तो इसीलिए यह सब प्लैनिंग कमीशन वग़ैरह बने। अब इसमें प्लैनिंग कमीशन का कोई मसौदा

बनाने से नहीं काम चलता, न क़ानून बनाने से, क्योंकि पैदा करने के माने हैं इन्सान के मेहनत करने के। कितना हम मेहनत कर सकते हैं मिल कर, यह सवाल हो जाता है। जितनी हम कर सकते हैं, उतना ही हम आगे बढ़ेंगे। चीन का आप हाल सुनते हैं कि चीन ने तरक्की की और यक्रीनन तरक्की की। लेकिन उस तरक्की के पीछे इस क्रदर मेहनत है, परिश्रम है कि इन्तहा नहीं। जापान ने तरक्की की, दूसरे ढंग का मुल्क है, वो भी एक इन्तहा दर्जे मेहनती लोग हैं; या जर्मन हैं, आप देख लेंगे, कोई भी नीति हो जिस मुल्क ने तरक्की की उसने बेहद मेहनत की और उसी के साथ कुछ अपने बोझें बढ़ाये, क्योंकि शुरू में बोझें बढ़ते हैं तब उससे आप बाद में लाभ उठा सकते हैं। मेहनत करके जो आप पैदा करें उसको अगर आप हम सब मिल कर खा जायें तो कल की तरक्की के लिए कुछ नहीं बचता, इसलिए उसमें से बचाना पड़ता है, सरप्लस पैदा करना पड़ता है, उसे इन्वेस्ट करना पड़ता है और कारखाने में, तरक्की में ज़मीन की, और की। ये बातें करनी होती हैं।

तो अब आजकल हम दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना के बीच में हैं। और पिछले साल-दो साल आपने बड़ी खबरें सुनी होंगी कि हम बड़े पेंच में पड़े हैं, बाहर के और मुल्कों को जो पैसा देना है हमने, उनसे चीज़ें खरीदी थीं, वो पैसे की कमी है फ़ॉरन एक्सचेंज की, वगैरह, वगैरह। और बाज़ लोगों ने यों कहना शुरू किया कि हमने यह दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना बहुत बड़ी बना दी थी कि वो हमारे बरदाश्त की नहीं है। ये बातें मेरी राय में सही नहीं हैं, क्योंकि हमने इसको बड़ी बनाया ज़रूर, लेकिन हमारा मुल्क बड़ा है और सवाल बड़े हैं। अगर हम उसको छोटा बनायें तो हमारे सवाल हल न हों तो फ़ायदा ही क्या हुआ? फिर वहीं-के-वहीं गड़बड़े में रहे; इसलिए ज़रूरी हो जाता है बड़ा बनाना। बाज़ लोग फिर कहने लगे अच्छा भाई, ये दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में बहुत बोझा पड़ा, अब ज़रा कुछ दिन तक आराम करें, तीसरी योजना को छोटी बनाना चाहिए। मैं हैरान हूँ कि कोई साहब इस किसम की बात करें जो ज़रा भी हिन्दुस्तान की हालत को समझ सकते हों, क्योंकि हम अपनी तीसरी योजना को कम बनायें तो उससे नतीजा क्या होता है, हिन्दुस्तान की आबादी जैसी है वो तो कम हो नहीं जाती, बल्कि बढ़ती जाती है। हिन्दुस्तान के रोज़गार, बहुत लोगों को नहीं हैं, अनएम्प्लॉयमेंट है, वो अपने आपसे ग़ायब नहीं होगी, हमारी ताक़त उसको ग़ायब करने की कम हो जाती है, यानी वो तो यही है कि एक बीमार है, उसके इलाज के लिए आपने कुछ इन्तज़ाम किया दवा-ववा दी, और फिर कहने लगे कि साहब अब दवा रोक देनी चाहिए, इस वक़्त इलाज नहीं हो सकता, क्योंकि दवा की क़ीमत ज़्यादा है। अब मजबूरी दर्जे हो तो लाचारी है, लेकिन बीमार के साथ इन्साफ़ नहीं है वो। उसका इलाज करना है उसको जो कुछ है ग़िज़ा देनी है उस तरह से, इसलिए हम मजबूर हो जाते हैं। अगर हम चाहते हैं कि मुल्क बढ़े तो हम अपनी रफ़्तार आगे बढ़ने की कम न करें। रफ़्तार कम न करने के माने हैं कि तीसरी हमारी फ़ाइव इयर प्लान की रफ़्तार माक़ूल रहे, इसके माने यह है कि हम काफ़ी रुपया उसमें लगायें, कितना लगायें ये सोचने-समझने की बात है, लेकिन काफ़ी लगायें, क्योंकि रुपया लगाने के माने ये हैं कि काम बढ़ायें ज़मीन पर, कारखाने में। बड़े-बड़े काम बन [हो] रहे हैं, लोहे के कारखाने तीन-चार बन रहे हैं, बहुत बड़े-बड़े आलीशान, बड़ा रुपया लगता है।

लेकिन उससे क्या होगा? उससे अब नहीं, बाद में बहुत आमदनी होगी मुल्क की। लोहा मिलेगा, उससे हज़ारों बातें होती हैं और उसकी वजह से हज़ारों छोटे कारखाने शुरू होंगे। रोज़गार मिलेगा। इस तरह से काम बढ़ता है।

अब जब कोई हमसे कहे कि तुम लोहे का कारखाना न बनाओ और हमें और बनाने पड़ेंगे, अगले साल न बनाओ तो इसके माने ये हैं कि हम आइन्दा की तरक्की बन्द कर देते हैं इस वक़्त की किफ़ायत के मारे। लोहे के कारखाने ... मैंने आपसे कहा अभी ... शायद तीन रोज़ में या चार दिन में हमारे राष्ट्रपतिजी जा रहे हैं दो कारखानों में; भिलाई और राउरकेला; क्योंकि वहाँ वो कुछ लोहा पैदा होना शुरू होने वाला है। तो इस शुभ अवसर पर वो जा रहे हैं, कुछ ज़रा उसको एक ढकेल देने की शुरू हो।⁶⁴ अच्छी बात है। अभी तो थोड़ा होगा वो, लेकिन साल भर बाद फिर ज़्यादा होने लगेगा। तो गरज़ कि इस नतीजे पर हम पहुँचते हैं कि हमें काफ़ी मेहनत करनी पड़ेगी ताकि हम इस मुल्क को आगे बढ़ा लें और इस गड़ढे से निकालें। दरिया के बीच में, मझाधार में, कोई रुक नहीं सकता, गोता खा जायेगा। तो यह बात समझने की है। हालाँकि हमारे चन्द बहुत ऊँचे दर्जे के पढ़े-लिखे लोग इस बात को नहीं समझे हैं अब तक, लेकिन, खैर। और इसके पीछे एक और बात है, इसका बहुत ज़िक्र आपसे हो चुका है कि हम चाहते हैं बहुत कारखाने बनें, तरक्की हो, रोज़गार लोगों के बनें। सब बातें हों। पढ़ाई बहुत बढ़े, और सब बातें। लेकिन उसकी जड़, बुनियाद, आखिर में हमारी यह है कि हमारी ज़मीन से कितना ग़ल्ला पैदा होता है — खाने का सामान। हम अगर इस मुसीबत में पड़े कि हमें और मुल्कों से अपने खाने के लिए मँगाना पड़े तो जितना बचाय इसके कि ऐसा [पैसा] अपने मुल्क में खर्चें, और मुल्कों को दें, यह तो कभी फिर हमारे पास कुछ हो ही नहीं तरक्की के लिए; इसलिए इन्तहा दर्जे ज़रूरी हो गया कि हम अपनी ज़मीन से जो पैदावार होती है, उसको बढ़ायें और बढ़ेगी, यक़ीनन [...] बढ़ेगी, बढ़ रही है। ज़रा, दो-तीन बरस में हमने काम किया, उसका फल अब निकलेगा और मैं समझता हूँ कि हम आज़ाद हो जायेंगे, बाहर से मँगाने से, खाने के सामान के। वक़्त मुक़र्रर करना तो मुश्किल है, लेकिन मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि एक दो-ढाई बरस के अन्दर यह सवाल हमारे सामने न रहे, शायद कम हो।

ये सब बातें हमें करनी हैं। इसके लिए पॉलिसी नीति वगैरह करनी होती है। अभी नागपुर में काँग्रेस का बड़ा जलसा हुआ था और काँग्रेस के जलसे में दो प्रस्ताव हुए, असल में दो, कुछ और भी थे। वैदेशिक नीति के बारे में।⁶⁵ यह मुझ ... शायद मेरा खयाल पड़ता है, मैं चालीस, इकतालीस या बयालीस काँग्रेस के जलसों में गया हूँ। याद रखिए मेरी उम्र काफ़ी हो गयी है तो अब ये ... चालीस-बयालीस में गया हूँ, बड़े शानदार देखे, बड़े देखे, छोटे भी देखे ... अब

64. President Rajendra Prasad inaugurated the Rs 131-crore Bhilai Steel Plant on 4 February 1959. Built with Soviet assistance, its production capacity was 1 million tons with provision for upto 2.5 million tons. The Rs. 200-crore Rourkela Steel Plant, built with West German help, was inaugurated by Rajendra Prasad on 3 February 1959.

65. See pp. 164-170 and 173-174.

यह नागपुर की काँग्रेस का जो इजलास था वो मेरी याद में चन्द चुने हुए बहुत बड़े अधिवेशनों में था। और मैं समझता हूँ एक लोगों का जोश, बेशुमार लोग थे, जोश था और मुल्क के पेचीदा सवालों पर हमने गौर किया अच्छी तरह से। पहले से कमेटियाँ बनायी थीं, बड़ी-बड़ी; उन्होंने — कमेटियों ने — गौर करके सिफ़ारिश की थी उस पर हमने यह किया। छान-बीन करके हमारे प्रस्ताव हुए थे।

एक तो यही सारी पंचवर्षीय योजना पर था और पंचवर्षीय योजना आइन्दा क्या हो, उसके माने ये हैं कि आइन्दा मुल्क की रफ़्तार क्या हो बढ़ने की। यह मसला था। दूसरा ख़ास तौर से ज़मीन के बारे में था। अब मैं देखता हूँ कि नागपुर काँग्रेस के बाद से इधर तो मैं कहाँ जोश-ख़रोश देख के आया और जहाँ तक मुझे मालूम है जहाँ-जहाँ उसके प्रस्ताव आम जनता को सुनाये गये हैं, उनको खुशी हुई कि हाँ, काँग्रेस फिर ज़ोरों से आगे बढ़ रही है, हिम्मत करके। दूसरी तरफ़ से कुछ लोग नाख़ुश मालूम होते हैं। कुछ हमारे भाई जो अख़बार चलाते हैं, वो भी नाख़ुश मालूम होते हैं उनसे। तो इसके माने क्या हैं? यह ग़ौर करने की बात है। और नागपुर के पहले भी इस बात पर अक्सर तरफ़ से आवाज़ आती थी, जो मैंने आपसे कहा, कि अब ज़रा हल्के चलना चाहिए, ठण्डे चलना चाहिए और तेज़ी नहीं करनी चाहिए, वग़ैरह, वग़ैरह। यह बात क्या है और मैंने इस पर काफ़ी ग़ौर किया, क्योंकि मेरी राय में जो नागपुर काँग्रेस ने किया, वो जो उसकी बुनियादी पॉलिसी थी, नीति थी, उसको और चलाया, जो बरसों से करते आते हैं। हाँ बढ़ाया आगे, क़दम बढ़ा ज़रूर। तो क्यों, बात मैं समझता हूँ यह है कि हम एक ऐसे मौक़े पर पहुँच गये हैं जब हमें ज़रा गोल बात नहीं करनी है। साफ़ करना है कि क़दम किधर उठेगा। गोल बात में दो माने लोग निकालते हैं। एक बात कहने के माने ज़रा साफ़ हो जाते हैं, कोई उसको पसन्द करे या कोई नापसन्द करे।

अब कुछ दिन से, बरस भर से कम-से-कम एक ऐसी हवा हिन्दुस्तान में फैलाने की बाज़ लोगों ने कोशिश की थी कि जो हमारी नीयत है, जो हमारा मक़सद है, वो कुछ गड़बड़ा जाय। हमने कहा था, आप जानते हैं आज नहीं बरसों हुए, कि हम चाहते हैं कि समाजवाद की तरफ़ हिन्दुस्तान को और हिन्दुस्तान के समाज को ले जाना। यह भी हमने कहा था कि समाजवाद हमारा जो होगा, उसमें ये जनतन्त्रवाद भी होगा, डेमोक्रेसी रहेगी। एक तरह का डेमोक्रेटिक सोशलिज़्म होगा। किस तरह का? हम किसी और मुल्क की नक़ल नहीं करते। जैसा हमारी जनता को स्वीकार हो, जैसा हमारे यहाँ ख़पे, क्योंकि मैं नहीं मानता कि हर देश एक ही ढंग से चलते हैं। हर देश अलग-अलग होते हैं। हाँ, सिद्धान्त एक ही होते हैं, कोई वजह नहीं कि एक-दूसरे की नक़ल करें। तो यह हमने निश्चय किया था; ये दो बातें और उसके साथ यह बात थी हमारी कि आप जानते हैं कि जो बात हम करें उसको शान्तिमय तरीक़ों से, बाअमन तरीक़ों से करें, लोगों को अपना कर, लोगों से लड़ कर नहीं, जहाँ तक मुमकिन हो। तो यह निश्चय हुआ था। अब उसी सिलसिले में हमने हल्के-हल्के क़दम बढ़ाये। अब मौक़ा आया दूसरा क़दम बढ़ाने का तो कुछ लोगों ने इसको नापसन्द किया और समझे कि यह बात गोल रहे तो अच्छा है ताकि हम समाजवाद की तरफ़ नहीं जायें। ऐसी बात अगर काँग्रेस स्वीकार करे तो मेरी राय

में वो मुल्क को धोखा देना हुआ, जनता को, जिससे हमने इक्करार किया, वादा किया, एक तरफ जाने का, पार्लियामेंट में किया, हर जगह किया, करना ही था। अलावा इसके कि हम उसको ठीक समझते हैं। तो मुझे यह अफसोस कि इस किस्म की ग़लतफ़हमियाँ क्यों फैलायी गयीं। मैं समझ सकता हूँ किसी की राय इधर हो, किसी की उधर हो, बात ठीक है, मुख़्तलिफ़ राय होती है, बहस हो, लेकिन कुछ यह कोशिश, तरह-तरह की अजीब आवाज़ें ... एक तो यह पेशा हो गया है आज लोगों का हिन्दुस्तान में कि हिन्दुस्तान तबाही की तरफ़ जा रहा है, हिन्दुस्तान गिर रहा है, हिन्दुस्तान में हर ख़राबी आती जाती है। हिन्दुस्तान में यह वो, यह हालत है।

एक कोई चार बरस हुए, पाँच बरस हुए एक बहुत ऊँचे दर्जे के अमेरिका के साहब कोई आये थे यहाँ। हमने उनको बुलाया था उनकी राय लेने के लिए, क्योंकि बहुत कुछ बातें ... सरकारी बातों को चलाने के निस्वत बहुत मुल्कों का उनको तजुर्बा था, ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन वगैरह का। वो यहाँ कई महीने रहे और दो बरस तक, दो-तीन बरस तक मुसलसल आये; और अच्छी रिपोर्ट दी, हमारी ख़राबी दिखायी, हमारी खूबियाँ।⁶⁶ तो आखिरी रिपोर्ट में उन्होंने हमारी लिखा कि मैं तीन दफ़े यहाँ आया हूँ और मुझे हैरत होती है कि हिन्दुस्तान किस तेज़ी से तरक्की कर रहा है। जो मुझे दो बरस हुए यक़ीन नहीं था, वो मुझे इस समय हो गया, लेकिन एक और हैरत की बात यह है कि हिन्दुस्तान में एक ख़ास पेशा है, एक ख़ास इण्डस्ट्री है, कि जो हिन्दुस्तान में काम हो उसको बदनाम करने का। उसके दिखाने को कुछ नहीं हुआ, हम ख़राब हैं, हम गिरे हुए हैं, हमारे यहाँ हर ऐब है।

अब ज़ाहिर है, इतने बड़े मुल्क में कमज़ोरियाँ हैं, ऐब हैं; हम जानते हैं, आप जानते हैं, ख़राबियाँ, उनसे हम लड़ते हैं, हटायें, लेकिन ज़रा तराजू को ठीक तौर से दोनों पल्लों को देखना चाहिए। क्या हुआ, क्या हो रहा है? किन मुसीबतों का हमने सामना किया और किन सवालों को हमने हल किया, सही, और सवाल बहुत हैं। तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप और सब इन मसलों पर ठण्डे दिल से ग़ौर करें। इन बातों में न पड़ जायें, क्या बात क्या हुई कि एकदम से हमारे बाज़ भाई जो अख़बार लिखते हैं वो इतने ख़ुद परेशान हैं, क्या इसलिए कि जो एक क़दम काँग्रेस उठाना चाहती है, जो उसने अर्स से कहा था, हम उठायेंगे, वो उनको नापसन्द है, इसलिए हर चीज़ उनको बुरी लगती है। यह तो कोई तरीक़ा नहीं है ज़ज करने का। क्या काँग्रेस ने निश्चय क्या किया। दो बातें, एक तो यह जो मैंने आपसे कहा, कि हमें यह प्लैनिंग, पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं को ज़ोरों से चलना [चलाना] है, ज़ोरों से; नये जो बने, बनाना है और काफ़ी बड़े पैमाने पर बनाना है, नहीं तो हम आगे नहीं बढ़ेंगे। तो बड़ा पैमाने का बोझा पड़ता है लोगों पर, जनता पर; और

66. This refers to Paul H. Appleby, the American expert on public administration and a consultant with the Ford Foundation, who submitted two reports on the Indian administrative system in January 1953 and August 1956. See SWJN/SS/24/ pp. 338-343 and SWJN/SS/34/p. 184.

कोई चारा नहीं है। जिस मुल्क में आप जायें, चीन, रूस, वगैरह, कितना बोझा उठा कर वो बढ़ रहे हैं या बढ़े हैं। बढ़ना है और कोई चारा नहीं, करना है उसे और सोचना है किस ढंग से करें।

एक तो यह, दूसरा प्रस्ताव था — मैंने आपसे कहा — ज़मीन के बारे में। हमने ज़मींदारी और जागीरदारी और ताल्लुक़ेदारी तो खत्म कर दी मुल्क में, लेकिन अब तक कुछ क़दम ज़मीन के बारे में उठाने हैं। ज़्यादातर हमारे मुल्क में ज़मीन कैसी है, जानते हैं? एक एकड़, दो एकड़, तीन एकड़। ऐसे ज़मीन लोगों के पास है। मुट्ठी भर आदमियों को छोड़ कर बहुतों के पास एक एकड़ ज़मीन भी नहीं है, बहुत छोटे-छोटे हैं। अब, आजकल यह जो मैंने आपसे कहा कि हमारे मुल्क में पैदावार कम होती है, इत्ता बड़ा मुल्क है, कम होती है, एक खेतिहर मुल्क कहिए, एक एकड़ से जितनी पैदा होती है, उसकी दुगुनी-चौगुनी और मुल्कों में होती है। क्या बात क्या है? हमने पूरी तौर से फ़ायदा नहीं उठाया विज्ञान का, इसका, उसका, इन बातों का। कैसे तरक्की हो। जहाँ हमने कोशिश की वहाँ दुगुनी-चौगुनी कर दी हमने पैदावार ग़ल्ले की। दस मन की बजाय पचास मन तक होने लगा है। तो एक बात हो सकती है। लेकिन यह बात नहीं हो सकती। अगर एक-एक एकड़, एक-दो एकड़, तीन एकड़ ज़मीन एक आदमी ... उसके पास, बेचारे के पास ताक़त नहीं है करने की, शक्ति नहीं तो फिर वो आजकल की दुनिया का दस्तूर है, वो रखा गया उनके सामने, यानी कोऑपरेटिव्स के ज़रिये से काम करना। सहकारी संघ, पहले सहकारी संघ होते थे महज़ पैसा, क़र्ज़ा, देने [देने] के लिए, क्रेडिट कोऑपरेटिव्स। वो काफ़ी नहीं। वो है, वो ठीक है, काफ़ी नहीं है। हम चाहते हैं ख़रीद-फ़रोख़्त वगैरह, बीज लेना, खाद लेना सहकारी संघ से और नये-नये विज्ञान की बातें उसमें लगाये, उसकी शक्ति होगी वो मिल के करे और उन्हीं की आमदनी ज़्यादा होगी। उन्हीं को फ़ायदा होगा, किसी और का [को] तो नहीं। दुनिया का दस्तूर है। कारख़ाने हम बनाते हैं तो एक बड़ा कारख़ाना भी एक तरह से एक, एक सहकारी संघ होता है; मिल कर काम करते हैं बहुत लोग। अलग-अलग फुटकर करें तो उतने कामयाब नहीं हो सकते। एक तो यह है और सहकारी संघ के निस्वत हमने कहा, हम तो चाहते हैं, कारख़ानों में यह बात आये, सहकारी संघ, कोऑपरेटिव कारख़ाने बनें। जो लोग उसमें काम करते हैं उनको लाभ हो। लेकिन ज़मीन पर तो बिल्कुल आवश्यक हो गया। हमने कहा कि पहले तो सहकारी संघ हर काम के लिए हो, लेकिन अलग-अलग जैसे ज़मीनें हैं वैसे अलग-अलग रहेंगी, लेकिन ख़रीद-फ़रोख़्त में मिल कर काम करें और वहीं खुद ही [...] उसको चलायेंगे, सरकारी अफ़सर कोई न हो उसमें, खुद चलायेंगे और गाँव की बुनियाद हो पंचायत, सहकारी संघ और स्कूल।

अच्छा, यह हो गया। फिर हमने कहा इसके बाद का क़दम यह होना चाहिए कि एक गाँव का सहकारी संघ जो है, सब लोग मिल कर ज़मीन को जोतें। यानी हिस्सा तो हरेक का अलग रहे, अलग जितनी ज़मीन है, लेकिन मिल कर जोतने से बहुत फ़ायदा होता है। नये साइंस के तरीक़े हम ला सकते हैं। उनका फ़ायदा हो। ये बातें कहीं। अब इसके निस्वत और यह भी बातें होगी आम जनता, जो लोग मंज़ूर करें, उनकी सलाह से, उनके मशवरे से, जिस ढंग तक मंज़ूर करें। अब लोगों ने कहना शुरू किया कि यह क्या इनक़लाबी बात [...] है और यह तो एक

ज़बरदस्ती है और एक और यह क्या अंग्रेज़ी में शब्द है ज़बरदस्ती करने का, आज़ाद क़ौम को नहीं करना चाहिए और डेस्पॉटिज़्म है और क्या-क्या। अब मैं हैरान हूँ कि किस तरह से इस नतीजे पर पहुँच जाते हैं फिर। यह वही है न, कि बाज़ लोग कहते हैं कि साहब, यह जो तुम प्लैनिंग कमीशन बनाते हो, यह भी आज़ादी के खिलाफ़ है। यह जो तुम समाजवाद को ... कहते हैं उसमें भी आज़ादी में एक अटकाव पड़ जाता है। आज़ादी किस बात की, आज़ादी इस बात की, कि एक आदमी कोई ऐसी बात करे जिससे हज़ार आदमियों को नुक़सान हो, हम इसको रोकना चाहते हैं। ज़रूर हम इस बात को रोकना चाहते हैं। ख़ैर, मैं इसमें ज़्यादा नहीं जाता। मैं सिर्फ़ आपसे कहता हूँ कि अजीब हालत है आजकल की जो एक बाज़ लोगों में ... अपनी राय आपको ईमानदारी से देता हूँ कि मेरी राय में हिन्दुस्तान अच्छी हालत में है, बहुत मज़बूत हालत में है, तरक्की कर रहा है, और तरक्की करेगा। मेरी राय में यह जो खाने की मुसीबतें हमारे ऊपर आयी हैं, गल्ले वगैरह की, उस पर भी हम हल्के-हल्के हावी हो रहे हैं, और पूरी तौर से हावी हो जायेंगे। मेरी राय में हमारे यहाँ की इण्डस्ट्री, उद्योग-धन्धे वगैरा बढ़ते जायेंगे और जब दो बरस बाद वक़्त आयेगा, तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना का, तो हम उसको चाहते हैं कि मज़बूत, बड़े पैमाने पर बनायें। हाँ, बोझा उठाना है, उठायें, पाँच-दस बरस उठायें ताकि मज़बूत ज़म तो जाय मुल्क। इस दुनिया में जो कमज़ोरी करता है, जो चाहता है कि हम अपनी ज़िम्मेदारी न ओढ़ें, वो मुल्क गिर जाता है। हम नहीं चाहते हिन्दुस्तान कमज़ोर हो, गिरे। तो मैं जो हिन्दुस्तान की तस्वीर आइन्दा की देखता हूँ तो मेहनत की देखता हूँ, तरक्की और कामयाबी की देखता हूँ, लेकिन और लोग, बाज़ लोग ... और लोग तो नहीं, हर वक़्त इस बात की चर्चा ... अपने ही मुल्क के काम को, [उसको] बदनाम करना और ख़ास कर जो भी क़दम उठाया जाय समाजवाद की तरफ़, उसको ख़तरनाक समझना। हमारे समाजवाद में पचास जगह कहा गया है, हम ... कोई हमारी नीति जो है, उसमें दोनों बातें हैं। यानी बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने और बड़ी-बड़ी योजनाएँ वो जनता की तरफ़ से हों। लेकिन बहुत बड़ा मैदान है जो कि जिसको अंग्रेज़ी में प्राइवेट एण्टरप्राइज़ कहते हैं या प्राइवेट सेक्टर है, वो है, वो लोग करें। हम उनकी इमदाद किया चाहते हैं, हम उनको नहीं रोका चाहते, क्योंकि हम चाहते हैं कि हर तरफ़ तरक्की हो मुल्क की, हरेक को मौक़ा मिले, मुझे पसन्द नहीं है कि लोग निन्दा करें, प्राइवेट सेक्टर की, बुरा-भला कहें; उसकी जगह है, ज़रूरी जगह है, लेकिन अगर वो लोग पब्लिक सेक्टर को हर वक़्त धक्का देने की कोशिश करें, गिराने की कोशिश करें तो यह ग़लत बात है, नामुनासिब है, इसको हम नहीं पसन्द कर सकते हैं। ये बातें आजकल हो रही हैं।

एक और बात की तरफ़ मैं आपका ध्यान दिलाऊँ। मैं आपकी इनायत से, मुल्क की, ख़ैर, एक बड़े ऊँचे ओहदे पर हूँ, प्राइम मिनिस्टर के। कुछ ज़ाहिर है, मेरा ताल्लुक़ है जो मेरे साथी हैं या मिनिस्टर कैबिनेट में। लेकिन मैं ऐसी ख़बरें अख़बारों में पढ़ता हूँ, मेरे मिनिस्टरों के निस्वत यह और वो, कि जो मेरे इल्म में तो होती नहीं, मालूम नहीं ग़ैर हैं उन्हें क्या हो जाता है, कहाँ से आती हैं? कभी पढ़ता हूँ साहब कि बड़ी फूट है कैबिनेट में, कभी पढ़ता हूँ, मिनिस्टर लोग इस्तीफ़ा दे रहे हैं। कभी पढ़ता हूँ, उन्होंने मुझे ख़त लिखा है नाराज़गी का। मैं हैरान होता हूँ कि

ये कहीं से ये खबरें जमा करते हैं, जिनकी कोई बुनियाद किसी किसी की नहीं है। इत्तफ़ाक़ से इतना महसूस मैं अक्सर करता हूँ कि मुझे शर्म आती है कि मुझे पूरा वक़्त अख़बार पढ़ने का चन्द रोज़ से नहीं मिला था, कुछ-न-कुछ सुर्खियाँ देख लूँ इधर-उधर। तो मेरे एक साथी आये, उनकी बहुत क़दर है मुझे कैबिनेट में। उन्होंने कहा, तुमने देखा, अख़बार में लिखा है कि मैंने इस्तीफ़ा दे दिया है ... मैंने कहा कि भई, मैंने तो नहीं देखा अख़बार में ... या देने वाला हूँ, न तुम जानते हो न मैं ... उनको मालूम हो गया यह क़माल है कि यानी ख़ामखा के यह अख़बारों में निकलता है; बड़ी नाज़ुक हालत है आजकल, गवर्नमेंट की नाज़ुक हालत है; मुल्क, नाज़ुक हालत है, हरेक चीज़ नाज़ुक है। सिवा सबमें ज़्यादा नाज़ुक तो शायद उस जनाब का दिमाग़ है जो लिखते हैं इन बातों को। और मैं हैरान हूँ। ज़ाहिर है, नाज़ुक हालत दुनिया की है। लेकिन जहाँ तक हिन्दुस्तान ... बड़े-बड़े सवाल हैं, पेचीदा सवाल हैं ... लेकिन मुझे तो कोई ख़ास नज़ाकत नहीं नज़र आती है। इस तरह की हवा पैदा करना, एक गवर्नमेंट को बदनाम करना, लोगों को ख़ामखा परेशान करना, यह ज़्यादा नुक़सानदेह हमारे लिए है। बनिस्वत एक-आध जगह ठोकर खा कर गिर जायें। उठ खड़े होते हैं, लेकिन हमेशा-हमेशा इस बात की कोशिश करना कि मुसीबतें आ रही हैं, हर बात ख़राब है, आपस में फूट है, यह वो, यह मुल्क की ख़िदमत करना नहीं है, यह ग़लत तरीक़ा है, ग़लत रास्ता है।

यह मैं मानता हूँ कि हमारा काम है अपने ऐवों का सामना करना, छिपाना नहीं; अख़बारों का काम है कि जहाँ कोई ग़लती हो, ज़रूर उसकी तरफ़ ध्यान दिलायें, तवज्जो दिलायें। मैं नहीं इसको मानता कि किसी ग़लत बात को छिपाने से वो हट जाती है। काम है, हमारा जनतन्त्र है, डेमॉक्रेसी है, फ़्री प्रेस है, ये सब बातें बहुत ज़रूरी हैं, बुनियादी हैं; लेकिन यह मैं बहुत अदब से ज़रूर कहूँगा कि इसके माने यह नहीं है कि अख़्तियार होने पर भी कि हम ग़लत बातें, ग़लत अफ़वाहें फैलाते रहें। यह तो कोई मुनासिब बात किसी सूरत में नहीं है।

आप ज़रा दुनिया की तरफ़ देखें। मैंने शुरू में कहा था, यह ज़माना इनक़लाबी ज़माना है और ख़ाली दुनिया की, अख़बारों की सुर्खियों से आप न महसूस करें। यह ज़माना इनक़लाबी है और अजीब-अजीब हथियार, ऐटम बम, हाइड्रोजन बम और क्या-क्या जमा हो रहे हैं। यह हालत हो गयी है। वो रॉकेट्स हैं, बैलेस्टिक मिसाइल्स हैं, यहाँ से गोली आप फेंकिए, कोई आदमी नहीं, पाँच हज़ार मील पे जा कर गिरे, शहर को ख़त्म कर दे, अजीब हालत है। यानी नामुमकिन हो गया है, सच पूछिए, कोई बड़ी लड़ाई का करना, बग़ैर दुनिया को तबाह किये। कोई जीत नहीं सकता है लड़ाई इस वक़्त, दुनिया को तबाह कर सकता है। बावजूद उस [इस] मोटी बात के, बड़े मुल्क मारे डर के और घबराहट के कोई समझौता नहीं करते लड़ाई के मामले में और अपना सामान लड़ाई का बढ़ाते जाते हैं। यानी जब गाँधीजी बातें करते थे शान्ति की, अहिंसा की, वो ऊँचा सिद्धान्त था बहुत लोग दिल से पसन्द करते थे उसे, लेकिन फिर कहते थे और कहते हैं कि भाई चीज़ तो ... सिद्धान्त ऊँचा है, लेकिन आजकल की दुनिया में इस पर चल कौन रहा है, लेकिन आजकल की दुनिया ने यह साबित कर दिया कि कम-से-कम बड़े पैमाने पर हिंसा करना दुनिया को तबाह कर देगा। यानी बड़े पैमाने पर हिंसा करना या लड़ाई करना

एक नामुमकिन बात है अगर आप दुनिया को बचाना चाहते हैं, कोई माने नहीं रहे, आखिर कोई लड़ाई लड़ता है इस नीयत से कि लड़ाई जीते, तबाह होने के लिए तो नहीं लड़ता जान के। जब वो जानता है कि अगर उसका दुश्मन तबाह होगा तो वो भी तबाह होगा, तो फिर लड़ाई के माने क्या रहे? और दुनिया तबाह होगी, यह हालत हो गयी। और अब नये तरीके निकले हैं, अब क्या बरसों से हैं, कि अगर हथियार की लड़ाई नहीं है तो ठण्डी लड़ाई है, गाली-गलौज की लड़ाई है, कोल्ड वॉर है। यानी पिछले पुराने ज़माने में जो भी कुछ एक मुल्क दूसरे मुल्क के खिलाफ़ करता था, खुल कर या छिप कर, ऊपर से एक शराफ़त थी, बातचीत थी। एक तहज़ीब से बातचीत होती थी; तहज़ीब से ख़त जाते थे एक-दूसरे को, डिप्लोमैसी में। अब वो बात निकल गयी, अब गाली-गलौज की नौबत आ गयी है जिससे और भी हवा बिगड़ती है। तो एक अजीब पेंच है, मालूम नहीं कब किसी इत्तफ़ाक़ से, एक धोखे से, लड़ाई छिड़ जाय। क्योंकि धोखे से भी हो सकती है। क्योंकि जब हज़ारों बड़े-बड़े हवाई जहाज़ उड़ते हैं, फिरते हैं हाइड्रोजन बम ले कर ... अगर जो पाइलेट होता है हवाई जहाज़ का, उसके दिमाग़ में ख़लल हो जाय, कि लड़ाई छेड़ दे सकता है। एक आदमी के दिमाग़ में ख़लल हो जाने से, या घबरा जाने से और दुनिया तबाह हो जाय; ख़याल तो कीजिए आप; यह हालत है दुनिया की और हरेक पर असर होगा, हम पर असर होगा उसका।

पहली बात तो यह है, बहुत बातें हैं, पहली बात तो यह है कि हम हर मुल्क, दूसरे मुल्क, से शराफ़त से बात करें, इस नीयत से बात करें कि उसको भड़काने की नीयत से नहीं बल्कि शान्ति करने की नीयत से। दूसरी बात यह है कि हरेक समझ जाय कि आजकल लड़ाई करना बड़े पैमाने पर एक बिलकुल नामुमकिन बात हो गयी है, नामुमकिन इस माने में कि उसका करना दुनिया को तबाह करना है। कौन चाहता है ? बड़ी लड़ाई, मैंने आपसे कहा, बड़ी लड़ाई ऐसी है तो छोटी लड़ाई अगर हो तो ... उसमें हमेशा अन्देशा है कि छोटी लड़ाई बड़ी हो जायेगी... तो वो भी गरज़ कि घूम-घाम के चक्कर में हम पहुँच गये उस जगह दूसरे रास्ते से जो गाँधीजी कहते थे। अब आप मोहल्ले में अपने लाठीबाज़ी कर लें, लड़ लें, और बात है; पुलिस आप को पकड़े, आपका चालान करे। लेकिन मुल्कों की लड़ाई, यह नहीं मैं नहीं कहता कि नहीं होगा। लेकिन उससे ज़्यादा एक हिमाकत, जहालत और जुर्म अब कोई नहीं रहा इस दुनिया में। ये समझने की बात है। अगर यह समझने की बात है, तो इसको ... इसको ... हमें कोशिश करनी चाहिए अपने दिमाग़ से भी वो ज़ब्बा निकालना चाहिए। काफ़ी लोगों के दिमाग़ों में ज़ब्बा होता है, एक जोश में आ कर कि चलो, लड़ो, दूसरे मुल्क को हराओ, फ़तह करो। ये आजकल के ज़माने की बातें नहीं हैं। बिलकुल ग़लत है।

दुनिया में सब में बड़े मुल्क हथियारबन्द [हैं] रूस और अमेरिका हैं और आप जानते हैं और असल में अगर कोई समझौता हो, तो उनमें होना चाहिए, औरों में भी ज़रूर, लेकिन उनमें बुनियादी तौर से। उन्हीं को एक-दूसरे का डर है, मैं समझता हूँ कि कुछ थोड़ी हवा ज़रा साफ़ हुई है डर के मारे; और छोड़ दीजिए, क्योंकि डर, ज़ाहिर है, मोटी बात है। जब चाँद तक आप पहुँचते हैं, आपका बम पहुँच सकता है तब फिर कौन-सा मुल्क बचा हुआ है, उस बम से दुनिया

का? जाहिर है, फिर हर जगह जा सकता है। तो लड़ाई कैसी? तो कुछ हवा साफ़ हुई है थोड़ी, और मुझे उम्मीद है कि यह सिलसिला जारी रहेगा, चाहे वो डर से क्यों न हो, लेकिन कुछ हुई है और मिल कर जो बड़े मुल्क हैं वो कुछ रास्ता निकालेंगे कि इस खतरे से दुनिया को बचायें और हल्के-हल्के ये बातें, ये हथियार वगैरह, मुल्कों के कम हों और खासकर यह जो निहायत ग़लत बात है, यह जो कहते हैं यह ऐटॉमिक टेस्ट होते हैं, इम्तहान होते हैं, उनको रोक देना, क्योंकि एक-एक टेस्ट का, इम्तहान का, नतीजा यह होता है कि दुनिया की हवा ख़राब होती है, और मालूम नहीं कितने हज़ार या लाखों आदमियों पर उसका असर है, बुरा असर होता है।

हमारे ... आप जानते हैं, हमारे सवाल मुल्क में ... असली सवाल जो बुनियादी सवाल हैं, वो इक़तिसादी हैं, प्लेनिंग के हैं, योजनाओं के हैं, आर्थिक हैं, यही है। उसी के साथ और बहुत बातें बँधी हैं, लेकिन सब उसी में आते हैं। दूसरे और देशों के हैं। हमारी नीति और देशों से दोस्ती की है और हमारी जो कुछ इज़्ज़त दुनिया में है, कोई हमारी ताक़त से तो नहीं है, न पैसों से है, इसलिए कि दुनिया ने पहचान लिया कि हम अमन चाहते हैं दिल से और दुनिया के सब मुल्कों के रहने वाले अमन चाहते हैं, चाहे कितना ही उनकी गवर्नमेंट हथियारबन्द हो। तो हमारी इज़्ज़त इसलिए होती है। और हमने उस रास्ते पर चलने की कोशिश की पूरी तौर से। मैं नहीं कहता, हर क़दम जो हमने उठाया वो सही था। कभी ग़लती भी हुई, उसी रास्ते पर चलने के सिलसिले में।

हमने गोआ ... छोटा-सा मुक़ाम है जो ... बिल्कुल किसी उसूल से भी उसको हिन्दुस्तान से अलग नहीं होना चाहिए, जो एक ... एक ... यूरोप के छोटे मुल्क की हुकूमत में है और बुरी हुकूमत में है, क्योंकि जिसमें दबाये जाते हैं, जिसमें कोई आज़ादी नहीं और क्योंकि उन्हीं की हुकूमत में ख़ुद, उस मुल्क में ख़ुद यही हाल है, वहाँ भी आज़ादी नहीं है। कोई बहुत दिक्क़त की बात नहीं थी कि हम फ़ौज से उसको क़ब्ज़ा कर लें, लेकिन उसके माने थे लड़ाई, उसके माने थे एक चिनगारी डालना, बारूद। ये उसके माने थे कि हम अपने सारे उसूलों और सिद्धान्तों के खिलाफ़ बातें करें, उसके माने थे कि मालूम नहीं क्या और नतीजे हो सकें। तो हमने रोक-थाम की, अपने लोगों को रोका, समझाया, अपने को रोका, हालाँकि निहायत नागवार गुज़रता है। हम जानते हैं और दुनिया जानती है कि गोआ आख़िर एक हिन्दुस्तान का जुज़ है और वो अलग नहीं रह सकता। और खासकर एक यूरोप का मुल्क उस पर ... किया, पसन्द किया कि कुछ सब्र करें, हम करेंगे सब्र, बजाय इसके कि इसमें ज़रा तेज़ी दिखा कर हम सारे, हम अपने नज़्शे को गड़बड़ा दें और जो दुनिया में हमारा असर है उस पर भी धब्बा पड़े। हम नहीं चाहते, हिन्दुस्तान एक ग़ज़ भर ज़मीन किसी और मुल्क की नहीं चाहता। गोआ हम किसी और मुल्क का नहीं समझते। गोआ तो हिन्दुस्तान का जुज़ है। कोई ज़रा [ज़रा] हम नहीं चाहते हैं, हम दोस्ती से रहा चाहते हैं; और हमारे रिश्ते आप जानते हैं अमेरिका से, रूस से और मुल्कों से जो एक-दूसरे के मुखालिफ़ हैं, दोनों से दोस्ती के हैं। हम कोई उनकी बातें ... हर बात ... उनके रास्ते पर नहीं चलते। लेकिन दोस्ती के हैं, सलाह-मशवरा करते हैं, मदद, उनसे सहयोग करते हैं जब-जब हो सकता है, और कोशिश करते हैं अगर मौक़ा मिला तो कुछ बीच-बचाव करने का।

एक मुल्क है हमारा पड़ोसी — पाकिस्तान — जिससे हमारा रिश्ता निहायत करीब का है, पुराना है, और बहरसूरत जियाँग्रेफ्री का है, है ही। लेकिन पुराना है, तहज़ीब का है, इतिहास का है, हज़ारों बातों का है। लेकिन यह वाक़्या है कि कई सवाल पेचीदा चलते जाते हैं और उससे रंजिश होती है। एक अजीब हमारी बदकिस्मती है। पाकिस्तान में, आप जानते हैं, अभी कुछ महीने हुए, कुछ इनक्रलाबी बातें हुई, और वहाँ की हुकूमत वग़ैरा बदली।⁶⁷ हमारी उसमें कोई राय देने का सवाल तो नहीं है। वो कुछ अपनी, अपने जैसा चाहें हुकूमत कर सकते हैं, मुनासिब है। हाँ, उसूलन यह सही बात है कि उसूलन हम नहीं समझते कि फ़ौजी हुकूमत मुल्क के लिए अच्छी चीज़ है। लेकिन यह तो एक उसूल है अब जो मुल्क चाहे करे। और मैं एक बात ज़रूर करूँगा आपसे, अलावा और बातों के, एक बात इस फ़ौजी हुकूमत ने वहाँ की, जो कि आठ-नौ-दस बरस से और हुकूमतों ने नहीं की थी, और वो ज़मीन के बारे में, लैण्ड रिफ़ॉर्म, ज़मीन के बारे में जो उन्होंने कुछ किया है,⁶⁸ जो हम बरसों से कर चुके थे और करते आते हैं तो मैं राय नहीं दे रहा हूँ, लेकिन यह ख़बर सुन कर मुझे ... एक कि वहाँ लैण्ड रिफ़ॉर्म हो रहा है सुन कर मुझे ... खुशी हुई, क्योंकि मेरा ख़याल है उससे फ़ायदा होगा वहाँ की जनता को। लेकिन सवाल यह है कि हम हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान अलावा पुराने रिश्तों के, एक पड़ोसी मुल्क हैं और पड़ोसी रहेंगे, कोई अलग तो नहीं कर सकता, जुगराफ़िया है। तो यक़ीनन कभी-न-कभी हमें मिल कर रहना है। यक़ीनन कि हम एक-दूसरे से लड़ाई करें तो एक-दूसरे को तबाह करेंगे, कोई शक़ नहीं। हार-जीत छोड़िए आप, तबाही दोनों का हिस्सा होगा। तो यह तो फ़िज़ूल बात है, निकम्मी बात है ... कोई भी समझे अब वो जहालत में, ज़ब्बे में आ के जो कुछ कह दे, ये ग़लत बात है। ख़ासकर आजकल की दुनिया में जब सारी ताक़त हमारी और उनकी लगनी चाहिए अपने लोगों को उठाने में, तरक्क़ी करने में। अब कभी-कभी आप सुनते हैं, उधर ख़ासकर पूर्वी पाकिस्तान में ये सीमा के ऊपर छोटे-मोटे झगड़े होते हैं। याद रखिए कि हमारी सीमाएँ पाकिस्तान से दो हज़ार मील की हैं, काफ़ी लम्बी-चौड़ी, दो हज़ार से भी ज़्यादा होंगी, ठीक याद नहीं, लेकिन बहुत लम्बी हैं और अक्सर सीमा पे निशान नहीं हैं, ठीक-ठीक कि कहाँ है? उस पर झगड़े होते हैं। कहाँ है? इधर है कि उधर? झगड़े छोटे होते हैं; कभी बड़े, कभी-कभी छोटे। अक्सर इधर से ऐसी जगहें जब सीमाएँ होती हैं और झगड़े की सीमाएँ होती हैं तो उससे फ़ायदा उठाते हैं इस क्रिस्म के लोग, जैसे डाकू वग़ैरह हैं। इधर से ... इधर से डाका मारा उधर छिप गये जा के, उधर से ... मामूली ... अगर ये और कहीं हों ऐसी बातें, कहीं और मुल्क के अन्दर, तो मामूली डकैती है, पुलिस काम करे। लेकिन अब दो मुल्कों के बीच में होती है तो

67. General Mohammad Ayub Khan, who was appointed Chief Martial Law Administrator after President Iskander Mirza abrogated the Pakistan Constitution on 7 October 1958, deposed Mirza on 27 October 1958, sent him to exile in England, and made himself President of Pakistan.

68. See fn. 42 in this section.

सियासी बात हो जाती है, सियासी, और पेंच पैदा हो जाते हैं, और जब सीमा होती ... जब वो जगह होती है यह अलग करने की ... स्मगलर्स की, जो सामान ले जाते हैं छिपा के इधर-से-उधर, ये झगड़े की, यह बात सच है, लेकिन उसके पीछे जरूर बात है ... अगर हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान की हवा, दोनों की, ठीक होती तो दो-चार डाकू या दो-चार स्मगलर्स उसको नहीं बिगाड़ सकते थे, लेकिन चूँकि हवा बिगड़ जाती है तो वो उससे फ़ायदा उठाते हैं और बात और ख़राब होती है; तो बिल्कुल फ़िज़ूल बात है कि सीमा पर या कहीं छोटी-मोटी बातें हों, जिससे किसी मुल्क को तो फ़ायदा होता नहीं कि सौ गज़ इधर या सौ गज़ उधर। तो हम तो चाहते हैं, कोशिश करते हैं। मैं आपसे भी कहूँगा कि हमें अपने सामने यह रखना चाहिए कि हम अपने फ़ायदे के लिए, पाकिस्तान के फ़ायदे के लिए, दुनिया के फ़ायदे के लिए, हम अपने रास्ते पर चलें, यानी अमन के ओर दोस्ती के। इससे ज़ाहिर है माने यह तो नहीं होते हैं कि हम किसी उसूल को छोड़ दें अपने, या किसी हक़ को हम छोड़ दें इस माने में, लेकिन तर्ज़ हमारा होना चाहिए इस ढंग का। वो ज़माना गया महज़ धमकी से बोलना, धमकी का जवाब धमकी, न इधर खुश न उधर खुश, हरेक को नुक़सान, हवा बिगड़ना, फ़िज़ूल बात है। हाँ, एक बात होती है कि हमें सारी तबज़्जो अपने मुल्क की तरक्की तरफ़ देना चाहिए, पाकिस्तान वाले दें तब हम खुश, क्योंकि कोई मुक़ाबला तो नहीं है, वो भी तरक्की करें, उनकी जनता, हमारी भी करे। लेकिन बहरसूरत हमें करना है और हम तरक्की एक ही तरह से कर सकते हैं कि हमारी ताक़त मिल कर ... एकता से हम मिला के इस काम की तरफ़ अपना ध्यान दें। और आपस में छोटे-मोटे झगड़े .. बदक्रिस्मती तो यह है कि हममें से बहुत सारे लोग अभी तक इस बात को नहीं समझे हैं कि दुनिया कहाँ है और हिन्दुस्तान कहाँ है। वो बोली बोलते हैं सौ बरस, दो सौ बरस पुरानी। उनके ख़यालात पुराने हैं। उनके नारे पुराने हैं। दुनिया बदल गयी, हिन्दुस्तान बदल रहा है, नये-नये सवाल आते हैं। लेकिन वो ऐसा सवाल उठाते हैं जिससे आजकल कोई मतलब नहीं, सम्बन्ध नहीं। जिससे फूट पैदा हो, लड़ाई हो। तो हमें बहकाना [बहकना] तो नहीं है, क़ाबू में लाना है इनको और यह याद रखना है कि हम एक ज़बरदस्त क़ौम हिन्दुस्तान की ... चालीस करोड़ आदमी आगे बढ़ रहे हैं। एक ज़बरदस्त यात्रा है, सफ़र है चालीस करोड़ आदमियों का, छोटा सफ़र नहीं है। बहुत काफ़ी लोग हैं और दूर जाना है और एक-दूसरे की मदद से सहयोग से जाना है। समझा कर, ज़बरदस्ती से नहीं, अहिंसा से। और यह याद रख के कि आजकल की जो एक दुनिया है वो कैसी है। कमज़ोरों की नहीं, छोटे दिल वालों की नहीं, बुज़दिलों की नहीं, मेहनत करने वालों की, और इसलिए हिन्दुस्तान की एकता मज़बूती [मज़बूत] रखनी है और सूबे के झगड़े और भाषा के झगड़े, इसमें नहीं पड़ना है और यह निश्चय कर लेना है कि यह जो हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजनाएँ हैं, दूसरी, और तीसरी आयेंगी, उसको पूरी तौर से कामयाब करना है। ये बड़े-बड़े सवाल हैं। अक्सर आप गाने सुनते हैं, तराने सुनते हैं, ज़ोरों के, कि हम जान देंगे मुल्क के लिए और सरफ़रोशी की तमन्नाएँ, आप में हैं औरों में हों, मुल्क के लिए। अच्छे मालूम होते हैं, भले, और मुल्क के लिए जान देना अच्छी चीज़ है ही, जरूरत हो, लेकिन मुल्क के लिए काम करना ज़रा ज़्यादा मुश्किल है जान देने से, ठण्डे दिल से काम करना। जोश

में आ कर तो जान भी आदमी दे दे, लेकिन रोज़ काम करें ठण्डे दिल से। उससे ज़्यादा मुल्क को आखिर में फ़ायदा होता है। बहरसूरत आजकल का ज़माना कोई ख़ास जान देने का नहीं है, मुल्क के लिए काम करने का है, इसको हमें समझना है।

अभी आपने पिछले चन्द रोज़ में सब धूमधाम देहली में देखी। जनतन्त्र दिवस, रिपब्लिक डे और आगे-पीछे उसके जो बातें होती हैं। और लाखों आदमी बाहर से भी आये और, और मुल्कों से भी आये। एक शानदार मौक़ा था, दिल खुश होता था यह सब देख के और उसके बाद भी एक अजीब इत्फ़ाक़ है चार-पाँच-छे दिन के धूमधाम के बाद यह तीस जनवरी आता है, याद दिलाने के लिए कि ग्यारह वरस हुए, तीस जनवरी को क्या हुआ था? जब गाँधीजी मारे गये थे एक हमारी [हमारे] लड़के के हाथों से। और याद दिलाने के लिए कि गाँधीजी क्यों मारे गये? जहालत ने मारा उनको, वही चीज़ जिसने हिन्दुस्तान को पिछले ज़माने में तबाह किया है फूट पैदा करके। जो कि इस ज़माने की नहीं है; जाने किस ज़माने की जहालत जमा करके, और याद रखिए कि आजकल भी ऐसी जहालत है लोगों के दिमाग़ों में। मारने की नहीं, मैं नहीं जानता, उसको नहीं कह रहा हूँ मैं, लेकिन जहालत है, जो कि एक फ़िज़ा ख़राब करते हैं, और फूट पैदा करते हैं और एक जो समझते हैं आजकल के ज़माने को बदल कर के क्या कर देंगे तो इसलिए हमें जीते-जागते रहना है, मुक़ाबला करना है, और ख़ास तौर से आज के दिन, और और दिन भी याद रखना है कि क्या बुनियादी सिद्धान्त गाँधीजी के थे। हमारे मुल्क को उन्होंने रोशन कर दिया, हमारे गिरे हुए मुल्क को उठाया। जो भी कुछ हम करें, आज या बाद में या बरसों तक, उस ज़बरदस्त क़र्ज़ को हम नहीं अदा कर सकते जो गाँधीजी का है। और क़र्ज़ अदा करने की बात तो कोई नहीं है, सिवा इसके कि हम उनको याद करें, उनके सिद्धान्तों को उसूलों को और उस रास्ते पर चलें। हम चलें और मेरा यक़ीन है कि हल्के-हल्के दुनिया पे उनका असर बढ़ता जायेगा वो भी चलेगी। लेकिन बहरसूरत हमें उस पर चलना ही है।

तो आज के दिन तो ख़ास तौर से मैं आपका ध्यान इस बातों की तरफ़ दिलाऊँगा और इस इनक़लाबी दुनिया पर, बदलती हुई ... और यह याद रखिए कि कमज़ोरों की दुनिया नहीं है, मेहनत करने वालों की है, और मिल कर रहने वालों की है। जय हिन्द।

मेरे साथ जय हिन्द तो कहिए, तीन बार।

[Translation begins:

This date has a special significance in our history. We have named a road after it, Tees January Marg in New Delhi. But these are superficial things. The fact of the matter is that a great soul was born in India who created a great upheaval in the country and in the hearts of millions of people by which a mighty imperialist power was shaken to its core and was finally removed. These are things which have become part of history. But the more fundamental thing is the impact that he had on the mind and heart of India and how much of it still remains. In fact he made an impact on the world, too, to some extent because

his message had in a sense a universal appeal. It is true, though, that it was meant especially for us. Now, it would not be proper to say that we have followed his path without wavering, and all that he said. That would be mere boasting and certainly not completely right. There were a number of times when we strayed from that path, stumbled and fell and then corrected ourselves once again. I think to some extent he made a permanent impression on our policies and our work though if we had remembered his teachings more, it would have been a good thing. Gandhiji showed us a path in more ways than one in matters of immediate import as well as some fundamental things. Well, the world changes and I do not know what advice he would have given us had he been alive today. We can imagine to some extent but it is difficult to be certain. But, in fact, there were some fundamental principles that he gave us which do not change with the changing times.

Look at the world that we are living in now, the problems that confront India and what we are today. The state of the world at present is such that people are trying to reach the moon and stars. They have sent up rockets and what not which have reached very near to the moon. The question is not whether such efforts will be good or harmful but it does make one thing clear and that is the rapidity with which our world is changing and the new forces that are coming into the hands of man. There is tremendous power, the like of which has never been seen before in the world. The important thing is not that we are trying to reach the moon but that we are living in a revolutionary, changing world in which man has acquired such tremendous powers. The world has changed beyond recognition in the last hundred or two hundred years because of these new forces which have come into the hands of man, things like science and technology which are considered part of modern civilisation. These are the forces which have made the West so powerful, wealthy and prosperous. The countries of the West took more advantage of the hidden forces of nature while we were steeped in ignorance. We failed to make an effort and so we declined, lost our freedom and became poor. We must remember that there is, however, much calibre and intellect in our people, but we collapsed because of our weakness and ignorance. No great nation succumbs at the hands of an aggressor, but by its own weaknesses.

Well, anyhow, we became free ultimately by our own strength and unity and immediately after that were confronted with the problem of uplifting India and making her prosperous and of bringing her out of the mire of poverty into which she had been sucked. We must see how other countries have advanced. I do not mean that we should copy others. There are good as well as bad points in their development. And so, we must take the good things. Now the main thing is that other countries became prosperous and wealthy in the last couple

of centuries while we became even poorer. This cannot be remedied by slogans. Things will have to be worked out. We'll have to think and do what others did; as far as is possible. We must also take advantage of the new forces of science and technology and, above all, hard work is required. It is only by working hard that we can progress. After a great deal of deliberation, the Planning Commission was formed to draw up five year plans, hold discussions, etc., as you know, all that has become an old story. But behind all this there is a search for a way which will enable us to take advantage of all these forces as quickly as possible. These forces are, for example, electricity on which the big industries run. That is why we must produce electricity. At Bhakra-Nangal, Damodar Valley, and in other places. The railways and ships and other things are all offshoots of science and represent its power.

We have opened great science laboratories all over the country. We are training millions of engineers because the world today needs scientists and engineers. But if we hope to transform our country it will not be done merely by a few people sitting and deliberating in the Planning Commission or by any one of the Ministers of the Government of India. It is possible that they may be able to guide the country and pass some laws which will pave the way. But ultimately, such enormous tasks which concern 400 million people will not be accomplished unless everyone participates. Those days are gone when the British Government was regarded as the only source of all action and the people waited for them to do everything. The days of the big officials are now over and it is extremely important that the people must understand the world and their role in it. We need millions of people in the country to participate in these tasks. It is possible that we may make mistakes because when anyone tries to move fast, there is always a danger of stumbling and falling. But it is not proper to sit idle out of fear of falling. It is good neither for an individual nor a nation. So we are trying to progress as fast as we can and are not afraid of stumbling and falling because we have the strength to get up and move on again. After all, we fell time and again during our struggle for freedom under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. But the greatness of his leadership lay in the fact that we would pick ourselves up everytime we stumbled and fell.

So in short, I want you to keep a picture of this revolutionary world constantly before you. We often tend to forget, in our internal squabbles, problems and frustration, the rapid strides that the world is taking. Nobody knows where it will lead us and whether great good or complete destruction is likely to result. But one thing is definite that the world is not going to stand still. It will continue to progress and in these conditions the countries which lag behind in this race or do not possess the strength to progress, will become backward and weak and vulnerable. We have various political parties in the

country and they all have their policies, but these problems are bigger than just politics and those who do not understand this, continue to live in the world of old slogans which have nothing to do with the changing world of today.

Just look at the past ten or eleven years. It has been eleven years now since Gandhiji passed away; difficult years, but if you look closely they have been the kinds of difficulties which confront a nation which is progressing at a fast pace. Many of you might have visited the exhibition which has been going on here for the last four months and is probably going to be over soon. You must have been able to get a glimpse of what is happening in India and the various new developments that are taking place. You will find a new enthusiasm in the country with new avenues of work opening up and new industries coming up. Generally, you do not see a picture like this living in one place. You would only be aware of what is going on in Delhi and not what is happening at other places. This exhibition, too, is but a glimpse and does not show everything because India is a large country and millions of things are happening. Yet it would have given you some idea. Many visitors came, often from other countries, and were amazed at the things that are happening in India and are going to happen. Even I, who keep touring all over the country and getting reports, am often amazed at the things that are happening in India. So it is not as if we are stagnant, we are progressing quite rapidly, but at the same time, events are also happening at a fast pace, and the question is whether we will be ahead of them or not. It is like a big race.

Apart from everything else, one big thing is that the population of India is growing very fast which means that the number of people who have to be fed is increasing. It is increasing by fifty lakhs every year, fifty lakh human beings to be fed, clothed and provided with employment, which is a big task. Therefore, it is extremely important to do something to control the growing population. (Laughter). You may laugh, but the problem is complex and must be taken seriously. We must realise that the bigger the population, the slower the country will progress. Everything that we do gets nullified and if we move a few steps forward, we are pulled back again.. There are more unemployed people and more mouths to feed. The burden increases. So it is a matter of serious concern. I shall not say anything more about it at the moment except remind you of it. The Government is also taking steps which are getting results and you should also pay attention because it is an important matter.

Well, anyhow, apart from this the task before us is how to organise the social structure, the industries and the landholding structure in such a way that there is greater progress. We need to do two things. First of all, production must be increased so that there is greater wealth in the country. Only then the poverty of the country will be removed. Wealth does not mean gold and silver

but produce from land and factories, food and other articles. That is wealth. Gold and silver are merely tools of trade.

The second thing is to ensure the equitable distribution of wealth produced in the country instead of its remaining in a few pockets. I do not mean that you can do this distribution with a pair of weighing scales for that would be difficult. But the disparity that exists in India today is very unfair and cannot be allowed to continue. Now, one cannot avoid the disparity in the capability of people. But there should be no other disparity. Everybody should get the opportunity to progress as far as ability permits. For this purpose the Planning Commission was set up. But it is not enough for the Planning Commission to make plans. The problem will not be solved by this or by passing laws because production means hard work. So it depends on how hard we are willing to work. The harder we work, the more progress we will make. You hear about China and the tremendous progress they have made. But you cannot imagine the amount of hard work the people of China have put in. Japan, which follows another system, has also advanced because the Japanese are extremely hard working people. The same thing is true of the Germans. You will find that no matter what the ideology of a country is, all the advanced nations of the world have arrived where they are as a result of very hard work and by their willingness to take on more burdens. We too will have to do that in order to reap the benefits later. If we consume everything that is produced in the country, nothing will be left for the future. Therefore, it is essential to save and to have a surplus which can be invested in the areas of development, in industries, in improving production from land, etc. So, all these things have to be done.

Now we are in the midst of the Second Five Year Plan. You must have heard about the dilemma we were in and the problem caused by the shortage of foreign exchange. Some people started saying that the Second Five Year Plan was too ambitious and it is beyond our capability. We would not be able to bear the burden. I do not think this is correct. We did draw up an ambitious plan but the problems of the country are gigantic. Unless the Plan was of that size, the problems could not have been tackled and we would remain in the same old rut. Now there are others who feel that once the Second Plan is over, we should relax a little and that the Third Plan should be a moderate one. I am amazed that anyone who understands the situation in India can say such things. What will be the result if we draw up a shorter Plan? The population of India will remain what it is. It cannot become less; on the contrary, it grows bigger. The problem of unemployment will not disappear of its own accord, and our capacity to solve the problem is reduced. This would be like making some arrangements to treat a patient and then to stop giving him medicine saying that they are expensive and so the treatment cannot go on. If the situation is very

bad, one is helpless. But it is not fair to the patient. The illness has to be treated no matter what the cost. Therefore, we have no other recourse and are forced to go ahead if we want that the country should progress at the pace at which it is doing today. We must keep forging ahead at the same pace during the Third Plan which means an enormous amount of investment. How much we should invest, this has to be decided, but it should be ample. Because investing more money means increase in projects on land, in our industries. Big projects are being undertaken, three or four large steel plants which require a lot of investment. We will get large quantities of steel; not right now, but later, which can be utilised for setting up thousands of small industries which in turn will provide employment. If anyone says that we should not put up any more steel plants, it would in effect mean putting a stop to future progress for the sake of some relief just now.

Our President is going to visit two steel plants shortly, in Bhilai and in Rourkela. They are going into production and so he is scheduled to visit them on this auspicious occasion.⁶⁹ Soon, within a year, the production will increase. So we reach the conclusion that we will have to work quite hard in order to get the country out of the morass. We cannot stop mid-stream if we do not wish to go under; though many of our educated people seem to fail to understand this. We want that there should be industrialization, and progress, so that people can get employment; the education must spread and all that. But the foundation for that has to be laid by increasing production from land. If we have food shortages and are forced to import foodgrains from outside we will never have anything left over for development. Therefore, it has become crucial to increase production in the country. It is increasing and will undoubtedly continue to do so. I think within the next two, three years, we will reap the benefits of the work that we have put in now. I think soon we will become self-sufficient in food. It is not possible to fix a time-limit. But I hope that within the next two years or so, this problem will become manageable.

We need to have a definite policy to do all these things. Recently, there was a huge session of the Congress at Nagpur, in which two resolutions were passed, and two more including one about foreign policy. I have attended forty odd sessions of the Congress so far. You must remember that I am now fairly advanced in years and have attended great sessions and small in these forty to forty-two years. Now the Nagpur session was one of the select ones in my memory. There was tremendous enthusiasm among the people. The complex issues which the country is facing today were discussed at great length. Committees had been set up to go into these questions and they made their

69. See fn 64 in this section.

recommendations to the Congress. We discussed them at length and then passed several resolutions.

One was on the five year plans and that means setting the pace of progress of the country. The second one pertained specially to the land issue. The reaction of the people to the Nagpur Congress session seems to be two-fold. On the one hand people are generally very happy that the Congress is once again moving forward, taking bold steps. On the other hand, some people, particularly the press, seem to be unhappy about it. Why is this so? As I mentioned, even before the Nagpur Congress, voices have been raised in favour of slowing down a little and what not. I have given a great deal of thought as to why some people feel this way. After all, in my opinion, the Nagpur Congress has merely endorsed the basic policy, what we have been doing for years. It is true that we have taken one step further. I feel that the time has now come when we need plain-speaking about the way which we mean to adopt to move forward. Otherwise there is bound to be misunderstanding. Plain-speaking keeps everything in the open whether people like it or not.

In the last one year or so, some people have been trying to create an atmosphere in the country so that our goals and aims may flounder. As you know we declared years ago that we wish to adopt a socialistic pattern of society. We have also said that our socialism will be within the framework of democracy. So our goal is to establish a kind of democratic socialism. We do not wish to copy any other country. We want to evolve a path which is suitable for our country and acceptable to the people. I do not believe that every country in the world can function exactly alike. Each one of them is different though the fundamental principles are the same. So there is no reason for us to copy anybody. At the same time, as you know, we wish to proceed peacefully and not by force and we want to take the people along with us as far as possible.

So these decisions were taken. Gradually, we took some steps in that direction. The time has now come for the next step which some people do not like. They want the whole thing to remain vague so that the goal of socialism is not attained. If the Congress were to accept this, I think, it would be deceiving the nation and the people to whom we had made a pledge in Parliament and elsewhere to take a particular path. That promise has to be kept and in any case, we think it is the right thing to do. I regret that all kinds of misunderstandings are being created. I can understand people having different views. There can be debate and discussion, but these strange voices spreading misconceptions. It has become an occupation of some people nowadays to try and speak in strange voices and spread misunderstandings and say that India is going towards ruin, that she is declining and becoming worse day by day and what not.

About four or five years ago, an American had come to India at our request to advise us on various matters pertaining to the administration.⁷⁰ He had had a long experience in various countries. He stayed here for several months and then followed it up by annual visits for two-three years. He submitted an excellent report pointing out our good points as well as bad points. Finally he wrote that in his three visits to India, he had been amazed at the rate at which the country was progressing. He had to accept what he had refused to believe two years earlier. But what he found amazing was that some people malign India almost as a kind of profession. They go about saying that we are backward and full of all kinds of faults and weaknesses.

It is obvious that in a large country like India, there are bound to be faults and weaknesses. We are aware of them and are trying to fight them. But we must look at both sides to judge properly. We must see the achievements as well as failures and the odds that we have had to face in solving some of our problems. It is true that innumerable problems still remain. I want you to think of all these things with a calm disposition and not get carried away by rumours and misconceptions. I do not know why one should feel perturbed if the Congress wishes to take a step which it had resolved upon years ago. Their criticisms spring from this. This is no way of judging. What are the decisions taken by the Congress? One is that we shall implement the five year plans with vigour and take up new projects on a large scale. That would certainly impose a tremendous burden on the people. But there is no alternative. If you go to China and the Soviet Union, you will see the enormous load that the people are carrying and moving forward.

The second resolution concerns the land question. We have abolished the zamindari, jagirdari and taluqdari system in the country. But other steps need to be taken. As you know, barring very few people, the majority of the farmers in the country possess very small holdings, no more than an acre or two and some even less. In spite of the fact that India is an agricultural country, the average yield per acre is far less than other countries. Other countries produce three or four times as much as we do. Why is it so? It is because we have not taken full advantage of scientific techniques and advancement. But wherever an effort has been made, the production has been doubled or even trebled. Instead of the usual ten maunds we have been able to produce as much as fifty.

70. See fn 66 in this section.

So we can do it. But it is not possible if small land-holdings continue to be farmed separately because the small farmers having one, two or three acres do not have the wherewithal to adopt new techniques. Moreover, cooperatives have become a way of life in the modern world. In the past, the cooperative societies used to merely lend money, credit cooperatives, which is not enough. We want that the cooperatives should help in the business of buying and selling—buy seeds, buy fertilizers from cooperatives—and in adopting new scientific techniques. It is the farmer who will benefit by this, his income will increase. Even in big industries, the cooperative method should be followed. If each individual tries to do it on his own, he cannot go very far. If the cooperative method is followed in industrialisation also, the workers will benefit a great deal. But it has become absolutely essential as far as agriculture is concerned. The title of the farmer to the land will remain intact. But the cooperatives can do the buying and selling. The villagers must do all this themselves and there should be no official interference.

The basis of village life should be the panchayat, the cooperative society and the school. Then we want to go a step further and encourage the farmers to take up joint farming while retaining their title to the land. The profits can be shared. This method is extremely beneficial because new scientific techniques of agriculture can then be adopted. But this will be done only with the consent of the people. Some people are however saying that this is not a revolutionary idea and that coercion and despotism should not be allowed to flourish in a free country. I am amazed as to how they arrive at these conclusions. Some people say that even the idea of a Planning Commission is against their freedom. In fact, according to them, the socialism that we wish to bring about also obstructs freedom. Freedom to do what? Freedom for a man to take a step which will harm a large number of people, the licence to an individual to do something which will adversely affect thousands of people? Surely, we want to prevent that.

Well, anyhow, I shall not go into further details. I merely wish to point out that it is a strange situation. In my honest opinion, the condition of India is very good and strong and she is making progress and will continue to do so. I feel that we are gradually overcoming the problem of food-shortages and the matter will be completely under control very soon. I feel that the industries are rapidly expanding in the country. Two years later, when the Third Plan begins, we want that it should be implemented on a large scale. It will certainly mean a tremendous burden on the people. But that is unavoidable if we want to build a strong and prosperous nation. The country which does not wish to accept responsibilities or shows weakness declines and becomes backward. We do not want that to happen to India. When I try to read the future of India I see a

great deal of hard work and toil, but I see prosperity and success too. But some people go about maligning the country constantly. In fact it seems to be their only profession and to declare any step towards socialism as dangerous.

We have repeatedly said that according to the policy that we are following today, we are trying to industrialise the country by setting up huge public enterprises and at the same time, there is tremendous scope for private enterprise too. We wish to encourage the private sector and not obstruct them because we want the country to develop in every direction. I do not like the idea of criticising the private sector. But it is equally wrong and improper that they should try to put a spoke in the wheel of the public sector or drag it down. This is happening today which we do not like very much.

I would like to draw your attention to something else. You have honoured me by making me the Prime Minister of India. It is obvious that I have close relations with my colleagues and Ministers in the Cabinet, etc. But I often read such amazing things about them in the newspapers that I simply cannot believe my eyes. Sometimes I find a report that there is great disunity in the Cabinet or that some Ministers are going to resign. I do not know how they come by such information. Sometimes it is reported that some Ministers have written a strong letter to me expressing their displeasure. I am amazed as to where such baseless rumours originate. Somehow I am so busy that I am ashamed to say I do not get the time to read everything. I am able to read only a few articles here and there. Anyhow, one of my respected colleagues in the Cabinet came to me and asked if I had read in the newspaper about his having resigned. I said I had not. So the newspapers publish all kind of false news. Nowadays, everything is in a critical situation, the government and the country, but I think the most critical condition is of the minds of the people who write such things. It is obvious that the world is in a precarious situation today. But as far as India is concerned, though there are complex problems before us, I do not see anything to worry about. To create an atmosphere like this, to malign the government and perturb the people is more harmful for us. If we make an occasional mistake or if we stumble and fall, we can get up and go ahead. But to build up a constant refrain that we are facing a crisis or everything that is happening in India is bad, that the people are disunited, etc, is very bad. This is not the way to serve the country. I agree that we must face up to our mistakes and not try to hide them. It is the job of newspapers to draw attention to mistakes wherever they occur. I do not believe that a mistake can be rectified by hiding it. Ours is a democracy and a free press is very essential in a democracy. But I would like to point out respectfully that though you have the right, it is not proper to spread wrong rumours.

Look at the international situation today. As I said right in the beginning,

these are revolutionary times, though you may not realise it from newspapers. Huge arsenals and stockpiles of arms are being built up and extraordinary weapons like the atom bomb, the hydrogen bombs and rockets and ballistic missiles, etc., have been invented. You can throw a bomb on a target five thousand miles away and destroy an entire city. So it has become impossible for a big war to be fought without destroying the whole world. There can be no victor in a war any more. But inspite of this there is no agreement on peace because there is great mutual fear among the big powers. Instead, the arms race is going on as vigorously as ever. When Gandhiji talked of peace and non-violence, everyone accepted that they were great principles but felt that it was not practical to follow them in the modern age. But it has been proved by this very age that violence on a large scale will undoubtedly ruin the world. Therefore, wars on a large scale are an impossibility if the world is to remain intact. There is no sense anymore in a war if the intention is to win a victory because it is common knowledge that the victor and the vanquished will both be destroyed. This is the situation in the world today.

New methods of warfare are being discovered. Actually, it has been going on for years, this cold war, which is fought not with weapons but with threats and abuses and diatribe. In the olden days, international affairs were conducted in a graceful manner, even espionage. There was a certain protocol which was observed in verbal as well as written communications in diplomacy. Now all that is finished and instead threats and abuses are freely bandied about which vitiate the atmosphere still further. So it is a strange dilemma and nobody knows when war will break out entirely by mistake. There can be a mistake because thousands of aeroplanes are air-borne at all times with hydrogen bombs aboard. If a pilot were to lose his mental balance even temporarily, it can lead to a war. Just imagine, the temporary insanity of individuals can lead the world to destruction and no country will be safe.

So the first thing is to introduce a more polite tone in international behaviour with peace and not incitement to war as the motive. Secondly, all countries must understand unequivocally that war on a large scale is absolutely impossible in the sense that nobody would wantonly wish to destroy the world. I said war on a big scale but the problem about a small war is that there is a danger of its escalating into a big one. In short, in a roundabout way we have reached the same cross-roads at which Gandhiji had arrived by a different path. If someone starts a fight in a street, he can be apprehended by the police and fined and what-not. This is not possible in wars between nations. I do not say that it can never take place. But there can be nothing more foolish or criminal now in the modern world. This must be clearly understood and an effort must be made to root out even the thought of war. There are people who get carried away by a

momentary passion and demand that we should march in and defeat our enemy and what not. Such things are simply not done any more. It would be totally wrong.

As you know, the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States are armed to the teeth and if there is to be an agreement it should be between them. They are the ones who live in mutual fear though the tensions are gradually lessening now. It is obvious that fear is natural because if your rocket can reach the moon, your bombs can travel a long way too. Then how can any country remain safe in the world? Anyhow, I hope that the new move on the part of the superpowers will succeed and they will be able to find some way of saving the world from destruction. These atomic tests are extremely wrong and should be completely banned because they pollute the atmosphere and nobody knows how many millions will be affected.

As you know, the problems of India are mainly economic and involve planning. Many other things are linked to it. Secondly, our foreign policy is of friendship towards all nations and the respect that the world has for us is not because we are powerful and wealthy but the world has recognised the fact that we want peace whole-heartedly. Mostly people in other countries also want peace even if their governments are armed to the teeth. We are held in respect because we have tried our best to follow that path. I do not say that every step that we have taken is right. We have made mistakes in the process.

Take Goa, for instance. It is a small piece of territory which should not remain separate from India under any circumstances. It is now under foreign rule, in the hands of a nation where there is dictatorship and freedom is completely suppressed. It is not a very difficult matter to march in our troops and take over Goa. But it would mean igniting war. It would mean that we would have to go against all our principles and nobody knows what the consequences would be. We have restrained ourselves though it is an intolerable situation. Everyone knows that Goa is after all a part of India and cannot remain separate. It is better that we should be patient rather than do something in haste which would have an adverse impact on our reputation in the world. India does not covet even an inch of territory belonging to another country. But Goa is part of India. We want to have friendly relations with both the United States and the Soviet Union and others too who are opposed to one another. We are under no pressure and there is mutual help and cooperation wherever possible. We try to serve the cause of peace by mediating whenever there is an opportunity.

Pakistan is our neighbour and our relationship with it has been a very close one, not only geographically but historically and traditionally. But there are complex problems which create tensions and bitterness. It is a strange misfortune. As you know, a few months ago, some revolutionary events took

place in Pakistan and the government changed.⁷¹ There is no question of our expressing an opinion about it. They are welcome to do what they like in their own country. On principle, we do not believe in a military dictatorship for any country. But every country is free to do what it likes. I would also like to mention that the military regime in Pakistan has been able to take some steps regarding land reforms which the other governments had not been able to do in the last eight, nine, ten years.⁷² We took these steps years ago. So I was happy to hear that land reforms are being undertaken in Pakistan because I think this step will be beneficial to the people.

Anyhow, the problem is that apart from the long historical association, India and Pakistan are geographically neighbouring countries and nothing can change that. Therefore, we will have to establish friendly relations sometime or the other because war will only bring ruin upon both. There is no doubt about that. There will be no question of victory or defeat, only ruin for both. So it is absurd and stupid to think of going to war with each other especially in these times when our entire strength should be pitted into the task of uplifting the people and making progress. You often hear of small skirmishes on the borders, especially in East Pakistan. Please remember that our borders with Pakistan extend over more than two thousand miles. I do not remember exactly but the borders are very long and often there are no proper markings which lead to minor disputes. This also encourages smuggling and dacoity and what not. If such incidents happen within the country it is a small matter, the police is there to deal with it. But, when such things happen between two countries, they become political and complications arise. At the same time, it is also true that if the relations between India and Pakistan had been good, a few smugglers and dacoits cannot do great harm. But in the present atmosphere of tension, they take advantage of it and the atmosphere worsens.

A few inches of territory can make no difference whatsoever to either side. So we make every effort for the sake of India, Pakistan and the world to stick to a path of peace and friendship. It is obvious that that does not mean we should give up our principles or rights. Our attitude must be one of peace and friendship. Gone are the days of threats and counter-threats with both sides unhappy and creating unnecessary tensions. It is no doubt essential that both India and Pakistan must pay attention towards progress in the country. There is no competition. Both the countries and the people should progress. Anyhow, the only way in which we can progress is by maintaining unity and concentrating

71. See fn 67 in this section.

72. See fn 42 in this section.

all our energy towards the tasks before us. We must get rid of the habit of indulging in petty squabbles.

Unfortunately, many people in India have not yet understood the changes that have taken place in India and the world and speak a language which is more than two hundred years old. Their thinking and slogans are completely outdated. The world has changed and so has India and all kinds of new problems are cropping up. But they raise questions which have nothing to do with the modern times but will only succeed in creating disunity and quarrels. We must not let ourselves get carried away but bring such elements under control. We must remember that India is a great nation of 400 million people who have embarked upon a long and arduous journey which can be accomplished only with the help and cooperation of the people themselves. It is possible only by means of understanding, peace and non-violence, not by coercion. It must also be remembered that the modern world does not belong to the weak or the chicken-hearted but to those who are capable of hard work. So it is essential to maintain unity in the country instead of indulging in petty squabbles about language and province and what not. We must also firmly resolve to implement our five year plans successfully. These are all extremely complex problems. You often hear patriotic songs which sound very good. It may be a good thing to be prepared to lay down your life for the country. But it is far more difficult to work for the country because that requires greater effort and discipline and patience. Therefore, the time has now come, not to lay down your lives, but to serve the country faithfully and diligently.

You have recently witnessed the great pomp and pageantry which accompanies the Republic Day Celebrations. Millions of people came from outside Delhi and several foreign dignitaries were also present. It was a grand spectacle which thrilled everyone. By a strange coincidence, all this pomp and pageantry is inevitably followed four days later by the 30th of January which is a reminder of the grim tragedy that occurred eleven years ago. That was the day Mahatma Gandhi fell at the hands of one of our own Indian youth. It also serves as a reminder to the cause for which Gandhiji gave up his life. It was stupidity which killed him and also the disunity which has brought great ruin upon the country in the past. Even today such stupidity persists vitiating the atmosphere. Therefore we must be extremely vigilant and fight all these fissiparous tendencies. On this occasion specially, we must remind ourselves once again of the fundamental principles taught by Mahatma Gandhi. He showed a ray of light to a nation which lay engulfed in darkness and uplifted it from its downtrodden condition. We can never hope to repay that tremendous debt to Gandhiji today or even in the years to come. We can do it in a small way by adhering to his principles and practising what he taught us. If we do so, I am

convinced that gradually there will be an impact and the rest of the world will also follow suit. Anyhow, it is very important to follow in Gandhiji's footsteps.

So, I would like to draw your attention to these things particularly today. Please remember that in this changing, revolutionary age, there is place not for the weak but only for those who are prepared to work hard and live in unity and cooperation. Jai Hind!

Please say Jai Hind with me thrice. Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!

Translation ends]

6. In the Rajya Sabha⁷³

The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Mr. Deputy Chairman,⁷⁴ I am grateful to you for allowing me to intervene at this stage in this debate. It was my intention to speak at the end of the discussion; but I discovered suddenly today that this will be continued on Monday next here in this House and unfortunately I shall not be in Delhi on Monday next.⁷⁵ So, I ventured to speak now.

I have not been present here most of the time during this discussion thus far. But I have endeavoured to find out what has been said and have seen some of the reports of the speeches and some of the notes made. Many matters have been referred to which separately and individually have importance, no doubt; but they tend rather to blur the big picture that the President's Address is supposed to present to the country. I think it is always important for us to look at things in the right perspective and not lose ourselves in one thing, however separately important it might be. Of course, some things are most important. Here is the food situation about which my colleague was just speaking.⁷⁶ Nothing can be more important than the food situation in the country. It is obvious. I shall not say much about it except to assure the House that our Government is very very far from being complacent about food matters at any time. It is too vital a matter and only those who are completely oblivious of what happens all

73. Interventions during the debate on the Motion of Thanks on President's Address, 12 Feb. 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXIV, cols 546-562.

74. S. V. Krishnamoorthy Rao.

75. On that Monday, 16 February 1959, Nehru was busy inaugurating the first cooperative sugar mill at Bajpur (now in Uttarakhand).

76. A. P. Jain, the Minister for Food and Agriculture.

around can be complacent. That does not mean that we cannot err or we have not erred occasionally with regard to this matter or the arrangements we have made. But as the house knows very well, we have had to face three bad years and we are just beginning to turn the corner with the good rice crop we have and the good wheat crop of next season. We have come to some rather important decisions with regard to State trading and other matters, not directly connected with food, with the organisation of our land system, co-operatives and the rest which, I think, are intimately connected, really and ultimately, with the food problem and with the business of distribution. When we said we are going in for State trading in wholesale trade, we were—and I repeat what my colleague said—completely earnest about it and we are going to pursue it to the end. But then we pointed out that while we came to this decision, we had no real apparatus for it. Therefore, inevitably we had to go to licensing, authorising some of the old wholesale dealers to buy rice on behalf of the State. That is not a very satisfactory arrangement. We cannot easily control all these wholesale dealers. And secondly, it is obvious that they do not like this change in our policy, and when you make an individual or a group responsible for carrying out a policy which is not to his or its interest, difficulties arise, undoubtedly. But there is no help for it at this stage for us. If we had developed our co-operative organisation a little better as we hope to do, then these difficulties would diminish and ultimately fade away completely. And so from this point of view, apart from others also, it is essential that we should develop our co-operatives in villages and elsewhere.

There has been an argument—I may refer to it although that question, I believe, has not been raised here—about the so-called joint cultivation. Now, what we have said is, we call for service co-operatives in every village in India and union co-operatives above them. But we have said that our objective is joint cultivation which we hope to come to, naturally with the approval and consent of the farmers. But we are going to concentrate on the service co-operatives, for obvious reasons, practical as well as other. We cannot jump into that without compulsion. We do not wish to have that type of compulsion. Indeed, if we did wish, we would fail. But convinced as we are that in the situation in India at present with small holdings, very small holdings—I am not raising a question of high principle but the practical question—with conditions in India. I believe it is essential to have larger units to be farmed together, not one or two acres or three acres, so that they can take advantage of modern techniques, implements and resources. Therefore, personally I am convinced that this is the right course. We can never make any considerable progress in farming if our units are small and we can only have big units by having big landlords or through co-operatives. When we rule out the big landlords, we are

inevitably driven to co-operation. We hope that as these service co-operatives spread out all over the country and joint cultivation also takes place here and there, the example of that and the results that flow from it will themselves be the greatest arguments in favour of joint cultivation. In fact, hon. Members might be surprised to know that even now in India there are many hundreds and possibly more than a thousand or nearly two thousand joint cultivation farms. I cannot say, I have no figures, to show the success they have attained—all of them—but some of them, I know, have succeeded very well. In fact, they have come to me—the farmers—and told me. We are at present going through a process of change, transition.

4 P.M.

Naturally, there are many individuals, groups, classes if you like, who do not like this change and who, therefore, criticise it. I am not imputing any motives to them. But they criticise it because they thought along certain lines, and they, I suppose, are convinced that such a thing will not be good for the country. They have a right to criticise it. I do not complain of that, but I am merely pointing out the difficulties that we have to face when we have to function temporarily through the very agency which does not like what is happening. This is an illogical position, but there is no escape from it. Any attempt to put an end to that would have meant temporarily—we have no agency at all—some kind of chaos on the food front. That has been our difficulty. Again, in some places foodgrains have gone underground—petty hoarding but on a wide scale, large number of people hoarding it which makes a big difference. And, it may be justifiably said, perhaps, that if we had taken some other steps, this might have been a little less. I am not going into that question, but I am trying to put before the house this question of food in its larger setting. Fortunately, we have this bumper crop of rice this year, and we hope to have a good wheat crop later. So, we have an opportunity of changing over under relatively fair conditions. I hope that we shall be able to build up large stocks of foodgrains, and meanwhile develop these co-operatives through whom we shall deal. Meanwhile, of course, even the temporary high prices of wheat are distressing because, after all, one cannot tell a hungry person that we shall get him a meal next week or next month. It is absurd to tell him like that. It is distressing, and steps should be taken and are being taken to meet the situation. I regret that in this matter we do not get the co-operation of many people in the business—people who hoard or who cause higher prices or sometimes who wish to exercise that pressure on Government or agencies so that prices may be raised. All that is happening. But, fortunately, this cannot be of long duration, because

certainly by the end of next month, when the new crop comes in, this policy will not help them—those who are hoarding and keeping back. So, I hope that we shall give relief even in this intervening period, and by the end of next month or even perhaps a little earlier arrive at a stage when we can take adequate measures to meet most of the difficulties that might arise then.

Some of the other points mentioned—and they have been raised in the series of amendments—are the normal ones, if I may say so—Goa, Pakistan and the like. Well, it is true that Goa is not mentioned in this Address. Not that Goa is forgotten by anybody. We cannot forget, nobody in India can forget it. But at the same time I do not understand what any hon. Member expects us to say about Goa.⁷⁷ Possibly some might think that some brave words might be helpful—and sometimes brave words are helpful—but brave words by themselves might have the opposite result if they are merely words. Our policy in regard to Goa is absolutely clear. We can never agree to, or tolerate, the idea of any foreign foothold in India, and by India, I mean not the Union of India as it is today, but that Union of India plus Goa which is part of India whosoever may at the present moment be there. At the same time we have said that we shall try, to achieve our end through peaceful methods, not only as a matter of principle but as a matter of practical politics. In the world, as it is today, it is dangerous to try to solve problems by military methods. No one knows where it may end. And if we try to do it, it would be a negation of the policy that we have proclaimed and tried to act up to through all these years. I realise that is distressing. I realise, above all, that it is exasperating. Sometimes we find—even now—that in spite of this policy of ours large numbers of political prisoners exists in Goa—some of them still Indian nationals, others may be technically Portuguese nationals, but they belong as much to India as anyone else. It is distressing that they should be kept there, and kept there under very bad conditions. Now I do not like to criticise other countries, but this House knows that this problem of Goa, well, is connected obviously with Portugal itself, and the conditions in Portugal are not a bright and shining example of freedom, liberty, democracy or anything. In fact, it is the exact opposite of that and it becomes tied up with other problems in the world. So, while Goa may be a small piece of territory in India, but not at present belonging to India, it is tied

77. Mulka Govinda Reddy, Congress, MP from Mysore, observed that since Portugal was part of NATO, the UK and America would not support India and the Government of India might have to leave Goa with Portugal.

up with all kinds of major problems in the world and to seek a solution of it by military methods in the wider context of the world would be to ignore all this wider context and to give up the policy we have sought to pursue. That policy has, I believe, been more and more understood by other countries. The fact that in Portugal itself things have happened which have elicited the strong disapproval of most countries itself indicates the state of affairs in Goa. If in the so-called mother or father country, i.e. Portugal, this kind of thing happens, what can you expect in a colonial territory which belongs to it here or in Africa?

Then, about Pakistan. There are various amendments expressing displeasure because we are continually, it is said, trying to appease Pakistan, because we do not hold up the honour of India with sufficient force and claim. Well, Sir, I do not quite know what to say about it, about this matter, because the Pakistan problem or the problems of Indo-Pakistan relations are always with us. We are constantly dealing with them, whether in the shape of questions and answers in this House or in many other ways. We can never forget it. It is too near a problem, near not only geographically but in so many other ways that we just cannot get away from it even if we want to. But when we are charged with appeasing Pakistan—on the other hand other people, of course in Pakistan, charge us with something the very opposite of this—what exactly is the fact or, at any rate, the policy we seek to pursue? What does appeasement mean? If appeasement means trying to win over Pakistan, trying to be friendly with Pakistan, trying to create an atmosphere of friendliness between us and help the solution of problems, then certainly we appease Pakistan and we will continue to appease Pakistan. If appeasement means giving up any right of ours, giving up any principle of ours or surrendering to any threat, then we are entirely opposed to that and we shall always be opposed to that. So, these words do not have any particular meaning; it depends on how you approach a problem. Sometimes something happens which exasperates us, irritates us and we react for the moment strongly; sometimes something happens which on the whole has a more favourable reception. Well, we react accordingly but the basic policy is something bigger than that.

Now, talking about immediate issues, a certain announcement the other day by the Pakistan Government has been welcome to us and that was an announcement giving directions to the broadcasting stations in Pakistan that they should not indulge in anti-Indian propaganda and, to some extent, as far as I know, that direction has been observed thus far. Well, we welcome it and we always try to avoid this kind of mutual recriminations. These are all reactions, expressions from time to time but the basic questions are deeper, as the House knows. The most basic question is this: India and Pakistan, being what they

are, geographically, historically, culturally and all that, should obviously have a common policy of co-operating with each other, to be friends with each other; they may go their different ways that they like politically or economically but they should not be hostile to each other all the time. We suffer, both of us. It is now a dozen years since Partition and the passions of those days have cooled down to some extent and we can view the problem with a measure of objectiveness but that does not and cannot mean any question of surrendering the basic right or interest of India or surrendering to threats from the other side. We have to find some kind of balance between these and, at any rate, whatever we may say or feel, I believe that in the relations of India and Pakistan, as I hope in the relations of other countries, there should always be an attempt at a friendly approach and we should avoid recrimination and condemnation. I realise that we cannot always do that. Sometimes truth compels us to say something which is not of liking to the other party but even the bitterest truth could be expressed in non-bitter language at least. To some extent we learnt that in our apprenticeship under Gandhiji and, in this connection, may I say this? Many of the amendments here protest against the Address not having said this or that, not having said, let us say, about the Baghdad Pact or the attempts at a bilateral treaty between Pakistan and the United States of America or something that has happened in Africa or in Western Asia. All these amendments are in terms of condemnation, recrimination and brave words and gestures. I would hope that we would grow out of these somewhat immature references to difficult problems. I can understand strong feelings sometimes about things that are happening but the major thing is that we do not help even in solving the problem or even help going towards a solution. Either we realise that we must solve problems, whether they are world problems or internal problems or we feel that a conflict is inevitable and, therefore, we should keep our swords shining and bright and should be up and about all the time. We must decide which kind of approach we should make. Now, I am not discussing the problem. I am not for giving up of any principle which we consider important but what I am discussing is the manner of approach, either holding to our principles yet not being offensive and trying to soothe, or, the other way of using threatening language and threatening gestures which has become so common in the world today. I would beg of this House and our country in this matter, quite apart from anything else to at least remember the way in which Gandhiji dealt with his declared opponents of the time, against whom he was struggling.

Having said this, I dispose of, if I may say so with respect, the various amendments dealing with what the President has not said in his Address. They do not like many of the things that are happening in the world. We also do not approve of the Baghdad Pact; we never approved of it and we have expressed

that many times. We do not approve of all these military alliances and we have viewed with apprehension the military aid that has been given by the United States to Pakistan because we have felt that that was something which had an unsettling effect. We believe that all these military pacts instead of ensuring security wherever they had come, perhaps, I will not make that sweeping remark, but certainly I would say that most of these military pacts to the East, or to the West of India have had an unsettling effect and even the existing security, such as it was, has been lessened and not increased. We have expressed that. So far as the Baghdad Pact is concerned, and this military aid that has been given to Pakistan, it has been our firm opinion that this has not been good for anybody concerned, to no one I say, not to India, not for Pakistan and not for the United States. We have expressed that very clearly but it is no good our condemning anybody about it. I believe, in fact I am certain, that our views are felt in the United States and further that they have had some considerable influence. We are, if you look at this wide world, in a curious state today in regard to international problems and all the minor problems, whether it is military aid to Pakistan whether it is the Baghdad Pact or the NATO or the SEATO or the Warsaw Pact, are all offshoots of the basic struggle, of the basic tug-of-war that goes on between the two major groups. I do not propose at this stage to discuss this matter except again to affirm that the policy that India has followed in this matter, that is the policy of non-alignment, has, I believe, not only justified itself completely but has been appreciated by many people who used to criticise it previously and it has won recognition even where people did not like it. I do believe that it is among those lines that we can render some service not only to ourselves but to the world and we propose to continue it fully. It is only when we are in some matters rather friendly to another country, the country opposed to it imagines that we are weakening in our policy of non-alignment, while it is our declared policy, intention and objective to try to be friendly all the time to all the countries. Again, I repeat, friendliness does not mean giving up a principle or an interest because a country that is friendly through fear is not friendly at all. That is not friendliness, if you are afraid of the other party and you shape your policy because of fear. Just if I may quote, in another context, even Gandhiji who was such an apostle of Ahimsa, said he did not believe, he did not accept a man calling himself a satyagrahi, who was a coward or who was afraid. That is not satyagrahi. In fact, he went further. He said if you have a sword in your heart, it is better to take it out and use it than talk softly outside and keep the sword in your heart and be false to yourself and to others. So, it is not through fear that way, I hope, we have these policies or that we are trying to be friendly with others but because we do believe that that is the best way of putting across our own ideas to the others, because that

opens the minds of others, makes them receptive to what we have to say. When two countries are hating each other, minds are closed and no one can influence the other, and you have a basis of fear than which there can be no worse companion for an individual or a country. The situation is pretty serious all over the world. Nevertheless, there are some signs, some ray of hope. And may I say that I welcome the fact that the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Mr. Macmillan, will soon be going to the Soviet Union for talks there? I do not mean to say that some sudden settlement is going to emerge from that. Problems are much too intricate and difficult, but all these visits, even if they tend to lessen tensions somewhat, even if they encourage just talks with each other, are helpful and, therefore, are to be welcomed.

Now, Sir, I would draw particular attention to some parts of the President's Address which endeavour to look at these problems in the larger perspective. There is, of course, the domestic part—what we do in India—and that concerns us most, that concerns us not only directly in regard to our domestic situation, but even in regard to foreign affairs, international affairs, it concerns us, because if we are to play any effective part in world affairs we can only do so if our domestic situation is strong and united. Otherwise, we do not count. We see many other countries today which are not free from a good deal of domestic problems where situations are fluid, which means, that they cannot exercise, or their voice does not carry, much weight elsewhere. Therefore, from every point of view, it is the domestic situation in India that is the most important thing for us. In this domestic situation, we deal with problems as they arise, food situation, this, that and the other. But we must have longer goals. What are those? One, of course, may be defined, to some extent, as the five year plans. Now, I should like to draw the attention of this House to a sentence in the President's Address, paragraph 6, after talking about the Second Plan:-

“Our Second Plan is only part of the whole process of planned development of our economy. The steps we now take are but stages along the long and arduous road to planned prosperity and my Government, through the Planning Commission, have already initiated consideration and studies of the Third Plan. It is hoped that by the end of the Third Plan, a sound foundation will have been laid for future progress in regard to our basic industries, agricultural production and rural development, thus leading to a self-reliant and self-generating economy.”

Now, what exactly does that mean? It means that if we progress, as we would like to progress, by the end of the Third Plan, we will have established, what the President has called, a self-generating and self-feeding economy. That is, we will have crossed the barrier from the stage of underdevelopment to a stage when we begin to, develop with the very impetus of what we have done.

That does not mean solution of all our problems. Of course, not. Five year plans will come one after the other, raising us to higher levels. But it does mean crossing that dreadful barrier which separates an underdeveloped country from a developing country, developing through its own resources. It means, if we have to give effect to this, that we have to make a mighty effort in these seven years from now—two years of the Second Plan and five years of the Third Five Year Plan in order to achieve this end. It means, first of all, on the agricultural front success, success not merely in producing enough food for us, self-sufficiency as it is called, but more than that, so that we should not remain at the mercy of a bad monsoon or some other natural catastrophe, so that we may not have to depend upon other countries, so that we can even export it where we can and get other things in exchange. That is basic to the position.

The other basic thing is a sound foundation of heavy industry because if we industrialise, as the President says we must, industrialisation can only proceed on the basis of certain well-known heavy industries being established, whether it is iron and steel, whether it is machine-making industry and the like. That is to say, if we want an iron and steel plant in the Fourth Plan, or indeed in a part of the Third Plan, we should be able to manufacture that complete iron and steel plant in India. And I mention that because that is a big plant. That means other plants too. It does not mean that we will not import from abroad. Of course, we will. It does mean that we can carry on without anybody's help after that and the words used in this Address are: We will have established a 'self-generating economy'.

I need not tell this House, as honourable Members must know very well, that this assumes a tremendous effort. It is not a question of words or resolutions, but of organised, combined, united and continued effort. Only then can we bring this about. That is the picture placed before this House on behalf of the Government.

And what are the objectives, apart from the basic objective, which is stated towards the end of the Address:-

"It is the policy, and it will continue to be the endeavour of my Government, to seek in all possible ways to uphold the dignity and independence of our land and people and to promote our unity and social well-being and to build a democratic and socialist society, in which progress is sought and attained by peaceful means and by consent."

That is the basic objective. But immediately the principal objectives which we have accepted are:-

"A substantial increase in national income, rapid industrialisation, expansion of employment on a sufficient scale, and a reduction in inequalities of

income and wealth.”

Those are the four basic things, to which is added:-

“The Government will continue to aid and support small and cottage industries.”

That is added lest we thought that that is not included in rapid industrialisation. I believe in rapid industrialisation, the heavy industry and the rest of it coming. Without that I do not think we can ever industrialise ourselves. But I equally believe in the conditions that exist in India now and that will exist in the foreseeable future, in this widespread effort at small and cottage industries being developed all over India and more especially in our rural areas. And our instructions, to the community development movement today are first to concentrate on food production; secondly on cottage and small industries. Of course, there are ever so many other things that we have to deal with. Each is inter-related. You cannot separate one from the other. It depends on how you approach the question. For instance, education becomes basic. You cannot make any progress on any front without education. And I sometimes feel that although we have said a great deal about education, in spite of that, perhaps we have not done quite as much as we ought to have done, because it is basic. Health again becomes basic in whichever way you look. You have to advance on a variety of fronts. If you advance on one front, something else comes and attacks you on the flanks, on the sides. All this can only be done by a planned effort to the best of our ability. No planning is perfect or can be perfect. It is full of mistakes because it deals with uncertain and human factors, factors beyond our control, international factors. Nevertheless not to plan is really admitting failure and allowing things just to drift. You cannot progress by drifting and by merely good wishes or by slogans.

Now, I should like to draw the attention of the House to one or two other matters. Of course, the House knows well about the starting of pig iron production in Rourkela and Bhilai a few days ago. That is in a sense a significant moment in the history of our industrialisation, the first big step. We have done many things, but that is the first big step, and it does not mean that we can relax but it will certainly after a year or so help us greatly in our future advances.

Then, the House also knows about the situation in regard to our oil exploration. We have met with a greater success in the initial stages than we had a right to expect. But we are still, let us remember, in the initial stages. We are sure of oil, it can be a certainty, but we cannot say without greater drilling and exploration as to what the reserves of oil are. It is important to know how much they are, but we are sure of them, and that is something. We are sure of it also in parts of Assam apart from those which are being exploited now. We

have decided on a new refinery being set up in Assam and another at Barauni in Bihar.⁷⁸

I should like to repeat here what I have said previously that one of the most satisfactory features about this oil exploration has been the remarkable progress made by our own young engineers who are doing this work. We started from scratch. We had never done this ourselves, and oil, in fact, in most countries in the world has been run by large combines, big trusts. So, we started from scratch and we got hold of some young men, young scientists, young geologists, and after two years or so they have turned out to be first class men for this particular work, not only technically first class but full of enthusiasm for this work. Only recently I heard of a very high tribute paid to our Oil and Natural Gas Commission workers by a very eminent and expert authority from the United States.

Then, atomic energy. It is a curious thing which always reminds us of this country of ours, and of how varied it is and how it manages to live in every century at the same time, not only in the mediaeval ages but in the pre-mediaeval ages and also in the middle of the 20th century. You find everything here, from the latest technique to the oldest. I do not know, but I suppose gradually this will change no doubt; but still we have an enormous capacity for co-existence in this country. Anyhow, whatever other backwardness there might be—and there are many emblems of it in India—in atomic energy we are fairly well advanced. I am not comparing ourselves, of course, with great countries like, the United States of America, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom, or the other countries like Canada and France, but considering our general economic state, it is really most gratifying to note that very considerable advances have in the development of atomic energy, and we are thinking now and have decided, on an atomic power station. One thing to which the President refers is that for the first time, less than two weeks ago, our uranium plant produced automatically pure uranium metal, which is significant in our atomic energy development work.

The House knows also the great progress we are making in producing all kinds of things in our ordnance factories.

One matter which often exercises Members' minds here is the question of rehabilitation, more especially, those from East Pakistan. It is a matter which we should always bear in mind because of the human factors involved. It has

78. Both refineries were in the public sector, the one at Assam with Romanian collaboration and expected to be ready in 1961, the other at Barauni with Russian help to be completed in 1963.

surprised me very greatly that some hon. Members appear to be dissatisfied with the tremendous schemes that have been launched for rehabilitation at Dandakaranya. I should have thought that this Dandakaranya scheme was a visible sign of the extreme importance that we attach to this problem of the unfortunate displaced persons who have come from East Pakistan, to give them opportunities of growth which they could not have anywhere else, whether they remained in East Pakistan or West Bengal or anywhere. But apart from that, it is well known that there is precious little room in West Bengal for large scale rehabilitation apart from what has been done. It has surprised me therefore that objections should be raised and agitations should be started against the closing of the camps and the removal of those in the camps to these new sites for rehabilitation. Personally, I should have thought that keeping people on dole is a very bad thing, not only for the country but more so for them. It is a bad thing. They deteriorate, and they are a tremendous cost, unproductive cost, to the nation, but somehow we could do nothing else and we carried vast numbers of people on doles at a very great cost, at a cost which does not produce anything in the end for them or the country. So, we had to come to this decision. We ought to have come to it long ago. Anyhow we had come to the decision to wind up these camps and rehabilitate these people in other places, in other States and at Dandakaranya. Of course, when we say that, it does not mean that incapable people, children, women, etc., will not be cared for. Of course, they will be cared for. But they stand apart.

Finally, Sir, I would point out that all these great programmes that we see in perspective, and that are around us cannot be realised without a very great deal of co-operative effort. No Government, however wise and well meaning it might be, can succeed without that co-operation, and I do not presume to say that the Government I have the honour to preside over is so wise and so brilliant as to solve all the problems of India. In the measure that we succeed it is only because of the co-operation received from the people of India, and I do appeal to this House and to others outside this House that, while we have every right to hold our opinions, to criticise Government's policy, in the broader tasks before us—they are not party tasks, they are national tasks—in this tremendous adventure we seek the co-operation of all.

7. Draft for Maulana Azad Lecture? ⁷⁹

ODD NOTES

(15 February 1959)

The growth of nationalism in Asia is obvious, but even in Europe it is more and more apparent. De Gaulle⁸⁰ typifies this ardent nationalist urge. In other countries of Europe this is also evident in greater or lesser degree. This trend is co-existent with an opposite trend towards supra-national unity in Europe represented by attempts to develop a common market and many common institutions.

Even in Communist countries, nationalism in evidence. The Soviet Union, purely influenced by Marxist ideas, has certainly also strong nationalist element. Chinese Communism basically nationalist.

Indeed it might be said that the strength of Communism, wherever it is in practice, is partly due to its association with the national spirit. Where the two are dissociated, Communism is relatively weak, except insofar as it embodies the discontent that exists in underdeveloped and poverty-stricken countries.

The urge for social justice a dominating emotion and urge today all over the world. Marxism gains its emotional appeal (apart from such intellectual appeal as it has) as it stands for social justice. The appeal of socialism generally is also that of social justice.

In this age of science anything that has a scientific approach about it, as opposed to traditional approaches, has a certain instinctive appeal, partly a reaction against old tradition which has failed to satisfy and partly a feeling that thereby we are keeping in step with the march of history.

Clash between impulses towards larger integration (such as in Europe) and the centrifugal forces now arising representing traditional nationalism.

This nationalist urge, in countries which are still under foreign domination, necessarily takes the form of a struggle for independence. In strong and independent countries, it tends, to some extent, towards Chauvinism. In the old days this extreme and aggressive nationalism was represented by Fascism and Nazism. Something resembling that again visible, though it is checked by opposing tendencies.

79. Unsigned first draft of speech, 15 and 16 Feb. 1959, JN Collection. This seems to have been written for a major speech, most likely the Maulana Azad Memorial Lecture (see pp. 93-116).

80. Charles de Gaulle, the President of France.

Conflict between two major ideologies in the world today resulting in cold war. One a positive one—Communism, the other rather negative—anti-Communism. Both use the word ‘democracy’ in different senses. There are basic differences in outlook in economic doctrine as well as in the domain of liberty and the State, and yet these differences gradually tend to lessen, and the gap between the two, though broad and deep, diminishes. In effect, the growth of science and technology is moulding social and economic structures. Function influences form. This is so in architecture. It is equally so ultimately in social structure, the form of that structure following its function. As science and technology change functions, the social structure has necessarily to adapt itself in form to these new functions.

Actually this process going on in every country. Where functions are changing more rapidly because of technological advance, the forms have also to change more rapidly. Where technological change is slow, the old forms continue. This means that an underdeveloped and backward community necessarily has backward forms of social structure which do not fit in with the modern age of science and technology. A revolutionary change scraps conventional old forms in expectation of new developments and functions following rapidly. Even without such a revolutionary upset, where there is technological change, forms have to change, though the process may not be quite so rapid and evident.

In a democratic society, that is where there is adult suffrage and some kind of parliamentary government, the means are provided for the change of function and even form to some extent. But old established forms resisting change till it is forced down upon them by circumstances. The “establishment” is always resistant to any change, whether it is religious or social.

Normal living is a continual adjustment to happenings. Every political, economic or social form has a certain discipline. There is the discipline of religion and the discipline of social usage. These disciplines include a certain moral discipline or spiritual discipline. When the form tends to change these disciplines are weakened till a new discipline takes their place.

The Industrial Revolution brought about economic changes of great magnitude. Progressively they affected the old forms and social structures. The rapidity of technological change in the last half a century has made the purpose of social change or the necessity of it greater than ever and there is continual maladjustment. In the ancient days life was simpler and more in contact with nature. There was time for reflection and meditation. Now life becomes more and more complex, and the act of quiet thinking less and less. Even when there is leisure one does not know what to do with this leisure. The habit of thinking has grown much less.

The problem of leisure in the developed countries. Moral and spiritual discipline which religion or social usage gave breaks up. Changing ideas of morality and standards. Disillusion. The sense of something wrong with our civilization. No going back to the old ways and the new material civilization, though satisfying many important needs, yet not satisfying in some ways.

One sees an exhaustion of our old civilizations, both mental and physical, and at the same time the stirrings of a new civilization.

The conquest of the physical world and of external conditions, but a weakening of the moral fibre. Science advancing beyond the comprehension of most people of the human race. Neurosis, juvenile delinquency, absence of belief in anything.

The old question in a new form—What is the meaning of life? Truth, beauty and goodness have no particular place in a purely mechanical civilization.

Communism gives a certain purpose to life and is thus a kind of religion, but it has its own dogmas.

Marx primarily moved by the ghastly conditions that prevailed in the early days of industrialisation in England, France and Germany. Also at that time there was no truly democratic structure of the State, and changes could hardly be made constitutionally. Hence revolutionary violence offered the only way to change. Since then tremendous changes chiefly because of technological advance. Capitalism today, though maintaining and to some extent even aggravating its basic features and tending towards monopolies and aggregations of economic power, nevertheless very considerably checked by the democratic structure of the State and the power this gives to the masses of the people. Also the demand for social justice and the need for forms and structures which can be more easily adapted to the modern scientific age. In theory, therefore, and perhaps also in practice, the possibility of changing economic structures and social forms peacefully in spite of resistance by vested interests.

Advance of Science and Technology makes it definitely possible to solve many of the economic problems of the world and, in particular, to provide the primary necessities of life to everyone all over the world. The Welfare State today is the ideal not only of socialism but of capitalism also, though the approaches are different. Thus, the basic ideals come nearer to each other and there is a possibility of approaching those objectives through different methods. Naturally, those methods will have to depend upon the background of a country or a community—geographical, historical, cultural, economic, social, religious, etc. Any real change cannot easily be imposed. It has to grow. A country, especially one with an old civilisation, has deep roots in the past, which cannot be pulled out without great harm, even though many weeds in the form of harmful or out-of-date customs can and should be pulled out. Even as Nature

establishes some kind of an equilibrium which cannot be disturbed suddenly without untoward results appearing so also in a community or a country, it is not easy or desirable to upset old ways of living too suddenly. The attempt to solve a problem in this way might well lead to graver and more difficult problems.

This applies even to the external world we live in, much more so does it apply to the inner life of human beings. In fact, the rapidity of travel today, in the Jet Age, is creating new problems for human beings. In the next step, when human beings attempt to travel through space, all kinds of biological and other changes may take place.

If that is so externally, then surely even greater changes would take place in the mind, emotions and spirit of man.

Marx more perhaps than others, awakened human conscience.

The pressure of population creates new problems.

The Atomic Age with its horrible weapons also produces new dangers and new problems. Everyone recognizes that they cannot be solved by war, as that would mean ultimate and absolute destruction. The alternative to war is peace and peaceful change. If, as between the Great Power blocs, no change can be brought about by compulsion, the only way is to accept the existence of different forms and social structures and philosophies, and try to influence each other by one's own example and the communion of ideas. Peaceful co-existence. Panchsheel. That is, hostile propaganda against one another to cease. Each country or group to recognize the right of the other to its own economic and social set-up, without encroaching on the other.

Geophysical Year. Exchange of information. This to be extended to all spheres of Science and, in fact, in other matters too.

Science and Technology not part of the ideology of any group—neither Communist nor capitalist. Common ground for all.

Thus a gradual détente which will enable people to consider the problems of the Age in a somewhat more dispassionate way. Aggressive nationalism will tone down and be concerned with their own problems and not with other countries.

The conflict today between the Great Power blocs not essentially between social or economic structures, but rather a political one between two concentrations of power, afraid of each other. It has to be considered, therefore, on a political plane.

Phenomena appearing among youth in many countries causing anxiety to educators, politicians, social workers and parents. A negative attitude towards the patterns of behavior transmitted by adults, a rejection of moral patterns and standards, an emphasis on their being indifferent and a desire for eccentricity, creating their own pattern of behavior and outward appearance. They are

something more than mere cynicism. It is often a negative attitude towards work. Even an inclination to criminality, alcoholism, eroticism and even destruction of public property. These attitudes threaten continuity of national culture and weaken established principles of social co-existence.

How far these due to modern mechanized society which is highly industrialised.

Essence of education to prepare young people to take part in collective life, to perform useful functions for Society.

Effect of films and book.

Conflict between young people and adults due to processes of social and cultural transformation. In a period of speedy changes, they appear sharper.

The tragedy of every generation—the discovery of divergence between idealised and actual picture of the world. In a primitive or static society adjustment relatively easy. Today in the age of the atom bomb, rockets and jet planes, changes rapid. Age of electronic machines and atomic energy. In this world of change and uncertainty, the hedonistic principles of life easily appreciated.

Each society creates its own system of institutions and methods.

Lack of harmony between individual and society.

The relationship to one's own personality. In a mass industrialised society the personality of the individual ceases to be of value in itself and has become an instrument for the efficient realisation of the social improvements of the collective or also of economic aims.

Fascism and Nazism extreme examples of denial of moral values and old standards.

Scientists and technicians create new means of communication, new sources of energy, etc., but their use decided upon by people not capable of understanding them.

The question "Who am I" and "What should I be".

In contemporary world, there is little place for a harmonious, consistent shaping of individual. No ideals of personality find general recognition. The ideal recognized and valued in one group is derided by another. Hence chaotic condition of contemporary society.

Relationship to Nature. The ideas of the physical world completely changing from one of a world built on solid materials, enduring, permanent, expanding and indestructible. Now a world of whirling atomic particles. Possibility of destroying itself by hydrogen bomb explosions or poisoning of atmosphere.

Lack of harmony between a technical civilization and forms of social life and the ideological and philosophical life, as well as the fear that new technical civilization can destroy humanity. Perhaps a new technical base of civilization

will also gradually create a new super-structure, new forms of collective life, a new ideology and philosophy of life.

ODD NOTES (Continued)

Rich countries growing richer. Per capita income going up. In the US, two thousand dollars a year. In under-developed countries it is even difficult to keep up with existing low standards. Even when progress is made in letter, the difference between the rich and poor countries becomes greater.

The dilemma of today: is it that human values cannot control mechanical science, or is it the other way about? The scientific spirit is more human than the machinery of governments.

Man masters Nature not by force, but by understanding. Power is the by-product of understanding.

Never before in human history or evolution has change been so swift, so pervasive, as today. Man now has to live with change as a permanent partner in all his activities and all his institutions.

Old Hindu ideal. It has little importance to history. Always thinking of the life of the spirit.

Hindu philosophy not in direct conflict with progress of science as, for instance, Christian or Islamic cosmology. Hindu philosophy, apart from its rituals and accretions, had a scientific approach and, therefore, can accept advances in science without a break from the past. The ideal of building up a proper community life on earth not so important in Hindu thought as in others, especially in modern development of socialism or capitalism. Thus, a certain conflict between this idea and the absorption in so-called inner life.

Muslims, when they came to India, had to face new problem—how to live with others as equals. Previously, the relations with others were different. In another sense, high caste Hindus, though their philosophy was tolerant, did not socially know how to live with others. Both Muslims and Hindus thus in a sense closed systems, and the problem for both was how to develop relations with outsiders. Co-existence. This problem slowly solved, but not completely, when other influences came into play.

The same difficulty of considering others as equals, and not inferior, appears in Christianity and so-called Western civilisation. This added to by industrial growth.

Racialism. South Africa.

The drabness of the Welfare State. A civilisation losing faith in itself.

Communists are the metaphysicians of the present age.

Whether religion as such is necessary or not, a certain belief or faith

essential for the individual as well as to community. This gives a sense of purpose beyond the demands of our daily lives.

Communism gives a purpose, a kind of religion, but in some ways it is limited and limiting. Man is a social animal. Yes, but he is something more. Marx profound in many ways, and yet there is a certain naivette in Marxism.

What is the spiritual current of the present age? What can produce that moral and spiritual discipline which religion once gave?

India's basic thought contained in the Upanishads. Message of the Buddha. Asoka. The Gita. This thought universal and not in opposition to science, though it goes beyond the present confines of science. The Ramayana and the Mahabharatha. Their vast effect on the mass of our people. Without this background of thought of the Upanishads etc. and the Ramayana and the Mahabharatha, the Indian people would be something quite different from what they have been and are.

Vivekananda. Gandhi. One has to build on those foundations, though the essential principles have to be adapted to changing conditions.

8. In the Lok Sabha⁸¹

Mr. Speaker:⁸² The House will now resume further consideration of the motion moved by Shri Kasliwal⁸³ and seconded by Shri Joachim Alva⁸⁴ on the 13th February 1959, and amendments thereto.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I must begin on a note of apology for not having been present here throughout the discussions on this Motion, as I was absent from Delhi for one day and heavily occupied on other days. I was present for some time. I have, however, tried to remedy that lapse by reading the official verbatim record of the speeches made by hon. Members, more particularly the leading Members, on the other side of the House. I have read specially the speech of Shri S.A.

81. Reply to the Debate on the Motion of Thanks to the President's Address in the Lok Sabha, 19 Feb. 1959, *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XXV, cols 1930-1959.

82. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, Speaker, and Congress, MP from Chittoor, Andhra Pradesh.

83. Nemi Chandra Kasliwal, Congress, MP from Kota, Rajasthan.

84. Joachim Alva, Congress, MP from Kanara, Mysore.

Dange⁸⁵ with its seeming profundity and light cynicism, the speech of Acharya Kripalani with all its earnest appeal, and the war like saga of Shri M.R. Masani.⁸⁶

The first thing I should like to say is—and I say this almost every year on such an occasion—that there appears to be some misapprehension as to what the President's Address to a joint session of the two Houses should be. I think Shri Dange said that the Address was lifeless and not inspiring. Shri Khadilkar⁸⁷ said that the speech utterly lacked urgency, vigour and vitality; it should be more analytical and critical, showing where Government had gone wrong and so on. Now, I fear nothing that I can say is likely to inspire the hon. Member, Shri Dange. His inspiration is from sources not available to me. But what Shri Khadilkar said presumes that our President is more or less in the position of the President of the United States with his State of the Union message which he sometimes gives—an analytical survey. It is obvious that our President is not constitutionally or otherwise in that position and it would not be fair to him or fair to this House for the President to function in any other way than is laid down in the Constitution. Therefore, his annual Address is necessarily not an analytical and critical document, except very broadly speaking; it is to be rather a simple narration of what has been done; giving some idea of the major things that Government is going to undertake. If we have to start some other convention in this matter, I do not know how it will fit in with such ideas of our Constitution and the President's position as have thus far been accepted by us.

In the various speeches made in this House, many matters have been referred to. I think there have been several references to the case of Shri Mathai. Many other subjects have come up too, and more particularly there has even been mention of something which had not been previously mentioned in any context in this House, that is, the possibilities of civil war in this country. So the debate has covered a wide field. I should like, if I may, to refer to some of these matters because to refer to every point raised would make what I have to say much too discursive and without much point.

I would right away say a few words about Shri Mathai's case⁸⁸ which seems to have agitated a number of Members opposite, and to which reference has been made in the speeches. Now, I welcome any kind of inquiry that can be made about any matter which raises doubts in Members' minds. I have

85. S. A. Dange, CPI, MP from Bombay City Central-SC, Bombay State.

86. M. R. Masani, Independent, MP from Ranchi East-ST, Bihar.

87. Raghunath Keshav Khadilkar, MKP, MP from Ahmedabad, Bombay State.

88. M.O. Mathai, Special Assistant to the Prime Minister, resigned on 12 February 1959 following allegations of corruption. His resignation was accepted on 18 February. See pp. 374-391.

always been willing, if ever I am approached, to give such information as I have, whether outside the House or in answer to questions. When questions were asked in this House and in the other House, I endeavoured to give answers to the particular questions. Naturally, I could not go into the history of it or give a long account of all connected matters. When I found that because of public interests, because of the interest of Members in this House and because of the importance of certain charges and insinuations made it was desirable to have this matter considered in its wider context as a whole comprehensively, I decided not to give information piecemeal which did not seem to satisfy Members, because some of the questions put to me were rather extraordinary, extraordinary in the sense that they were hardly questions; they were something more than questions. And in the speeches made too, it seems to be almost accepted that something very grave has happened—without waiting for all the facts. Therefore, I decided that it was better for this matter to be considered in all its fullness by someone who could prepare a report on it to be considered and at that time it will be for us to decide what, if any; further steps should be taken in this matter. So I asked our Cabinet Secretary⁸⁹ to ascertain all the facts that he could in this matter from the various allegations and charges made, whether in any question in this House or in the press, if it was available, and report to me so that I would be in a better position to submit such a report or my own report on it to you Sir. I have done that. And because these matters involve—these charges involve—financial matters, it is my intention when the Cabinet Secretary sends his report or note to me on these subjects, to send it to my colleague the Finance Minister⁹⁰ and separately to the Comptroller and Auditor-General⁹¹ so that they may judge the financial proprieties and improprieties of my action that had been taken.

When a person has been in fairly intimate contact with another, then, two consequences flow. One is that he is presumed to know him better and more intimately and to be in a better position to judge that man. The other possible consequence is that he might be rather partial to him. One is an advantage; the other is a disadvantage. In my event, I decided that this matter should be considered without my own opinions coming in the way. And, therefore, as I said, I decided that when the Cabinet Secretary submits his report, I shall request my colleague the Finance Minister to look into it and to give me his advice in the matter and separately I shall ask the Auditor-General to consider whether the proprieties were observed or whether any improprieties were

89. Vishnu Sahay.

90. Morarji Desai.

91. M. C. Setalvad.

committed in this matter. Because I want these to be considered rather fully and because I want it to cover the period since Mr. Mathai joined me—and that was 12 years ago—it will take a little time to get all these facts to be ascertained.

I am not interested in what Mr. Mathai did before he came to me; but, ever since he came to me, naturally my interest begins. I may point out—hon. Members may not perhaps know it—that he came to me very considerably before there was any talk of my being in any Government, I forget exactly, about a year and a half before, I think, and there was no question of his coming to a prospective Prime Minister or any government official. And so, I have asked the Cabinet Secretary to do this, that is from the time he came to me, to have some broad knowledge of the situation and more precisely in regard to the actual allegations made.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:⁹² Does it mean that the period prior to that will not be enquired into—that the Rs. 2 lakhs or Rs. 3 lakhs which he built up while he was in the establishment of the United States Army will not be enquired into?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, Sir; that is precisely what it means. I am not going to enquire into that, that is a separate matter—whether it is to be gone into by somebody. I cannot go on enquiring into everybody's previous life. But, I am interested and the House has a right to be interested in what has happened since he has been connected with me or in government service.

Now I would like to add again that I welcome the interest that Members of this House take in a matter which creates any doubt in their minds and where they feel proprieties have not been observed. That is right. But, I would with all respect say that I have been a little surprised at the manner in which this question has been pursued, and almost an element of persecution has come in that approach outside and here, because that, I think, is the last thing which hon. Members would desire. They want the truth; they want justice to be done. They want the standards of integrity to be maintained. I am sure no one here wishes that a kind of witch-hunt should take place whenever some such thing comes up to our notice. There has been, in the press, Sir—and I am not for the moment complaining of anybody but I am stating a fact—a tendency for matters to be sensationalised.

May I mention another simple instance? The other day, in a periodical not famous for its reputation for responsibility or truth, a letter was reproduced

92. CPI, MP from Basirhat, West Bengal.

which Mr. Mathai had written about 9 years ago. The letter was addressed to Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru.⁹³ Simply because Mr. Mathai's case is before the public, it was published. I do not know where the paper got this letter from; it was hinted that it was got from a sweetmeat seller; the sweetmeat was wrapped up in it. It may be. In this letter which was reproduced, for example, Mr. Mathai had said: The Prime Minister has asked me to send you a cheque for Rs. 5,000 for relief. He regrets he may not be able to send it to you regularly.

Most hon. Members of this House probably know Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru, one of the respected persons in Delhi city who, at that time more especially and since, was devoting herself to the relief of the displaced persons from Pakistan, especially women. She was an honorary Adviser of the Ministry of Rehabilitation. Of course, the Ministry was helping these people. In cases where there was urgency she came to me and said: I can't always wait for governmental slow processes when urgent help is needed. So, I used to give her some money for which she gave me long accounts. And this Rs. 5,000 I gave her for relief. This is the kind of thing that is reproduced in this periodical—to suggest that, since she is the wife of a cousin of mine, I was giving her a sort of pension from government funds. (Interruption.)

I think I should like to go on now to Mr. Masani's speech. I regret I was not here, but I have read every word of it in the official report because in the course of a varied experience in this House for the last 11 years that was a novel experience. That was a novel experience and I believe it is the first time that any hon. Member of this House has talked and threatened a civil war if something was done.

Shri M.R. Masani: The Prime Minister will give me a moment. Will he read the verbatim text? There was no sign of threat; it was a caution. This is what I said:

"If Members feel I used a harsh term, if I mentioned civil war, that is what I feared. If any serious attempt is made to come to the peasants of Ranchi and Chota Nagpur and tell them to give their land, I say, whether we like it or not, blood would be shed. It is to warn the Government against taking such a step, to warn against taking steps which may lead this country to a horrible thing like this that I am raising this question."

Surely, threat has nothing to do with it.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have also got a quotation in inverted commas from his speech with me. He referred to the question more than once. He said that if this

93. Wife of Brijlal Nehru, and a well-known social worker.

thing is done, that is, cooperative farming, it can only be by threat or by coercion.

"I do not hesitate to say that if a serious attempt is made it will lead to civil war and bloodshed and the death of thousands of people in this country. We will never accept such a commitment."

Shri M.R. Masani: One word is missing—'unfortunate'. It is missing in the Prime Minister's text..... (interruptions.) I wish the Prime Minister discusses co-operative farming and not draw this red herring across the trail.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The second one was what the hon. Member has quoted about his constituency where he is so intimately connected with the Adivasis. He has said:

"Such people will never give up their land with whatever slogan you may approach them. If Members feel that I use a harsh term, if I talk of civil war, I mean this...

Shri M.R. Masani: It is an uncorrected text; I have got it corrected.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It goes further:

"If any serious attempt is made to come to the peasants of Ranchi and Chota Nagpur and to tell them to give up their land and to get into the big co-operatives as in China, I may say, whether you like it or not, blood will be shed."

I am glad to notice that he is in a more chastened mood and wants to correct his previous speech.

Mr. Speaker: No honourable Member is entitled to put a new word into his speech.....(Interruptions.)

Shri Jaipal Singh:⁹⁴ May I point out that any hon. Member may recite only the corrected text because as you know things are sent to us for correction. Certain words are missing.

Mr. Speaker: It was not brought to my notice. The hon. Members will kindly look into the rules. No hon. Member is entitled to put a new word into his speech or to correct any expression which he has used. Whatever it may be, it is left to the Speaker, if it is objectionable, to expunge it; it is

94. Jharkhand Party, MP from Ranchi West-ST, Bihar.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

not for him to say after second thought that he ought to have said so. So, he must take the consequence of whatever he has stated here.

Shri M.R. Masani: The text is incomplete. The word 'unfortunate' was missing. I put it in because I uttered it.

Shri Joachim Alva: Some of us were present when he talked of civil war.....
(Interruptions.)

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: May I continue?

Mr. Speaker: It is not necessary to pursue this matter.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not interested in a particular word. If I may submit, if the hon. Member thinks that a word has been left out, his word should be taken and the word should be put in because sometimes words are left out. But I have to deal with the more basic position. I was, I should confess, distressed at this light-hearted reference to the possibilities of civil war. Previously, I have heard of this word being used not in this House but outside. Now from different channels it has crept into this House and I think that is a bad development because however strongly we may feel about questions and argue about them in this House and outside, there are certain basic things which we must keep in mind and we must not, I submit, say things which aggravate the situation which lead people's minds into wrong directions. There is enough. We have to face enough difficulties—all of us, I am not talking about the Governments but the country. And while it is right that we should criticise each other's policies, to refer to this kind of thing is, I submit, not to be encouraged.

Now, why did the hon. Member, Shri Masani, get rather worked up? Because of certain resolutions passed at the Nagpur Session of the Congress among them being one on land reform and co-operatives. There, in those resolutions, it was said that our aim and objective is joint farming, that we should aim at that but for the present, for the next three years, we should concentrate on service co-operatives. It was further emphasised that this business of co-operation in the very nature of things is a voluntary business and if joint farming comes it will be with the consent of the people concerned. Now, Shri Masani in his speech stated that he had always been in favour of the co-operative principle but the way and what has been said in the Congress resolution has nothing to do with co-operation because the moment the idea of joint farming comes in it means deprivation of the land from the peasant and therefore it is not co-operation. Further, that, if there is joint farming at any

stage, it must necessarily lead to collectivism. That is his argument. Collectivism then leads to that horrible state of affairs which, according to him, exists in Russia and China and elsewhere. Therefore, this is the slippery path which leads down below to the lowest depths. This is the argument; I hope I have put it correctly.

Now that argument of course presumes so many things which do not exist that it is a little difficult to answer it. He starts with this assumption that where there is joint farming, it ceases to be co-operation. I have heard of many criticisms of joint farming but this is the first time I have heard this principle enunciated. Then, if there is joint farming, he says that it must lead necessarily to collective farming which also seems to me rather an odd statement to make. Speaking for myself, I do not, broadly speaking, agree with collective farming; I do not and I wish to be quite frank—but if some people want to do it, let them do it. I will not come in the way but I shall not encourage them. But I do believe in co-operation and I do, firmly and absolutely, believe in the rightness of joint cultivation. Let there be no doubt. I do not wish to hide my own beliefs in this matter. I shall go from field to field and peasant to peasant begging them to agree to it. Knowing that they do not agree, I cannot put it in operation. That is a different matter. It is for them to agree. I am not saying that in this or any other matter any common principles can be applied to every country in the world. I have come to believe firmly that to try to generalise about all countries, about one policy, is not right. We may have some general principles, naturally, of approach, but each country's facts and conditions have to be judged as they are and something else from another country should not be imposed which may not fit in. And, if I suggest something for the peasantry of India—whether I am right or wrong, of course, is another matter—it is because I think that in the conditions of India that thing is desirable and profitable. I cannot say in this changing world what I may think or others may think a few years later, because we live in a terrible period of change.

Now, Shri Masani said somewhere that he objects to anything being done to change this traditional way of doing things. He said somewhere that he wants the traditional way of family farming, individual farming, to continue. Now, I am not against tradition as such, but I think that the one thing that we want in India is to get out of tradition as much as possible. We have had enough of traditions here. I do not mean to say about all traditions, that would be absurd for me to say—but we have become in some ways traditionalists, fundamentalists and all that. And, I must say, however much I may differ from Shri Masani, I did not think he was a fundamentalist and a traditionalist in that scene.

So, let us consider this question on the merits, realising that whatever we

have to do in this sphere of co-operation must come from the willing assent of the people concerned; otherwise, apart from being good or bad—I agree with Shri Masani—it is not co-operation, it is something else. If that is agreed to, then most of the arguments that Shri Masani gave us falls to the ground.

He also stated with great vigour that nowhere in the world has this kind of farming yielded better results. Now, again, I think that it is very unsafe to make these general statements. I can give him instances where it has been known to be a success, but leave that out. He gave examples. He gave us what had happened in Yugoslavia and Poland. The examples were that collective farming was given up. There, again, he will see that, first, he combined two quite different things. He gave the example of one and applied it to the other. That is a curious way of argument. That is, firstly, he says that joint farming of the kind we have suggested is collective farming, and then he says that collective farming failed somewhere else and therefore joint farming will fail here. That indicates a tremendous confusion in his mind; whether it is some kind of an unconscious confusion or conscious confusion, I do not know.

I am not judging Yugoslavia or Poland or Soviet Union or China. I do not like many things that happen in other countries; I like other things. Sometimes in the context of things one expresses one's opinion, but I am always reluctant to do so, because, unless something is a matter of high principle, I honestly do not consider myself competent to judge other countries. I do not know all the facts and circumstances and context, and to judge by some odd facts that appear in newspapers or a report is not enough. I do not want others in other countries also to fall into the trap of judging my country by some odd facts or reports. Therefore, I cannot say whether Yugoslavia, Poland, Soviet Union or China for that matter, is acting rightly or not, profitably or not. They know best.

But in India we have to deal with a situation where the average holding is very small. The average for India is—I do not know—one acre, maybe two. Certainly, quite a vast number of people do not even have one acre of land. What are you to do with that? It will be a completely different proposition if the average holding here was, let us say, 20 acres or 50 acres. That would make us think differently. I am not enamoured of joint farming or anything because of the name of it. You get some foothold to work there, to improve the land. But what can a person who has a holding of one acre or so, as most people have in India, do with that land? Of course, he can improve it. And, as Shri Masani has told us, we can give him better seeds, give him water, give him fertilizers, give him better tools. Certainly, gradually we can give them to him, and in any event he ought to be given those things. But having given all these, what? Then, there are certain improvements in the land which he can profit by if he had larger

pieces to plough, to cultivate. A one-acre land will always keep its owner in semi-starvation. If it is a good season he may get a little more to eat but, then, again he relaxes. There is no future for him in that. Of course, we have at the present moment too many people on the land and they must be engaged in other occupations namely, industry, whether it is big industry, middle industry or cottage industry—that is another matter. But they have to be engaged and the burden has to be lessened. That is true, and everything has to be done to help in greater production in the land. But I do submit that—whether it is from the point of view of a theoretical approach or otherwise—in the conditions in India joint farming is the right objective to aim at.

Again, I add, definitely that means by consent, not otherwise; and, apart from the theoretical view, if you examine the practical question here you will be led to the same conclusion. I know very well that peasants are conservative, farmers are conservative, and they do not easily change their own habits if I want them to change. I will have to put examples of success before them, not a theoretical speech. If I tell them that their neighbour is succeeding in this, that will convince them more than anything else. So, ultimately this question lies in the hands of farmers of India, not in my hands or Shri Masani's hands. I should do my best to convince them of a certain course of action.

But, in the meanwhile, when we say that for the next three years we should concentrate on service co-operatives, that itself indicates that we are proceeding not hurriedly. Give the full time. They must have their service co-operatives. No Act is going to be passed by Parliament. If they themselves want to change it, who can prevent them? Indeed, I ask you, who can prevent a co-operative society today from deciding that they shall do joint cultivation? Nobody can prevent it. There is no question of coercion. There is no question of a new law. The society itself decides to do it. In fact, many have done so; quite a number of them. So, I do not understand this. The subject of co-operative farming may be discussed, whether there is virtue in it or not. You may even say, well, it is suited to wheat farming and not so much to rice farming. These are matters to be considered—I can understand that. But what has surprised me is this fierce approach of Shri Masani. Shri Masani knows even less about farming than I do. I do not pretend to know much except that it has been my privilege to be connected with the peasants of my State for many, many years. Somehow I felt that that reaction had little to do with joint cultivation. It was a reaction against something, some fear, which lay behind it as it comes out repeatedly. What lies behind or beyond, the future, I do not know, neither Shri Masani. But I do know this that things are happening in the world and in India which are changing the face of our country and will change it tremendously. We cannot carry on the old traditions, whether they are in land

or in industry or in so many other things.

The problem before us is so big; the entire problem of carrying the 400 millions of the Indian people forward is so tremendous that in the course of our journey we shall have to undergo many transformations.

Now, coming back to joint cultivation, I should just like to give a few facts as to the present position of co-operatives. In regard, to the small village co-operative societies, not joint farming, I am giving the numbers. At the end of 1950-51, the number of these societies was 116,000. At the end of 1956-57, the number was 159,000. At the end of 1958-59, the number was 179,000. These are the village ones, not the big ones. The membership of village co-operatives was, in 1950-51, 51½ lakhs; in 1956-57, 91 lakhs; in 1957-58, 110 lakhs; in 1958-59, the estimate is 138 lakhs.

To come to the large-sized co-operatives, at the end of 1956-57, there were 1,915; in 1957-58, 4,529 and in 1958-59, 6,318.

Then, it may interest the hon. Members to know the amount of rural credit that was given by these co-operatives. I might mention that 80 per cent of this was given by the village co-operatives; I mean the loans. The big ones gave only 20 per cent. In 1950-51, it was Rs. 22.9 crores; in 1955-56, it was Rs. 49.62 crores; in 1956-57, Rs. 63.33 crores; in 1957-58, Rs. 96 crores and in 1958-59, Rs. 130 crores. All this indicates—I do not say it is stupendous advance—a solid advance of co-operative societies, more especially of small co-operatives.

Acharya Kripalani: Are these credit societies or service societies?

Mr. Speaker: Multi-purpose.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Many of them are credit societies, but nowadays, we try to make every society that is formed a multi-purpose one. These include all kinds.

Coming to joint co-operative farming, according to the report, there were 2,020 co-operative farming societies in India at the end of 1957-58. But I would like to add that this term 'co-operative farming' has been used somewhat loosely. Sometimes, the land is held by the society, the ownership is of the society and yet cultivation is carried on individually in some cases. If this type of farming societies are excluded, that is, if those societies where cultivation is carried on separately are excluded, the number of joint and collective farming societies and where cultivation is undertaken jointly, is 1,357, consisting of 966 joint farming societies and 391 collective farming societies. These are the present figure.

It is true, and I would like to make this clear, that some of these societies were formed with the intention of circumventing land reform legislation.

Shri C .K . Nair:⁹⁵ What is this collective farming? Again, that dangerous word is used.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have got a report where each of these collective societies is separately discussed. They differ. But broadly speaking, I take it that it means—where they use the word ‘collective’—that the land is held by the community, that is, each individual has not got a separate share. I take it like that. I suppose it is so.

I do not say that all these 1,300 odd societies are very good societies or very successful ones or models of joint farming. But in every state, there are examples of successful joint farming societies. They have arisen in the last two or three years and they have arisen really not because of any tremendous pressure from anybody but because due to various reasons the farmers have decided to do so. There is a report of the Programme Evaluation Organisation of the Planning Commission on Studies in Co-operative Farming which was issued two and a half years ago, where all these societies are separately considered and evaluated. Further studies are being organised now by the Planning Commission.

The other question in which some doubt has arisen has been raised by some people. There has been some criticism about the ceilings on land. This question has been under discussion not in this House but outside, and certainly in the Congress organisation for a number of years and in the Planning Commission. The hon. Members know that the Planning Commission, in their reports and five years plans, have repeatedly recommended it. In fact, some states have already taken action on it.

The first point I would like to submit is that these decisions, whether on co-operative farming or on ceilings, did not suddenly come out of somebody else's head. These things were discussed, argued for years. We have been criticised, and perhaps rightly criticised, as going too slow in this matter. Anyhow, they have been considered; special committees were appointed not only consisting of members of the Congress but of eminent economists from outside who made these recommendations which were again discussed. So, the decisions arrived at were preceded by a very great deal of discussion and consideration of each aspect of the question.

95. C. K. Nair, Congress, MP from Outer Delhi-SC.

One thing, I would like to say about Shri Masani's speech. He made a statement which seemed to me rather remarkable. He said: "Is it not a farce to talk of co-operation and targets"? I hope I understand the English language adequately, but I do not understand what this question means. Why should we not have targets and also have co-operation?

Shri M.R. Masani: Mr. Gomulka⁹⁶ has specifically proved that you cannot have targets when you want it to be voluntary, because you are then planning the rate of growth of human consciousness.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member seeks refuge under Mr. Gomulka's name, of course a very eminent person, no doubt, but I wish nevertheless that he takes refuge in a common sense approach even more. It is perfectly true—if I am asked how do you expect the Indian peasant to grow in political or economic or other consciousness, how am I to put a target on that? But I can very definitely put a target on a field's production. I may not reach it; that is a different matter, but it is a most ordinary thing to be done.

In fact, that applies to a single individual field. Leave out co-operation; can we or can we not put a target on a farm of 10 acres or whatever the acreage may be? I do not say that it is a precise target and it must be attained. But it is arrived at after some calculation and you put a target—20 per cent or 30 per cent more, whatever it may be. If we can put it on an individual field, why cannot we put it on 10 or 20 fields joined together and call it a co-operative? I do not understand it. Otherwise, one must say that one can never put a target, regardless of co-operation, on any piece of land, as to what they are going to produce. That is surely an extraordinary statement to make, opposed to all scientific, statistical, and every kind of approach.

Shri M.R. Masani: The target I referred to was the target that 3,000 co-operative farms should be brought into existence by the end of the Second Five Year Plan and 600 must be brought into existence by the end of the financial year 1958-59. It was that target of the rate of co-operativisation that I mentioned, and not any target of production.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Either the hon. Member believes in planning or he does not. I submit that today there is none that, I know of, whether in the capitalist world, the socialist world or the communist world, who does not believe in

96. W. Gomulka, First Secretary, Central Committee, Polish Workers United Party.

planning. The approach to planning may be different; it is admitted. But the moment you plan, you must have targets. The targets may be attainable or not.

If I may rather give an example to the hon. Member, nobody can say whether the next child of a certain married couple is going to be a son or a daughter. But statistically, you can say that in India, there are likely to be so many sons and so many daughters. In each individual case, you are completely uncertain. Therefore, targets are put to know what we want to do. It involves some calculation to some extent as to what can be the produce by the use of so much better fertilizers or better seeds, better manure, more labour and all that; this can be calculated, though not with accuracy. But when you spread this out over a large figure, then the inaccuracies become less.

What Acharya Kripalani says in this House or elsewhere always has to be listened to with respect, because he is not only one of our most respected elder statesmen, but a dear colleague and comrade of ours in the past and I hope in the present too. Acharya Kripalani said that I had made appeals for co-operation, but this kind of appeal had no particular value, because the appeal was for co-operation at the level of consultation and not at the level of execution. He said,

“Opposition parties cannot be asked to make themselves responsible for policies in the execution of which they have no part or act.”

He said on his own behalf—he made it perfectly clear—and not on behalf of his party that there should be, therefore, a national government. I have no doubt that under certain circumstances, a national Government is desirable to a larger measure, because after all, when we consider these tremendous problems that face us, I hope no one can allow himself to be narrow-minded enough to think on party lines. It has been our privilege to work on mighty tasks and it is our privilege now in this House to face enormous challenges and problems and work out solution. And, we must adopt the method which takes us farthest. That is the only test or yard-stick.

But when I consider Acharya Kripalani's proposal of a national government, my mind is not quite clear as to what he means and what this thing itself called 'national government' is supposed to be or is likely to be. He himself in the course of his speech, talking about his own party, the Praja Socialist Party, said that the PSP has a policy statement which precludes it from co-operation with the Congress or the Government in the political field. Then again, a national government presumably means a government representative of various parties. Which parties? In this House, apart from the majority party, there are three or four major groups and some Independents, who perhaps are not in any group. Those in the opposition may present a solid front, as it sometimes does against the Government, but it is well known that the fissures between the different groups in the opposition are deep and wide and possibly, it may be even more

difficult for them to function together than it is for the present Government to function with any one of those groups. So, all these difficulties arise.

One has to try to work, not the routine work of administration but the big work that faces all of us. Whether it is planning or the execution of the plan, there has to be a certain measure of united approach; not altogether I mean, but if there is a basic difference in the approach itself, then that would simply mean each group coming in the way of the other, no result being visible. Acharya Kripalani, in the goodness of his heart, thinks that people, when faced with serious problems, will naturally look at it in the right way and come to some kind of broad agreement. But that does not happen. Leaving out people who may not be honest, in politics, even amongst honest people, there are strong differences of opinion. Now, if I may venture to say so, what would happen to me if I have Mr. Masani in my Government? If we can behave peacefully towards each other, we shall at any rate be trying all the time to convert or to prevent the other person from going in a certain direction. There will be a stalemate and nothing will be done. So, there has to be some kind of common approach to problems. That common approach is hammered out, of course, in Parliament, the Planning Commission and elsewhere. As a matter of fact, many of these things are capable of common approaches.

Now, I submit, if the time comes for what is called a national government, well, obviously if the time comes and if the people are in the mood for it, let us have a national government. But again I submit I do not quite understand what the national government would be. Would it mean all the parties in this House functioning together? Patently not. Because, some of them are so far removed from each other that there is no common ground.

Acharya Kripalani: May I submit here that there is more difference among Congressmen about some of the dominant policies that are adopted at the Congress than some of those who are on this side?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The Acharya is right in what he has said. In the wide fold of the Congress there are many differences of opinion. But it is no good pointing out to me these differences in the various parts of India. Because, the policy laid down by the Congress comes gradually; because of those differences it takes some time for new policies or variations of old policies to be framed; that is true. But once it is laid down, people accept it. If they do not accept it, and if it is a matter of principle, well, then there is a break and the person goes out of the organisation. That has been the history of the Congress, as Acharya Kripalani knows very well.

Acharya Kripalani: He does not go out of the Congress. He is a drag on the Congress.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: He is a drag? Yes, that is so. But I was merely referring to the early days of the Congress when people like our respected friends of the Liberal Party left the Congress. Those who do not leave, they become a drag too. That is so. These are but consequences of our history, the Congress history. I do not wish to take much time of the house on this. I just wanted to point out the difficulty one has to face.

Now, Acharya Kripalani knows that among the various groups and parties in this house, so far as national policy is concerned, probably his party is nearer to the Congress than other parties here.

Acharya Kripalani: And Communists too.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: They are, in fact, people who have been in the Congress. Now, there are others, there is another party, rather faintly represented here—not faintly, I am sorry, but in a very small number—which has laid down, whose leader has laid down the policy of permanent, not revolt of the Trotsky type but permanent civil disobedience or permanent satyagraha, whatever it is.

Shri Braj Raj Singh:⁹⁷ Till injustice is going on.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That is exactly what I say—permanent interruptions, permanent processions. Now, what are we to do here? Take, for example, the city of Calcutta, which, I think, now can be called the city of processions. It is always easy to find cause for a procession. But I am told that if there is nothing at all even then there is a procession. Now the recent agitation in U.P. about cane price,⁹⁸ this, that and the other, it is a little difficult; I am not going into the merits of it, but I am merely saying these approaches do not fit in. But what I submit to Acharya Kripalani's consideration is this: everything comes when the time is ripe for it. I thought, and I do think still, that there are large numbers of openings for co-operation apart from what might be called governmental co-operation. I am not ruling out anything, because we have to prepare the ground for it, because we cannot have an artificial thing.

97. SP, MP from Firozabad-SC, Uttar Pradesh.

98. See p. 14 fn 144.

Today take, first of all, the planning as such, which I submit is the most important stage, vital stage. Insofar as implementation goes, implementation naturally is looked after by the Government, but ultimately the implementation goes to vast numbers of officials and the like. It goes through. Then there are the stages. All these difficulties are there. But one can immediately have co-operation in the planning stage; one can have co-operation in the implementation stage, various levels. Take community development blocks.

Shri P.R. Patel:⁹⁹ May I submit that is not done at the district level. That is the monopoly of the Congress people. How can you say there is co-operation by others?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I did not say about the district level. It may be so. If it is not there, it should be done. I do not know what he means by co-operation at the district level. I can understand the community development block; I can understand the panchayats, the cooperatives. So far as the co-operation is concerned, it may surprise Shri Masani to know that we have laid the greatest stress on both the panchayats and the co-operatives to function, apart from official pressure even official guidance, I would say, except where it is necessary. We want them to be self-reliant entities. Now, if we build up co-operative effort at the top, the planning in its various stages, it grows; it grows and a time may come when we can have it much more, of course.

I have taken much time of the House. But I should like to give some information which the hon. Member, Shri Ghose¹⁰⁰ asked for when he was talking about the Berubari Union yesterday. First of all, may I say that we realise fully the depth of feelings in such matters? It is quite natural, especially in Bengal. So far as we are concerned, I can assure him that we shall examine this matter, we shall have it examined again from the constitutional and legal point of view and other points of view also. It is rather difficult for me to deal with this matter while dealing with what he said about consultation—because, honestly I find that I hold a different opinion about what has been expressed elsewhere. Now I am not saying that anybody is deliberately saying something that is not true. But I can say that there has been a grave misunderstanding about it. Of course, in a matter of this kind it is inconceivable to me that one can come to any decision without the consent of the representatives of the Government concerned.

99. MJP, MP from Mehsana, Bombay State.

100. Bimal Comar Ghose, PSP, MP from Barrackpore, West Bengal.

But there it is. I do not wish to pursue this matter further. But he wanted some figures and I shall give them to him—sorry, I cannot find the paper that contains the figures—here is something.

According to the previous agreements arrived at and the Bagge Award certain exchanges took place on the 15th January. Many of these things had been agreed to previously—by ‘agreed to’ I mean that the Bagge Award said so. According to this....

Shri Bimal Ghose: It is there.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Bagge Award is here.

An Hon. Member: Exchange took place this year?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Exchange took place on the 15th January. The area in India's possession and handed over to Pakistan is 26.4 square miles. The area in Pakistan's possession and handed over to India is 13.2 square miles. That has been done.

About the others, that is, the Cooch Behar enclaves, the area in India's possession to be handed over to Pakistan is 29 square miles and the area in Pakistan's possession to be handed over to India is 18 square miles.

So far as the Berubari Union is concerned, the area is 4.3 square miles and there is about half a square mile in the 24 Parganas.¹⁰¹

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: The point we would like to know is whether Pakistan ever raised this question of Berubari as a dispute before the Bagge Tribunal at all and if it did not do so, why this matter was raised as a dispute or accepted by our Government as a dispute to be resolved.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It was not raised before the Bagge Tribunal. That is true. But it was raised repeatedly and, in fact, many of the border troubles that have occurred have been on this border in furtherance of that dispute. They are trying to come in. But I hope this House will consider this matter in all its aspects fully later.

I have dealt with various matters but really what I should like to have dealt with was the major approach of the President's Address, that is, about our planning, about our Third Five Year Plan, about what we have done and what we intend to do. May I say that in spite of all the errors of which we may have

101. See also pp. 573-575 and 581-584.

been guilty and in spite of all the disasters—natural and others—that we have had to face, still the general record in regard to production et cetera of the past few years has been, I think, good. The results of that may not be good. That is perfectly true. But I am talking merely in terms of production at the moment—agricultural as well as industrial—because that is a basic thing and on that everything will depend. I do not say that that is the only thing. Other things have to be taken into consideration. But the major fact that we have to face is that if our production goes up by 2 per cent per annum that is just enough to keep us where we are, that is to prevent us from sliding back. Therefore, for any real progress it has to be beyond the 2 per cent increase per annum. I believe our average has been about 6 per cent in the past few years.

Shri Bimal Ghose: Before the last two years.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, before that. During the last two years it has been pulled down, but I think if you take the whole period it may not be less. During the last two years it has been less, especially agriculture. Anyhow, there is a basic fact that we have broadly to go ahead at about 6 per cent per annum, both in the average of agriculture and industry.

In regard to industry, one can fairly easily calculate it, in the sense as to how much investment you put in and you get back. In regard to agriculture, it is a little more difficult to be precise. But from all indications, apart from the indication of good harvest which we have, the work we have done in the past is bearing fruit now. The community development movement has now been geared up to agricultural production specially and it is producing results, and otherwise also. More important than all, I think, is our efficiency in the states. Our state agricultural departments have—I say so with hesitation—become at last very fully alive to what they have to do which, perhaps, they were not previously. So, broadly speaking, it is clear that one has to make a certain effort in order to go ahead. About the details, therefore, we may differ but if we lessen the effort, far from going ahead we will perhaps remain where we are.

Secondly, the resources in India are there and even by the experience of the past few years it is certain that we are likely to do that, but obviously all this requires a tremendous effort. Shri Khadilkar, I think, said about a new perspective. It is not merely a question of doing the same thing with a little more effort, but of a new perspective because that perspective is required not only in industry but in land too. It was more with the idea of giving that new perspective in land that the Resolutions relating to this matter were passed by the Congress.

Now, I want to say a word or two about the so-called public sector. Sometimes I have criticised the private sector—not really the private sector but some persons who said that they spoke on behalf of the private sector. There are some people who, perhaps, in spite of what they do, are not very helpful to the private sector. Perhaps they create prejudice against it by their public utterances. I mean to say some people in the private sector.....

Shri P.R. Patel: Should they not give any opinions?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I merely say that by their activities they sometimes create an adverse impression on the public mind. They are welcome to do that as anybody is. There is freedom of speech in this country even though the speech may not be logical or intelligent. But I do believe that on one side everything seems to be judged by this fact, namely, have you nationalised this or are you going to nationalise this. With great respect may I say that these are rather immature approaches to these problems?

Nationalising a few more things may be good or bad. We do not know. It depends on the things themselves. But today, as I understand it, we have to increase our production and increase it in a way so that monopoly controls are not added to—to diminish monopoly controls—and a strong socialist basis is gradually built up; that is, the dynamic points in our country are controlled by the state. I believe they are largely controlled by the state, I do not say completely, but are largely controlled, and they will be more and more controlled. Maybe, of course, all kinds of things happen which sometimes result in pressures—foreign as well as here—but I think we are in control. To say that any foreign Government can compel us to do something is not right, it is wrong. We may agree to something in the balance, that is a different matter; we decide as to whether it is agreeable or not. To say that the private sector exercises pressures on us is very much less true. The private sector can do much, but it cannot deliberately deflect Government from its policy. I think the private sector people realise that adequately—I do not say every one of them, but broadly; and I will say this, although I have criticised them greatly, some of them, that the great majority of them have tried their best to co-operate with Government.

The point is that some kind of brave gestures by us against the private sector, against the other, do not help at all. Let us examine each point, and as I said, we feel that the private sector has a great domain to work on in India; they can do a great deal. Just to push out the private sector, I think, would be utterly wrong, harmful and injurious to the country at the present moment and for a considerable time to come. But I do not want it to play any kind of a dominating role in our economy. I want more particularly many of its evil

features to be controlled, because there are evil features; and I want especially that this kind of monopolies should not be encouraged and, should, in fact, be discouraged. That is the present approach, and that, I believe, is the broad approach of the Planning Commission.

Therefore, it becomes important how this approach to the Third Five Year Plan has become the most vital of our subjects for consideration today. It governs the next two years of the Second Plan, and it will obviously govern the future, and in that matter particularly, as well as in many others, I want the largest amount of consultation. It is a very big thing—what kind of Third Five Year Plan we build, because on that depends the basic thinking of the country, of the Planning Commission, of this House, of the country, and it is not a matter as you know, as the house knows, of putting together a number of projects. That is not planning; it is something deeper than that that we are endeavouring. Therefore.....

Raja Mahendra Pratap:¹⁰² You must be tired, Sir, but do not finish without saying a word for World Federation.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member has been good enough to remind me that I have spoken enough. Thank you, Sir.

Shri Jaipal Singh: May I seek a clarification from the Prime Minister on his exegesis on co-operation in the field of agricultural production. He has stressed, I am glad to hear, that it has to be on the basis of voluntary co-operation. Now, I find in my own State, the Government of Bihar have what they call the Land Consolidation Act¹⁰³ where compulsorily they have sought, without any success whatever so far, certainly not in the south of Bihar, to consolidate, with the result that they have had to withdraw it. Is consolidation a precursor to the future pattern of co-operation? Why is it not being done on a voluntary basis? I am talking of Bihar.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: If joint farming was to be in village, then obviously consolidation was not necessary, but as joint farming is not coming immediately, it is important that there should be consolidation. It is essential that they should go on. It will help, anyhow it will help. Consolidation has to be compulsory because otherwise....

102. Independent, MP from Mathura, UP.

103. Bihar Consolidation of Holdings and Prevention Act, 1956.

Shri Jaipal Singh: But people are resisting. What do you do then?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That is a different matter. When we say “compulsorily”, it simply means a law is passed to that effect. In bringing it into effect there should be co-operation, understanding, talking to them and all that, because the hon. Member will understand that consolidation does not mean depriving a person of land, but bringing his piece of land together with others in the same area. Of course, this should be done with a great deal of mutual co-operation and goodwill, but there has to be a law behind it; otherwise, it could not be done at all.

9. India, Today and Tomorrow—I¹⁰⁴

Friends,

Mr. Humayun Kabir’s¹⁰⁵ opening remarks have embarrassed me even more than I was previously embarrassed. Ever since I undertook to deliver these lectures I have had a cloud overhanging me. (और भी आया। और भी कर लिया क्या? जो कर रहे हैं वो भी ले आयें।)¹⁰⁶

Yesterday and today I worked hard at them. Naturally, I had given some thought previously also, but with so many other things to do it became difficult to concentrate or find enough time. And even as I stand here you might have seen, some fresh page of typed matter has been handed to me (Laughter). It is still being typed (Laughter). So I hope that you will consider what I am going to say keeping this in view. It may be that what I say is rather disjointed. It is a succession of ideas, sometimes overlapping.¹⁰⁷

The subject for this lecture is “India, Today and Tomorrow”. I find it difficult to separate the yesterdays from today or today from tomorrow. I find

104. First part of the first Maulana Azad Memorial Lecture, New Delhi, 22 Feb. 1959. AIR tapes, NMML. Published in the *AICC Economic Review*, Vol. X, No. 22, New Delhi, 15 Mar. 1959. Extracts from this lecture were published in *Kurukshetra* (Delhi, Vol. 7, No. 7, April 1959, pp. 5-7,40)

He delivered the second part of this lecture the next day (see the next item).

105. Union Minister of State for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, and a close associate of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, India’s first Education Minister.

106. This seems to be an aside to a member of his staff, who was handing over him typed pages of this lecture. He refers to this in the subsequent paragraph. It seems to have been recorded inadvertently.

107. The *AICC Economic Review* published this lecture without the first two paragraphs.

it also a little difficult to isolate India from the rest of the world. So you will find that I get mixed-up in all these repeatedly. And that is a reason also why, at my request, Mr. Humayun Kabir asked (the) gentlemen of the Press to wait till tomorrow when I shall have anyhow finished these lectures. There is no dividing line between what I might say today and what I might say tomorrow, except the question of time. Therefore, it is better for them to take it as a whole, whatever its worth may be. I must begin with an apology. Even though I have been connected for a long time with public affairs and speak often in public, I am totally unaccustomed to delivering a lecture of the kind I am expected to give today. Such a lecture should be thoughtful and scholarly, and a good deal of time should be devoted to its preparation. Apart from my inexperience in such matters, I have found it very difficult, during the Budget Session of Parliament and because of my day-to-day activities which consume a great deal of time, to do justice to this occasion.

I was reluctant to accept this assignment but in a moment of weakness I agreed. I wished to pay my homage on this anniversary day of the passing away of Maulana Azad, to his memory which we cherish. I was fascinated also by the subject suggested to me, for in some form or other, the present and the future of India have filled my mind, at the same time, I was a little alarmed. This subject is too vital and I have been too much connected with the India of today to be able to take a dispassionate view. I crave, therefore, the indulgence of my listeners for this to my maiden effort at a lecture of this kind, prepared under the stress of heavy work and other circumstances.

To endeavour to understand and describe the India of today would be the task of a brave man, to say anything about tomorrow's India would verge on rashness. Indeed, at no time in the world's history has it been more difficult to forecast the future of any country or of the world. Events move at an incredible pace, and change follows change. The superficial aspect of politics covers innumerable currents below the surface, sometimes erupting and upsetting the shape of things.

India today is the outcome not only of the immediate past but also of the thousands of years of the long story of our country. Layer upon layer of thought, experience and action have conditioned us and made us what we are today. Those of my generation in India were especially moulded and conditioned by a series of events which are not likely to occur again. Not only did we come in contact with a great man and a mighty leader who shook us up completely, upset our lives and drew us out of the normal routine of living, but we also witnessed and participated in events of historic importance. We experienced repeatedly moments of high tension and emotional exaltation, and also the reaction to this in occasional frustration, almost akin to despair. Yet, this is not wholly

correct for we escaped that feeling of mental and physical collapse which sometimes follows a nervous tension of high degree. There was always something to hold on to, a leader who was like a rock and a light-house, and a movement which thrilled us and called out the best in us. Those moments were often not pleasurable and were sometimes even painful, but there was always a sense of satisfaction and a feeling that we were engaged in great deeds and were marching in step with history. Thought and action went together, producing the sensation of a full life. What saved us, more than anything else, was a belief that we were functioning even in political affairs on an ethical plane and with high ideals. Hatred did not consume us as it does in conflicts and, more especially, in nationalist struggles.

There was Gandhiji always before us and in our minds. But there were others too, giants among men, and there was the comradeship of innumerable men and women whose stature had risen because they were allied to great causes and to a great leader. Among these giants of old, young in years but always looked upon as a veteran and old in wisdom, was Maulana Azad. He occupied a special place in our movement and he represented to us, more than anyone else, that synthesis of cultures for which India had always striven. He helped us to get out of the ruts of a narrow nationalism and enlarged our vision. It was strange that so many people who differed greatly among themselves should find a powerful common bond and should work together for a whole generation.

What is India? That is a question which has come back again and again to my mind, and in my own amateurish way I sought a reply to it in her past and in the present. The early beginnings of our history filled me with wonder. It was the past of a virile and vigorous race with a questing spirit, an urge for free inquiry and, even in its earliest known period, giving evidence of a mature and tolerant civilisation. Accepting life and its joys and burdens, it was ever searching for the ultimate and the universal. It built up a magnificent language, Sanskrit, and through this language and its art and architecture, it sent its vibrant message to far countries. It produced the Upanishads, the Gita and the Buddha.

Hardly any language in the world has played that vital part in the history of a race which Sanskrit has. It was not only the vehicle of the highest thought and some of the finest literature, but it became the uniting bond for India, even though there were political divisions. The Ramayana and the Mahabharata were woven into the texture of millions of lives in every generation for thousands of years. I have often wondered that if our race forgot the Buddha, the Upanishads and the great epics, what then will it be like? It would be uprooted and would lose the basic characteristics which have clung to it and given it distinction

throughout these long ages. India would cease to be India.

Gradually, deterioration set in, thought lost its freshness and became stale, the vitality and exuberance of youth gave place to crabbed age. Instead of the spirit of adventure there came lifeless routines, and the broad and exciting vision of the world was cabined and confined and lost in caste divisions, narrow social customs and ceremonials. Even so, India was vital enough to absorb the streams of people that flowed into her mighty ocean of humanity and she never quite forgot the thoughts that had stirred her in the days of her youthful vigour.

Subsequently, India was powerfully influenced by the coming of Islam and Muslim invasions. Western colonial powers followed, bringing a new type of domination, a new colonialism and, at the same time, the impact of fresh ideas and of the industrial civilisation that was growing up in Europe. This period culminated after a long struggle in independence and now we face the future with all this burden of the past upon us and the confused dreams and stirrings of the future that we seek to build. We have all these ages represented in us, and in our country today organised power and energy are the symbols of the modern age. We have the growth of nuclear science in India and atomic energy, and we also have the cow-dung age. Thus every century is represented in this country and, in addition, there is enormous variety. Behind that variety there is the unity which has kept our people together through the ages in spite of misfortune and disaster. We are plunging into the world of science and technology and trying to organise our knowledge in such a way that it commands more of the forces of Nature, and we are held back not only by our poverty and underdevelopment, but also by some inherited ideas and customs. There is no future for us without science and technology. At the same time that future will be shallow and empty and without any real meaning if we ignore or forget our past.

So, in the tumult and confusion of our time, we stand facing both ways, forward to the future and backwards to the past, being pulled in both directions. How can we resolve this conflict and evolve a structure of living which fulfils our material needs and, at the same time, sustains our mind and spirit? What new ideals or old ideals, varied and adapted the new world, can we place before our people, and how can we galvanise them into wakefulness and action?

We have our particular problems in India. But we also share the major problems of a world which, for all its tremendous advance, appears to be losing faith in itself. For the present, in India, we are rightly absorbed in economic progress, five year plans, and a tremendous effort to raise our people's living standards. All this is essential and a pre-requisite for any other type of advance. But a doubt creeps into our minds. Is this by itself enough or is something else to be added on to it? The welfare state is a worthwhile ideal, but it may well be

rather drab, and the examples of states which have achieved that objective bring out new problems and difficulties which are not solved by material advance alone or by a mechanical civilisation. Religion has played an important part in supplying some essential needs of human nature. But that type of religion has weakened its hold and is unable to meet the onslaught of science and rationalism. Whether religion is necessary or not, a certain faith in a worthwhile ideal is essential to give substance to our lives and to hold us together. We have to have a sense of purpose beyond the material and physical demands of our daily lives. Socialism and communism attempt to give this sense of purpose, but they have tended to develop dogmas of their own. communists have become the metaphysicians of the present age.

Every society tries to find equilibrium. Sometimes this is through conflict, sometimes by deliberate or unconscious attempt to achieve harmony. A primitive society which does not change much lives in a rut and thus has an equilibrium at a low level. A dynamic society produces tensions in the individual as well as in the community. If this is true, then the present tensions in the world indicate a tremendous dynamism, a striving for a new equilibrium and a new dimension in human existence. That should hearten us if there was not an ever present fear that the weapons of the nuclear age might annihilate mankind.

We must look to the future and work for it purposively and with faith and vigour, at the same time we must keep our past inheritance and derive sustenance from it. Change is essential, but continuity is also necessary. The future has to be built on the foundations laid in the past and the present. To deny the past and break with it completely is to uproot ourselves and, sapless, dry up. It was the virtue of Gandhiji to keep his feet firmly planted in the rich traditions of our race and our soil and, at the same time, to function on the revolutionary plane. Many criticised him for, what they called his acceptance of out-of-date economic theories or for his supporting some kind of traditionalism or even encouraging reactionary forces, and yet, anyone who examines the broad sweep of his activities is overwhelmed by their revolutionary consequences. Whether we look at them in the political or the social field, we find some difficulty in recognising this because we have been brought up in the Western traditions of conflict. He knew that a true revolution comes from the people and not at the top, and that revolution must be essentially social. Many eminent social reformers came before him and succeeded in bringing about some minor changes or in building up a new sect, but Gandhiji, talking in terms of Ram Rajya, brought revolution to millions of homes without people realising fully what was happening. He seldom condemned caste as a whole—though in his later days he did so to some extent—but by his insistence on the uplift of the Depressed Classes and the Untouchables he undermined the entire caste system

and he did so deliberately, knowing the consequences. By his technique of political action, he vitalised hundreds of millions of people, drove fear out of them and produced in them self-respect and self-reliance. By his stress on the under-privileged and poverty-stricken, he forced all of us to think in terms of social justice. He did all this calmly and dispassionately, avoiding, to a large extent, a sense of conflict. Above all, he laid stress on truth and peaceful means. Indeed, truth became a condition of living for him, and his dynamic action was allied always to truth. In doing so he revived memories in our people of the basic principles which had enriched our race in the past. Thus he built on old foundations and at the same time, oriented the structure towards the future. The fact that some of his economic or other approaches did not fit in with modern ideas or had only some temporary significance did not trouble him. He was always prepared to adapt himself to changing conditions, provided the base was sound.

It has always seemed to me remarkable how he could link the past with the present and even the future. And because he could do so, he could make his people advance step by step without a break and also avoid conflict to a considerable extent.

The most vital lesson that he taught us or made us remember afresh was the importance of means. Ends were never enough by themselves for the ends were shaped by the means that led to them. If there is any basic truth in this principle and in his method of working, then we also have to build on the foundations he laid down. That does not mean a slavish following of everything that he said or did, which might have been suitable at one stage of our existence and is no longer appropriate today. We have also to adapt ourselves to changing circumstances, but the basic principles must continue to guide us.

When Islam came to India in the form of political conquest it brought conflict. It had a two-fold effect. On the one hand, it encouraged the tendency of Hindu society to shrink still further within its shell; on the other, it brought a breath of fresh air and fresh ideas and thus had a certain rejuvenating influence. Hindu society had become a closed system unlike Buddhism—another great product of Indian thought. The Muslims who came from outside brought their own closed system with them. Thus, two closed systems met; neither being strong enough to uproot or subdue the other. Political triumph did not lead to intellectual, moral or religious conquest. The old Indian tradition and faith were still strong and firm enough to resist the new influence. The Muslims came with a vigorous message of their own and could not easily be absorbed, as previous comers had been absorbed. Nor could they change the essential character of the Indian people. Hence, the great problem that faced India during the medieval period was how these two closed systems, each with its strong

roots, could develop a healthy relationship. Wise rulers like Akbar and others realised that the only hope for the future lay in some kind of harmony being established.

The philosophy and the world outlook of the old Hindus were amazingly tolerant; and yet they had divided themselves up into numerous separate caste groups and hierarchies. The Muslims had to face a new problem; how to live with others as equals. In other countries where they had gone, their success was so great that this problem did not really arise. They came into conflict with Christendom and through hundreds of years the problem was never solved. In India, slowly a synthesis was developed. But before this could be completed, other influences came into play. Western nations developing industrially and becoming strong had the feeling of their essential superiority over others and lived apart, looking down upon those they governed. There was a far greater gulf between them and the Indians than there ever had been between Hindus and Muslims.

For the first time, India was subjected to colonial rule and governance from a distant and far off country. Previously, the invaders and conquerors who had come to India had made India their home and did not look elsewhere; essentially they became Indians. Now, a new type of invasion took place which could find no roots in India. There was an impenetrable barrier between them and the people of the country, whether Hindus, Muslims or others. Even so, the new liberal thought of the West and industrial processes began to affect the mind and life of India. A new nationalism developed, which was inevitably against colonialism and sought independence, and yet which was being progressively affected by the new industrial civilisation as well as by the language, literature and ways of the West. This influence was largely confined to a top layer of the people, the great mass sinking into greater poverty.

Rammohun Roy came seeking some kind of a synthesis between old India and modern trends. Vivekananda brought back something of the vigour of old Indian thought and dressed it in a modern garb. Political and cultural movements grew up and culminated in Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore.

In Europe there had been fierce conflict between science and traditional religion, and the cosmology of Christianity did not fit in at all with scientific theories. Science did not produce that sense of conflict in India and Indian philosophy could easily accept it without doing any vital injury to its basic conceptions. But the social structure of India became more and more incompatible with modern trends.

In India, as elsewhere, two forces developed—the growth of nationalism and the urge for social justice. Socialism and Marxism became the particular symbols of this urge for social justice, and apart from their scientific content,

had a tremendous emotional appeal for the masses. Marx was primarily moved by the ghastly conditions that prevailed in the early days of industrialisation in Western Europe. At that time there was no truly democratic structure of the state and changes could hardly be made constitutionally. Hence revolutionary violence offered the only way to change. Marxism, therefore, inevitably thought in terms of a violent revolution. This was also in the tradition of Europe. Since then, however, political democracy has spread, bringing with it possibility of peaceful change. There has also been a tremendous scientific and technological advance which has brought material prosperity within the reach of all. Capitalism today has undergone a great deal of change, though it maintains its basic features and tends towards monopolies and aggregations of economic power. The democratic structure of the state, organised labour and, above all, the urge for social justice as well as scientific and technological progress have brought about this transformation. We see today capitalist countries which have achieved a very high material standard of living for all their people. We see also a tremendous advance in material well-being and scientific and technological progress in the Soviet Union, achieved in a relatively short period of time. To say that this has been brought about chiefly by violence is not correct. There has been enough violence in other systems also. But, it is true, I think, that because of circumstances, there has been a good deal of violence and purges associated with the development of the Soviet Union. The greatest condemnation of this violence has come from the great leaders of the Soviet Union themselves.

International affairs are dominated today by the conflict between the Western Powers and the Communist Powers, more particularly by the rivalry between the United States of America and the Soviet Union. And yet, in spite of the manifest differences, there is an amazing similarity between these two Super-Powers. They have both developed a high degree of industrial and mechanical civilisation, they believe in the ever-growing power of the machine and its capacity to solve human problems. Both their peoples are friendly and hospitable and attached to peace. The real difference today is between the developed countries and those that are still underdeveloped. To these latter has come the realisation that only through scientific and industrial growth can they achieve any kind of progress or get rid of the tremendous material ills that they suffer from. To that end they strive with, more or less, success, for the task is a hard one. In Europe, an economic revolution preceded a real political revolution, and so when the latter came, certain resources had been built up by economic changes. In Asia, political revolution came first, followed immediately by demands for social betterment, which could not easily be fulfilled because of economic backwardness and lack of resources. The problems of underdeveloped countries were different from those that had already been industrialised and

had built up an apparatus for large scale production. It is obvious that these underdeveloped countries could not go through the long processes which had industrialised Europe and America. There was constant social pressure which might well upset the political fabric unless the people were given something to satisfy their longings. Then there was also the pressure of rapidly growing populations which consumed whatever greater production was made, leaving little room for saving or investment for further advance. The basic problem thus became one of how in an underdeveloped and poverty-stricken country surpluses could be created for investment and greater production. Every such attempt meant a greater burden on the masses. And yet, those very masses claimed relief from their existing burdens.

Coercive methods could be employed but, in the final analysis, even coercion cannot go far in the case of masses of people unless it is allied to hope for the future. Thus, essentially, incentives for greater effort had in any event to be provided and some realisable objective had to be placed before the people which gave them this hope for the future. That future could not be too distant. In a democratic society, everything depends on its capacity to rouse the people to greater effort by offering such hope and incentives, as well as a progressive amelioration of their lot.

Among the underdeveloped countries, India is perhaps more advanced than most others. During the last few years or there has been definite progress made in building up a base for industrialisation, in improving agriculture and advancing education and health. But, above all, she has had the advantage of the ideals and objectives and disciplines built up by the national movement which brought independence.

Nationalism is still the strongest force in Asia. The growth of this nationalism in Asia is obvious, but even in Europe it is becoming more and more apparent. There was the terrible nationalism associated with Fascism and Nazism. While that threat was countered, an aggressive nationalism, though of a milder type, still influences the policies of many countries. In many countries of Europe, this is evident in greater or lesser degree. This trend is co-existent with an opposite one towards supra-national unity in Europe as represented by attempts to develop a common market and many common institutions. Even in Communist countries nationalism is in evidence. The Soviet Union, greatly influenced by Marxist ideas and their subsequent variations, has also a strong nationalist element. In the other countries of Eastern Europe, the force of nationalism is obvious. Even in China, communism bases itself on nationalism. It might be said that the strength of communism, wherever it is in practice, is partly due to its association with the national spirit. Where the two are dissociated, communism is relatively weak, except in so far as it embodies the discontent

that exists in underdeveloped and poverty-stricken countries.

The nationalist urge in countries which are still under foreign dominations necessarily takes the form of a struggle for independence. In strong and independent countries it tends, to some extent, towards expansionism, though it is somewhat checked by opposing tendencies.

Thus, we see today a clash between impulses towards a larger integration, such as in Europe and elsewhere, and the centrifugal forces representing traditional nationalism. The great development of science and technology and, more particularly, communications, presses more and more towards larger integrations. And it may be presumed that in this, as in other matters, science, representing the basic facts of modern life, will win in the end. The real danger comes from nationalist conflicts which may lead to war.

The possibility of such a conflict is increased by the cold war between the major ideologies in the world today. And yet, behind this supposed conflict of ideologies lies the political rivalry of great nations, each afraid of the other. There are basic differences in outlook and economic doctrine as well as in the domain of liberty and the state between the communist countries and those that are not communist. These differences have already lessened somewhat and will probably continue to lessen, and the gap between the two, though it appears to be broad and deep, will diminish. It is not so much ideology which is changing human life, but the growth of science and technology which are constantly moulding social and economic structures. Function influences form. This is so in architecture. It is equally so, ultimately, in social structures, the form of that structure following its function. Science and technology are constantly changing functions and so the social structure has necessarily to adapt its form to these new functions.

Thus, the essential and most revolutionary factor in modern life is not a particular ideology but technological advance. Where technological change is slow, the old forms continue. An underdeveloped and backward community has backward forms and social structure which do not allow it to fit in with the modern age of science. But the facts of life cannot be denied and change must come bringing with it other consequences in its train. That change has sometimes been rather sudden and upsetting, but even otherwise those changes come, though more slowly.

In a democratic society, that is, where there is adult suffrage and some kind of parliamentary government, the means are provided for the change of function and even form to some extent. But old established forms and vested interests resist change till it is forced down upon them by circumstances. The "establishment" is always resistant to any change whether it is religious, economic or social.

Living is a continual adjustment to changing conditions. Every political, economic or social form has a certain discipline. There is the discipline of religion, and that of social usage, and these include a certain moral or spiritual discipline. When functions and forms change, the older disciplines are weakened and are gradually replaced by new disciplines. The rapidity of technological change in the last half century has made the necessity of social change greater than ever, and there is a continual maladjustment. In the ancient days, life was simpler and more in contact with Nature, and there was time for reflection and meditation. Now life becomes more and more complex and there is less and less of quiet thinking. Even where there is leisure one does not know what to do with it.

This problem of the use of leisure is gradually becoming a major one in the developed countries although it does not affect India at present and will not affect it in the foreseeable future. A life divorced from Nature and more and more dependent upon mechanical devices begins to lose its savour and even the sense of function leaves it. Moral and spiritual disciplines break up, and some kind of disillusion follows, with a feeling that something is wrong with our civilisation. Some people talk of going back to Nature and to the simpler life of the ancient days. But whatever virtue there was in this, there can obviously be no going back, for the world has changed. An individual may take to Sanyasa with its renunciation of life, but society as a whole cannot do so. It has to base itself on an acceptance of life with all its problems and difficulties and try to make the most of it. If it did not do so, it would perish.

The advance of science and technology makes it definitely possible to solve most of the economic problems of the world and, in particular, to provide the primary necessities of life to everyone all over the world. It holds the promise of higher standards and avenues of cultural development opening out. Today, the Welfare State and even a classless society are not the ideals of socialism only, but are accepted by capitalist countries also, even though the approaches are different. Thus, the basic ideals come nearer to each and there is a possibility of approaching those objectives even though the methods might be different. These methods will not only be based on some logical theories, but will have to depend upon the background and cultural development of a country or a community — geographical, historical, religious, cultural economic and social. Any real change cannot easily be imposed, it has to grow. A country, especially one with an old civilisation has deep roots in the past which cannot be pulled out without great harm even though many weeds in the form of harmful or out-of-date customs and institutions can and should be pulled out. Even as Nature establishes some kind of an equilibrium which cannot be disturbed suddenly without untoward results appearing, so also in a community

or a country it is not easy or desirable to upset old ways of living too suddenly. The attempt to solve a problem in this way might well lead to graver and more difficult problems.

This applies to the external world we live in, much more so does it apply to the inner life of human beings. In dealing with tribal and somewhat primitive societies, it is well known that an attempt at too rapid a change has led to disastrous consequences. The more developed societies may not suffer so much from rapid change, but in the jet-age and the coming age of space travel no one knows what biological and other changes may take place. If that is so externally, then surely even greater changes would take place in the mind, emotions and spirit of man. Man today, as never before in human history, has to live with change as a permanent partner in his activities and his institutions. Indeed he cannot keep pace with this change, and though he uses the products of science and technology, he seldom understands them. Education is supposed to develop an integrated human being and to prepare young people to perform useful functions for society and to take part in collective life. But when that society is changing from day today, it is difficult to know how to prepare and what to aim at. There is a lack of harmony between a highly technical civilisation and the older forms of social life and the philosophy underlying them. The relationship of Nature changes, and even the relationship to one's own personality undergoes a change. The value of human personality diminishes in a mechanical society. The individual loses himself in the mass and tends to become merely an instrument in a complex set-up which is constantly aiming at social and economic improvements of the group as a whole. Many of us attach great value to the development and the freedom of the individual. Ideological backgrounds help or hinder in this process. But perhaps the most potent factor in diminishing the value of individual personality is mechanisation and automation.

We see the effects of these rapid technological changes, more especially in young men and women today. Parents and educators and social workers are troubled because of the divergence between young people and adults. The patterns of behaviour which were held by the adults, are no longer accepted and there is a rejection of the old moral standards. In extreme cases, there is a tendency to criminality, alcoholism, destructiveness, eroticism, in addition to a cynical and negative attitude towards life and work. In a world of constant change and without any assurance of certainty, the hedonistic principles of life have a strong appeal. The continuity of national culture is threatened and a tendency towards social disintegration becomes evident.

This is perhaps an extreme view and not quite a just estimate of what is happening today. But there can be no doubt that these tendencies are present,

more so in the developed and advanced societies than in India or other underdeveloped countries. But it is important to note them because similar forces are likely to affect our life too. Perhaps, all this is a necessary consequence of an age of rapid transition, and a new base of civilisation, fitting in with technology, will be gradually created, and with it will develop new ideologies, new forms of collective life and, indeed, a broader philosophy of life.

I do not know if this is considered too pessimistic a view of what is happening. My own reaction to events in India or the world is not pessimistic, and same faith, which I cannot analyse or explain, fills me with hope for the future. Perhaps this is due to the good fortune that has attended me in a large measure. The greatest good fortune has been the tremendous affection of the Indian people, but even when I have gone abroad, I have met with friendship and heart-warming welcomes from the people everywhere. Thus I have developed a great affection for and faith in our own people in India and also respect and affection for the peoples of other lands. I have realised that what one gives, one receives. If one gives affection, it comes back to one in abundant measure; if it is hatred, then we get that in return. I have seen and felt that people everywhere yearn for peace and goodwill and cooperation. If this is so, as I believe it is, then it should be possible for us to turn the tide of events from conflict to cooperation, from thoughts of war to the works of peace.

Fear, I think, is probably the greatest evil, because out of fear rise conflict and violence. Violence is a reaction to fear, so also is untruth. In our ancient writings it is said, that the greatest gift that can be given is that of fearlessness—Abhayadan. A person who is free from fear can view things in a right perspective and can preserve certain integrity in mind and actions. Today we see fear enveloping the world and even the greatest and most powerful of nations are affected by it. Wealth and power instead of lessening that element of fear actually increase it. None of us, except saints and supermen, can become absolutely fearless. But we can keep this ideal before us and try to achieve it. Gandhiji's greatest contribution to India was to lessen this sense of fear among our people.

Fearlessness leads to compassion and tolerance. When we think of the Buddha, it is his compassion that overwhelms us; when we think of Asoka, it is his amazing toleration that pulls us up from our narrow creeds.

The world is full of conflicts, national, international and of race, religion, creed and class. It is absurd to deny or ignore these conflicts, but we can approach them not by way of conflict, but by way of peace and thus seek to resolve them.

If you permit me I shall stop here today (Clapping).

10. India Today and Tomorrow—II¹⁰⁸

Mr. Humayun Kabir and friends,

You have just been told that this is the second lecture in the series. What is more important is that this is the last lecture in the series (laughter). So I shall continue my odd notes which I am venturing to place before you. This is in continuation of yesterday, nothing to divide it from what I said previously.

Internationally, the major question today is that of world peace. This involves an attempt to solve the great problems and disputes which afflict us. How a solution may come, it is not for me to say. But I think we should be clear in our minds as to the means we adopt and the way we tread to find the solution. It is often said that the choice today is between war, involving almost total annihilation, and some peaceful solution of these problems. If these are the alternatives, then the choice is clear. Having made that choice, it should follow that everything that adds to the tensions of the world has to be avoided. We must come to the firm conclusion that war today must be ruled out, for it does not even promise victory or the fruits of victory. To live on the verge of war and to practise brinkmanship is, therefore, the absence of wisdom. Even though we may differ from each other, we must refrain from angry criticisms and condemnations; we must realise that it is absurd for any one group to call half the world evil or dominated by evil. It is easy to criticise the capitalist world or the communist world, but both have great virtues if they have also many failings, and both tend to move in the same direction in spite of their inner conflicts, and both are governed by the advance of science and technology. The only course open is for us to accept the world as it is and develop toleration for each other. The old conflicts of mutually exclusive religions gradually ended after bloody wars and a new toleration grew up. There is no reason why toleration should also not grow up between rival economic and social theories. Ultimately, the facts of life will decide and influence both. It should be open to each country to develop in its own way, learning from others, and not being imposed on by them. In this way, each ideology will influence the other and be influenced by it.

Nationalism is a healthy and desirable state in a people; when suppressed, it reacts strongly, but when allied to too much power, it may become aggressive and chauvinistic. Modern nationalism has been a reaction against foreign imperialisms and racialism.

Racialism still exists in varying degrees in many countries, but it is generally condemned. Only in the Union of South Africa, it is the accepted philosophy of

108. Second part of the Maulana Azad Memorial lecture, New Delhi, 23 Feb. 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

the State. It is clear that this is a terrible source of conflict and as it involves domination in its worst form, it must produce bitterness and strong reactions. To leave this conflict to be decided by methods of violence is a counsel of despair, apart from the disastrous consequences which this would bring in its train. It may be that world opinion against racialism will become so strong that no country or group will be able to advocate it or practise it.

Imperialism or colonialism, whatever form it may take, is also completely out of place today in the world and is the source of conflict. It exists still in many places and its philosophies influence many minds. But it is a discredited creed and is everywhere on the defensive. A world policy must therefore be to bring about the end of racialism and imperialism and leave countries to work out their own destinies. This might lead to disorder and chaos in some countries, but that will be limited and not affect larger areas and will probably right itself after a while. What is wrong and leads to dangerous consequences today is the attempt of one country to impose its will on another.

Military alliances and the cold war, whatever their justification in the past, lead today to insecurity and fear of war. They prevent the normal development of countries and vitiate the atmosphere of the world. So long as there is a cold war, there will be no toleration. Instead of undeveloped countries being helped to grow and raise their standards, military considerations come into play and often political regimes which are reactionary and disliked by the people are bolstered up, thus adding further to insecurity.

It is unrealistic to suggest that the troubles, conflicts and passions of the world can be removed by some magic wand or pious phrases. But it is totally realistic to recommend a course of action which tends to lessen tensions and ultimately does away with the probability of conflict. Essentially this course of action is a new mental approach followed by political and economic policies in line with it. The Panchsheel, or the Five Principles, about which so much has been said offers that approach, but this approach can only be real if there is a change of mind and spirit and not merely the bandying of words which have lost meaning. Peace is not a physical abstention from war, but an attempt to create a climate of peace all over the world.

In India we have attempted to follow this policy in international affairs though I cannot say that we have always been successful in doing so. Foreign policies depend ultimately on internal conditions and developments. Internal progress for us, therefore, becomes essential if we are to play any effective part in world affairs. It is even more essential, of course, for our own well-being.

After the First Five Year Plan and two years of the Second Plan, we have made definite progress in many directions, some obvious, others not so apparent.

The pace of progress has not been as rapid in some directions as we would have liked it to be, but let us remember that it has been solid and substantial progress. Both in agriculture and industry that progress is evident, and it is ultimately on this that our future will depend.

Education is the base of this progress and considerable attention is being paid now both to the spread of basic education and technical education. Millions of boys and girls are going through school and college courses, and hundreds of thousands are being trained in universities and technical institutes. These figures are only a part of India's population and much remains to be done. But even so, the numbers are large and as they come out of school and college, they bring a new outlook to the business of their lives. Thus, slowly but inevitably, our social patterns are changing. The greatest and perhaps the most revolutionary change is through the enlargement of women's education. It is these girls and young women who are influencing and will progressively change the whole life of the people of India. For the present these changes have taken place more in cities and towns than in the rural areas, but even our villages are being affected by them, and in the course of another few years basic education will cover the entire school going age.

Much is said in criticism of present-day education and nearly all of us have joined in criticising some aspects of it. And yet the fact remains that education is spreading fast and changing the texture of our living.

There is the problem of population. There has been a remarkable increase in population all over the world, and at this pace of increase it is expected that the world population may be anything between 3,500 and 5,000 million by the end of this century. In India, the estimates vary between 600 million and 680 million by the year 2000 A.D. The figures of 600 million is the least that we can expect provided we can check the pace of growth to some extent.

There are two aspects of this growth of population. The one with which we are most concerned is that it comes in the way of our economic advance and keeps standards low even though we might be making progress in other directions. The other aspect is that this tremendous world growth of population is eating up the world's resources and industrial materials at a terrific pace. If the entire world functions in this respect, as the United States of America is doing today, then probably by the end of the century all the essential materials in the world that are available today will be consumed. That is, of course, unlikely but even if the rate of consumption in other countries is much slower, the available materials cannot last for more than a few hundred years.

Thus two consequences flow: one is that we must check the rate of growth of population, and the other, we must find other power sources and materials. Possibly the development of atomic energy will provide us with other sources

of power. We in India are most concerned with checking the growth of population and this has become a matter not only of importance but of urgency.

There are two basic facts which we have to keep in mind. One, the tremendous growth of productive capacity in some nations, and consequently wealth and power, as a result of the growth of science and technology. The other is the great disparity between these wealthy and powerful nations and the underdeveloped nations. This disparity tends to increase and, in fact, has increased considerably in recent years, in spite of the efforts to raise the level of the underdeveloped nations. If normal economic and other forces are allowed full play, they will make the rich nations richer and more powerful while the others will be struggling painfully to meet their basic needs. Unto those that have, more shall be given. Even within a country, the more developed areas tend to advance more than the other areas.

As a result of this conflicts and dangers of war between nations arise, and social unrest increases in the underdeveloped countries. On the one hand, power and wealth are sources of rivalry and conflict; on the other poverty and misery also lead to upsets and conflict. Both result in fear and insecurity. Too much concentration of wealth and power does not bring security and prevents a proper understanding of the forces at play in the world. These disparities, whether between nations or within a nation, therefore, should be lessened.

It is not possible to solve the problems of the nuclear age with the conventional approaches of yesterday. Neither in politics nor in economics can those conventional ideas yield satisfactory results. In international affairs we see the lack of wisdom in carrying on a cold war with all its accompaniment of fear and hatred, when it is evident that this increases the dangers to humanity and cannot possibly lead to a solution. Nuclear tests are carried on even when eminent scientists tell us that each such test has very harmful consequences in the present and for future generations. Why then are these out-of-date policies pursued which have neither logic nor reason behind them, apart from any moral principle? One would expect an immediate and unanimous decision to stop all nuclear tests and to proceed with a progressive reduction of armaments. Fear will prevent any kind of unilateral step, and that is not suggested, but reason should bring about bilateral arrangements which are to the advantage of every country.

This same argument applies to economic theories and approaches, and there is little understanding of the dangers inherent in a world largely consisting of mass poverty with a relatively few affluent countries favourably circumstanced. If it is urgently necessary for the underdeveloped countries to raise their standards, it is equally necessary, from their own point of view, for the richer countries to speed up this process. These problems of today belong

to a new world and cannot be solved by the application of old world methods.

It is a tragedy that colossal sums of money should be spent on armaments to the great detriment of social advance in the world. It is an even greater tragedy that the climate of fear and unreason should continue when the way to understanding is open. Understanding does not come through the military approach which can only lead to more fear and tension. I am not blaming any particular country because, to a greater or lesser extent, all countries are in the grip of this climate of fear and cannot wholly disentangle themselves from it. All we can do is to try our utmost to change this climate in our own relations with other countries.

In the early days of capitalism, and, indeed to a large extent even now, the greatest stress was laid on production. That was necessary then. But it became increasingly evident that production by itself does not solve our problems or lead to happiness and contentment. The passion for riches, for acquisition, for more and more wealth tends to corrupt and to create jealousies and conflicts. If the objective aimed at is social balance in a community or in the world at large, production by itself does not achieve it. Indeed, it tends to create greater imbalances. Thus the problem of equitable distribution and the right use of what is produced become important. In the final analysis, what is required is the wisdom how to live and make the most of life for oneself and for the community. Economic policy can no longer be considered as some interpretation of Nature's laws apart from human considerations or moral issues.

I have referred to these larger issues repeatedly because we cannot get away from them and they influence even our domestic problems. We are so tied up with inherited ideas that it becomes difficult to consider these problems in their present-day context. Poverty is degradation, and the obvious reaction is to get rid of it. To talk of freedom in poverty—is utmost the contradiction in terms. Worst of all, poverty tends to become self-perpetuating. But too much wealth and affluence, whether in an individual or a society, has also its attendant evils which are becoming evident today. The mere piling up of material riches may lead to emptiness in the inner life of man.

The socialist approach is certainly an economic one, but it tries to take into consideration these other factors also. There is a danger that socialism, while leading to affluence and even equitable distribution, may still miss some of the significant features of life. It is largely for this reason that stress becomes necessary on the individual.

In India our problems today are essentially of economic development and higher standards of living. We have deliberately laid down as our objective a socialist pattern of society, though we have not precisely defined it. I think it is desirable to avoid precise definitions because they tend to become dogmas and

slogans which come in the way of clear thinking in a world which is changing rapidly. But too much vagueness also comes in the way of effective action. There have to be, therefore, definite goals and some clear notions as to how to reach them.

I have suggested previously that each country should develop without any imposition from outside. While help and advice should be welcomed, imposition prevents healthy growth and creates conflict. Therefore, every country should be allowed to fashion its own policy provided it does not do injury to other countries as far as possible. We must accept that none of us has the monopoly of truth and also that what may suit us may not be suitable to others living in different conditions. We must also accept that we have to live in this world with many things that we dislike, and the only influence we should exercise is by our own conduct and policies and by friendly cooperation with others. In spite of the great difference between rival ideologies today, I believe that the points of similarity are growing and circumstances are bringing them nearer to each other. If fear was not present and threats and compulsion not used, this process of coming together will be hastened. This means that, broadly speaking, the status quo must be accepted, whether in the political or the economic sphere, as between nations. Problems requiring solution must be dealt with through peaceful methods.

There are conflicts within a nation. There is a difference, however, as in a democratic apparatus with adult suffrage those conflicts can be solved by normal constitutional methods. On the whole, religious conflicts do not take place now. Racial conflicts are limited to a few areas in the world, though the racial problem remains. In India we have had most distressing spectacles of conflicts based on provincialism or linguism. In the main, however, it is the conflict of class interests that poses problems today, and in such cases vested interests are not easy to displace. Yet we have seen in India powerful vested interests like princes those of the old princes and of the big jagirdars, talukdars and zamindars solved by peaceful methods, even though this meant a break-up of a well established system in favour of a privileged few. While, therefore, we must recognise that there is class conflict, there is no reason why we should not deal with it through these peaceful methods. They will only succeed, however, if we have a proper objective in view, clearly understood by the people.

Personally, I think that the acquisitive society, which is the base of capitalism, is not longer suited to the present age. It may have been suitable in an earlier period and, undoubtedly, capitalism has great gains to its credit, but the world has outgrown that stage. It is too complex and crowded and we sit almost on each other's threshold. We have to evolve, therefore, a higher order, more in keeping with modern trends and conditions and involving, not so much

competition, but much greater cooperation. Ultimately, this should lead to a World State. This can only take place in an atmosphere of freedom for each national group to develop according to its likes without interfering with others.

While an acquisitive society, based on the profit motive, appears to be out of place in the new world that is growing up, this does not mean that there should be no incentives. Incentives will always be necessary, though they may not be confined to financial benefits. We have to encourage the spirit of adventure, of invention and of taking risks in order to give an edge and substance to our lives. Private enterprise would still have a large field, but even that should function in a different way and not purely in the acquisitive way. In India we have entered, belatedly, into the phase of industrial revolution. We have done so at a time when parts of the world are in the jet and nuclear age. We have thus, in effect, to proceed simultaneously with both these revolutionary changes and this involves a tremendous burden. We have accepted socialism as our goal not only because it seems to us right and beneficial, but because there is no other way for the solution of our economic problems. It is sometimes said that rapid progress cannot take place by peaceful and democratic methods and that authoritarian and coercive methods have to be adopted. I do not accept this proposition. Indeed, in India today any attempt to discard democratic methods would lead to disruption and would thus put an end to any immediate prospect of progress. From the long term point of view also I believe in the dignity of the individual and in as large a measure of freedom for him as possible, though in a complex society freedom has to be limited lest it injure others.

The mighty task that we have undertaken demands the fullest cooperation from the masses of our people. That cooperation cannot come unless we put forward an objective which is acceptable to them and which promises them results. The change we seek necessitates burdens on our people, even on those who can least bear them; unless they realise that they are partners in the building up of a society which will bring them benefits, they will not accept these burdens or give their full cooperation. What is called "free enterprise" will never appeal to the masses of our people; it will lead to the use of our resources often for purposes that are not of primary importance. It will mean the exploitation of the profit motive in which the individual may be interested but not society as a whole.

The strongest urge in the world today is that of social justice and equality. The old feudal system was based on the possession of land by a few and the others living on the verge of existence. No one commends that system today. So also many of the systems prevalent today have lost their hold and are not compatible with either people's thinking or scientific advance.

The nature of the task that we have to face demands a carefully planned

and scientific approach so as to utilise our available resources in the best possible way and to direct the nation's efforts towards our goal. It is curious that in this age of science there are still some people who believe in the haphazard methods of private enterprise with individual profit as the dominant motive.

We are in the middle of our Second Five Year Plan and the Third Plan looms ahead of us. We have arrived at a stage when this Plan must lay down definitely the physical goals to be reached and the manner of achieving them. By the end of the Third Plan we hope, as our President pointed out in his address to Parliament, that "a solid foundation will have been laid for future progress in regard to our basic industries, agricultural production and rural development, thus leading to self-reliant and self-generating economy." We do not expect to solve our problems by the end of the Third Plan and there will be many other five year plans succeeding it, but we do aim at breaking this barrier of poverty so that our underdevelopment may not perpetuate itself. If we succeed in that, as I trust we will, then we shall advance at a more rapid pace and will be less dependent on others.

This will involve a heavy burden, but there is no escape from it if we are serious and determined to advance rapidly towards our objectives.

In recent months, some decisions have been taken in regard to land which have evoked some criticism. We see here the class conflict which is inevitable in regard to our basic industries, agricultural production and rural development, thus leading to self-reliant and self-generating economy." We do not expect to solve our problems by the end of the Third Plan and there will be many other five year plans succeeding it, but we do aim at breaking this barrier of poverty so that our underdevelopment may not perpetuate itself. If we succeed in that, as I trust we will, then we shall advance at a more rapid pace and will be less dependent on others.

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There is, I am convinced, no other way but that of cooperation for our population. Multi-purpose service cooperatives are essential for them and should lead to cooperative farming. I do not think that collective farming is suited to India in present circumstances and I would not like our farmers to be organised in distinguished units in a machine. The fact we should remember is that there are too many people in this country and relatively little land. The fact of controversy over these issues indicates that progress is being made and we are getting out of the economic ruts of ages.

It is not by some mere theory, however good, that we shall enthuse the masses of our cultivators. The essential approach must be to make them serious and cooperate and to develop self-reliance. Hence the importance of the new powers to the village panchayat and the village cooperative. The

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and I think that it will produce, and to some extent is producing revolutionary results in the country. I know well its failings, but its successes are even more obvious. Effective results will depend on the measure of the people's association with it. Officials and trained personnel have importance, but the real part will have to be played by the average farmer. I think that a new spirit is spreading in our countryside as a result of this community development scheme.

Whether in land or in industry, or in the industry, or in the governmental apparatus, institutional changes become necessary from time to time as functions change, and a new set of values will replace those that have governed the old acquisitive society based on the profit motive. The full changeover must take time, for the problem before us is ultimately to change the thinking and activities of hundreds of millions of people, and to do this democratically by their consent. But the pace of change need not be slow and, indeed, circumstances will not allow of too much gradualness.

India today presents a very mixed picture of hope and anguish, of remarkable advances, and at the same time of inertia of a new spirit and also the dead hand of the past and of privilege, of an overall and growing unity and many disruptive tendencies. Withal there is a great vitality and a ferment in people's minds and activities. Perhaps, we who live the middle of this ever-changing scene do not always realise the full significance of all that is happening. Often outsiders can make a better appraisal of this situation.

It is a remarkable thing that a country and a people rooted in the remote past, who have shown so much resistance to change in the past, should now be marching forward rapidly and with resolute steps. We are making history in India, even though we might not be conscious of it.

What will emerge from the labour and the tumults of the present generation? What will tomorrow's India be like, I cannot say. I can only express my hopes and wishes. Naturally, I want India to advance on the material plane, to fulfil her five year plans, to raise the standards of living of her vast population; I want the narrow conflicts of today in the name of religion or caste, language or province, to cease; and a classless and tasteless society to be built up where every individual has full opportunity to grow according to his worth and ability. In particular, I hope that the curse of caste will be ended, for there cannot be either democracy or socialism on the basis of caste.

Four great religions have influenced India—two emerging from her own thought—Hinduism and Buddhism, and two coming from abroad but establishing themselves firmly in India—Christianity and Islam. Science today challenges the old concept of religion. But if religion deals not with dogmas and ceremonials, but rather with the higher things of life, there should be no conflict with science or inter se between religions. It might be the high privilege of India to help in

bringing about this synthesis. That would be in India's ancient tradition inscribed on Asoka's Edicts. Let us remember the message of Asoka written 2500 years ago. Thus runs that inscription, or part of it:

"The increase of spiritual strength is of many forms. But the root is the guarding of one's speech so as to avoid the extolling of one's own religion to the decrying of the religion of another, or speaking lightly of it without occasion or relevance."

"As proper occasions arise, persons of other religions should also be honoured suitably. Acting in this manner, one certainly exalts one's own religionist and also helps persons of other religions. Acting in a contrary manner, one injures one's own religion and also does disservice to the religions of others."

"One who reveres one's own religion and disparages that of another from devotion to one's own religion and to glorify it over all other religions, does injure one's own religion most certainly."

In Asoka's day, religion covered all kinds of faith and duty. Today we do not quarrel over religion so much but over political and economic matters and ideologies. But we might well follow Asoka's advice in dealing with people who differ from us in politics or in economics. There was no place for the cold war in Asoka's mind. There need be none today.

Tomorrow's India will be what we make it by today's labours. I have no doubt that India will progress industrially and otherwise; that she will advance in science and technology; that our people's standards will rise, that education will spread, and that health conditions will be better, and that art and culture will enrich people's lives. We have started on this pilgrimage with strong purpose and good heart, and we shall reach the end of the journey, however long that might be.

But what I am concerned with is not merely our material progress, but the quality and depth of our people. Gaining power through industrial processes, will they lose themselves in the quest of individual wealth and soft living? That would be a tragedy, for that would be a negation of what India has stood for in the past and, I think, in the present time also as exemplified by Gandhi. Power is necessary, but wisdom is essential. It is only power with wisdom that is good.

All of us now talk of and demand rights and privileges but the teaching of the old dharma was about duties and obligations. Rights follow duties discharged.

Can we combine the progress of science and technology with this progress of the mind and spirit also? We cannot be untrue to science, because that represents the basic fact of life today. Still less can we be untrue to those essential principles for which India has stood in the past throughout the ages. Let us then pursue our path to industrial progress with all our strength and

vigour and, at the same time, remember that material riches without toleration and compassion and wisdom may well turn to dust and ashes. Let us also remember that "Blessed are the Peace-makers."

Thank you.

(c) Press Conferences

11. Press Conference—I¹⁰⁹

Question: Sir, the West Bengal Assembly has passed a resolution regarding certain territories to be ceded to Pakistan under Nehru-Noon Agreement.¹¹⁰ What are Government of India's views?

Question: What about the Soviet rocket to the moon?

Prime Minister: This matter will be naturally coming before Parliament in due course. The Parliament will consider it. I quite understand the feeling among people in West Bengal about any change.¹¹¹ That is understandable. It has to be seen in the whole context but the matter will come up before Parliament as a whole and the conditions will be seen as they are then. I do not think I need say much on this subject.

Question: Is the entire Agreement subject to ratification?

Prime Minister: No. I think I told you once that there are some matters which are minor border adjustments coming out of an interpretation of the previous awards. It is not necessary to put them up before Parliament. I mean to say, it is not necessary to have a law about them. It may not all be put before Parliament but some things have inevitably to go there for legal sanction. This particular matter, for instance, the Cooch-Behar enclaves¹¹² and the rest have anyhow to go before Parliament. Some other matters may go and some may not go.

109. Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi, 3 Jan. 1959. File No. 43(73)/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection and PIB files.

110. For Nehru-Noon Pact of 1958, see SWJN/SS/Vol. 44/pp. 547-548.

111. On 29 December 1958, the West Bengal Assembly unanimously passed a resolution opposing the transfer of a part of Berubari Union in the Jalpaiguri District of West Bengal under the Nehru-Noon Pact. See also Nehru's statements in the Lok Sabha on 9 December 1958 in SWJN/SS/Vol.45/pp. 668-669 and in the Rajya Sabha on 12 February 1959 on pp. 88-89 in this volume.

As for the rocket to the moon, there is nothing to be said. I am told that it is on its way. What will happen to it ultimately, I cannot say.

Question: Have you any information that the National Physical Laboratory has got intimation from the Soviet Embassy that the rocket is expected to hit the moon at 3 o' clock tonight?

Prime Minister: I have received no such intimation. It is supposed to hit it! I do not know.

Question: What is your reaction to the speech of Pantji regarding Mr. T.T. Krishnamachari in Madras recently.

Prime Minister: So far as I remember Pantji paid a tribute to Mr. T.T. Krishnamachari's work and ability which I think was perfectly justified.¹¹³

Question: Pantji said though he was not to be blamed, he resigned his job.

Prime Minister: You will remember that he resigned and I think Pantji stated that because of the responsibility of a Minister for anything that is done, even though the Minister personally may not be to blame, but he accepted that responsibility and resigned. He resigned at a fairly early stage and it was at my request that he had continued. My letter was published. I had written to him. "You are completely right in resigning but for the present I should like you to wait till this is over. Then I shall accept your resignation." It is quite clear from my letter.¹¹⁴ My own view was that he personally was not responsible excepting so far as a Minister is responsible for anything that happens.

112. For Nehru's note of 23 April 1958 on the future of these enclaves, see SWJN/SS/Vol.42/ pp.617-618.

113. T. T. Krishnamachari, the Union Finance Minister, had resigned on 12 February 1958 after allegations of irregularities in the LIC's investments in certain companies controlled by Haridas Mundhra. G. B. Pant had spoken about him while unveiling Krishnamachari's portrait in Madras.

114. Dated 12 Feb. 1958, see SWJN/SS/Vol. 41/ pp.350-352. With Krishnamachari's letter of 5 February, this correspondence was published in leading newspapers on 14 February 1958.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Question: After the railway accident, Shri Lal Bhahadur Shastri resigned and then rejoined the Government after some time.¹¹⁵ Is it likely that Mr. Krishnamachari may also join?

Prime Minister: That is a matter principally for the Prime Minister to consider when the time arises for it. How can I say what will happen in the future?

Question: As regards the State trading in food grains, nothing has been done about it.

Prime Minister: It is not quite true.

Question: There is a rumour that there are so many difficulties in implementing it?

Prime Minister: That is not true. I came from Orissa yesterday¹¹⁶ and as a matter of fact from the 1st of this month in Orissa, this has been introduced and I believe in other places too. I do not know the details of how it has been done, largely because this changeover takes a little time. We have not got the apparatus for it and we are relying on licences, on people, licences of wholesale traders, on State Governments' licences, etc. I cannot give you the details. There is no doubt about it. We are going ahead with it and gradually the apparatus will become better. Wherever there are cooperatives functioning, we are relying on the cooperatives to do it but cooperatives are not functioning everywhere in a big way.

Question: In the current issue of *Kurukshetra* there is an article by you in which it is said that ceilings on holdings cannot function without a cooperative.¹¹⁷ Do you have service cooperatives in mind or joint cooperatives?

115. Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Railway Minister, had resigned on 25 November 1956 following a railway accident at Ariyalur in Southern Railway on 23 November 1956. Shastri returned to the Cabinet on 17 April 1957 after the Second General Elections.

116. Nehru addressed a public meeting at Cuttack on 31 December 1958 and the PEN Conference at Bhubaneswar on 1 January. He returned to Delhi on the morning of 2 January 1959.

117. The article "Trust the Peasant" in *Kurukshetra* (Delhi, Vol.7, No.3, December 1958, pp.261-262) said: "About ceilings, the more I think of it the more I come to the conclusion that while ceilings are essential, ceilings cannot function without co-operatives. It is an essential part of it. You must have both together, otherwise something will go wrong."

Prime Minister: I do not remember exactly what I wrote.

Question: I will read the sentence.

Prime Minister: It would not be fair to throw my words at me all the time.

Question: What have you in mind? Service cooperatives or joint farming cooperatives?

Prime Minister: Whatever my words might be at that time I was thinking chiefly of service cooperatives. My thinking is that joint farming cooperatives are desirable and we should aim at them, but partly because we have to train up the people in thinking of them and accepting them, because we cannot compel them to do it, and partly because, institutionally it requires many things to be done. So where we can have a joint farming cooperative, let us say on now land that we reclaim – then of course, we won't start from scratch. Otherwise, I think we should concentrate on service cooperatives and do propaganda to convince them to take the next step as soon as they can. What I meant there was, I was not thinking of small holdings, there are no resources behind them for scientific progress, etc. Either it should be a large holding owned by a single person or it should be a cooperative undertaking in which a number of small holdings join together. Then they can indulge in improved farming methods and all that. A person who has got two or three acres of land cannot do very much with it.

Question: Service cooperatives only... Still holding will be small.

Prime Minister: No. But there are so many things. I am aiming at a joint thing. I have to go step by step to it.

Question: Joint farming cooperatives must come after the service cooperatives?

Prime Minister: I wanted them to come but with the consent of the people. I have to convert them to it and the best way of converting them apart from trying to explain it to them, is to have some of those things here and there and they can see the results of them.

Question: Some people including Congressmen have expressed the opinion that joint farming cooperatives strengthen a totalitarian system?

Prime Minister: I beg to differ. That is all I can say. I do not think, if I may say so with all respect to whoever said so, that they have given enough thought to the matter. That kind of thing is just like a statement I think I criticised on the last occasion—of co-relating private enterprise with democracy—which I think is wholly unjustified; it has no meaning, as if private enterprise is an essential part of democracy. I do not accept that at all.¹¹⁸

When we use the word “private enterprise”, we are not talking about petty shops, petty lands, etc. Normally we talk about private enterprise in so far as big things are concerned. In fact, I would go a step further that private enterprise may come in the way, and it does come in the way of the functioning of the democratic apparatus. It may not be so always.

Question: Has your government any experience till now that private enterprise in a big way sometimes comes in the way of democratic set up?

Prime Minister: I should have thought that recently, in the last few months especially, there has been a good deal of propaganda to the effect that private enterprise should not be touched. In fact, if you examine that propaganda it goes to the base of things; that is, they object to our aiming at what we call the socialistic pattern of society. That is the real thing. We object to that. I am only referring to some people; I do not say all. Because, most people do not wish to say that quite clearly. They criticize the consequences which naturally flow. You may argue whether we are going towards a socialistic pattern of society or not and, if you like, much can be said on either side. But once you accept it, certain consequences flow from it. Now they do not accept the consequence, which is absurd. If you accept one thing; you have to accept what flows from it.

Question: Are you referring to the propaganda of the Forum of Free Enterprise or some other agency?¹¹⁹

Prime Minister: No, I am merely referring to it, I do not know. The Forum of Free Enterprise, no doubt, probably does it. I do not read their leaflets.

118. See also SWJN/SS/45/pp. 213-215.

119. Established in July 1956 to lobby for free enterprise. Prominent members were: A. D. Shroff, S. Anantharamakrishnan, Sardar Mohan Singh, M.R. Masani, M.A. Master and so on.

Question: They are quoting you. They begin by three quotations from you and then state their view.

Prime Minister: The devil quoting scriptures, have not you heard about it?

Question: It has been reported that recently about 108 Congress MPs sent a memorandum to you on the question of ceiling on land holdings and its interrelationship with urban income. They have urged that, until simultaneously some ceiling is fixed on urban income, no such ceiling should be fixed on the agricultural sector.

Prime Minister: I received a communication to that effect, to which I sent a reply.¹²⁰ To say that they are inter-related, of course, is not true. To say that they are psychologically connected is partly true. I am only saying that, one can understand the psychological connection and the feeling towards that effect. But they stand on completely separate footings. It is one thing to say that one aims ultimately, well, relatively more or less at equality of income. But I am quite sure that putting what is called a ceiling on urban income is quite wrong, at the present stage; I may point out, we are not putting a ceiling on agricultural income. It is completely wrong to say that. What we are doing is putting a ceiling on the amount of land that a person holds, which is a different thing from putting a ceiling on income.

Question: Does it not mean the same thing?

Prime Minister: No, for two reasons. One is, that from land he can increase his income doubly, trebly, if he works properly, as he should. Secondly, there are many ancillary activities which he can indulge in, ancillary to the land and cultivation. So, it is not a ceiling on income at all. You may say that the possibilities of adding to his income are not quite so open as they may be in other spheres. That may be perfectly true.

Question: The figure mentioned refers only to the initial allotment of land. If we put a ceiling on income, does it not lead to a cut in the land held by a person who grows more?

Prime Minister: Not at all.

120. For Nehru's reply of 25 December 1958 to N. G. Ranga who forwarded the memorandum to Nehru, see SWJN/SS/45/pp. 511-512.

Question: This figure is only for the initial allotment?

Prime Minister: No question of initial or not. It is a question of land, the quantum of land, not the quantum of income.

Question: Most of the ceilings in Andhra have been fixed on the basis that they will enable an agricultural family of five persons to get an income of Rs. 3, 600 or Rs. 4,500 per annum. It is expressed in terms of income.

Prime Minister: Some States have expressed it as an approach to the question, but the idea is not to limit a person's income, but because land is not enough, it has to be rationed. And broadly speaking, we have said we do not want intermediaries on land.

Question: Is the programme of ceilings on land holdings being thought of in terms of increased production, or in terms of social justice or equality.

Prime Minister: It is thought of in both terms—certainly in terms of social justice, getting land to give to the landless people that is true, but surely the whole basis of everything is more production; otherwise, the whole thing goes to pieces.

Question: What is the ceiling that has actually been contemplated, because nowhere has it been specified as to what the ceiling is? One time we hear the figure of land that will yield an income of Rs. 3,600 at another time it has been stated that the income from it will be Rs. 5,400. None of the persons in the Congress party who submitted the land reform plan has been able to specify what exactly the ceiling will be.

Prime Minister: No. Because the conditions differ in different parts of India. We are not putting down one rigid rule to apply everywhere. Conditions are different in the Punjab and Tamil Nad. But the broad principle is put down and it has been accepted.

Question: But what is that principle, that is not clear.

Prime Minister: The principle, broadly, is, I suppose, first of all, we do not want intermediaries in land. Secondly, in calculating that some kind of an ad hoc figure is arrived at. For instance, if there is good land or bad land, it differs; where it is bad land, naturally much more is necessary.

Question: In terms of standard acres, what is to be the ceiling?

Prime Minister: I am telling you I do not know. The first approach was, which I think has been done everywhere, that no one should add to his land by purchase. Take for instance, that in U.P. some time back, as far as I remember 30 acres were put as the limit; nobody could get more, but if the person had more, it was left with him for the time being but he could not add more to that 30. If you left it at that, in the course of some time, 30 acres would be the limit in U.P. because one cannot add to it – and it would be probably much less.

Now, the second stage is, those who have more than a certain quantum should give that up and be compensated, or whatever it is, and others should get that land. That varies somewhat, it has to vary from state to state. You cannot apply that to urban incomes, except, as I said, in a blanket way that everybody should be equal. I think that kind of blanket application of such rules, however sentimentally attractive, is not feasible and the only result of it would be a reduction in production in various ways and the dynamism of a certain process slowing down.

Question: While each state is making up its mind as to what the ceiling should be, might not that create a psychological atmosphere where people are afraid to make improvements by way of irrigation, wells, etc., because after the income goes up, the ceiling might go down?

Prime Minister: I do not think that will apply, but you are right in saying that has been happening in the last two or three years. It is a fact, that this slight uncertainty has led to people not doing with their land what they might otherwise have done. Therefore, it is necessary to settle it finally. Therefore, it has been recommended by the Congress Committee that this should be finalised as soon as possible.

Question: Some kind of maximum-minimum range has to be indicated for this. The Planning Commission originally suggested Rs. 3600, and the question of income also inevitably comes in. If you take land of varying fertility, you will have to say that acres of a certain quality of land will be equal to more land of a lower fertility. That is one aspect.

Secondly, would you consider indicating a specific minimum and maximum range within which the states will have to fix such a ceiling?

Prime Minister: Broadly speaking, without fixing any figure that has been done. You must remember that on this question of land, whatever your economic

approach may be, it is common ground that the landlord system is an out-of-date system. Now see what happened in Japan. Now Japan is not socialistic. And more especially, the American authorities in Japan at that time certainly could not be accused of socialism. But they brought about this far-reaching land reform in Japan because that was the only way to get out of a certain feudal set-up, or semi-feudal set-up, which prevented growth it may produce some confusion in the changeover; it is inevitable in a transition; the only other alternative to this would be collective farming or something like that, which is something different.¹²¹

Question: Whatever be the land ceiling, in view of the considerable opposition that has arisen on this very principle of land ceiling from the Congress Party itself, what is going to be the prospect of the very principle? I am referring to the memorandum by 108 Congress M.P.s.¹²²

Prime Minister: That simply shows that in the Congress there are many interests represented, and those interests sometimes pull in different directions. But that does not mean that the Congress should not arrive at any decision, or the Government; it has to arrive at some decision, which presumably represents the interests and the wishes of the great majority.

Question: Would not the criterion that the land must be cultivated by the person himself and not be sublet by him automatically impose a ceiling by itself?

Prime Minister: I know that, of course, but even there, there are difficulties. When you say "by himself", of course, you mean his family presumably? Well, there are some difficulties. As a matter of fact, there are at present some kinds of tenants, protected tenants, in some places; but, ultimately, what you say is the right thing, and that would by itself put a ceiling. But remember this; even with regard to cultivation by oneself, if you use tractors and the rest, you can do a lot with the tractor, and farm a much larger piece of land.

121. In 1946, during the American occupation, Japan went through a land reform, with ceilings on holdings and rents, transfer of excess land to tenants, and compensation to landlords in cash and 30-year bonds. Alienation of redistributed land was permitted only after four years. Marketing and credit cooperatives followed, and the Local Autonomy Law of 1947 decentralised power.

122. See SWJN/SS/45/pp. 511-512.

Question: What is to happen to the larger farms that are under tractors now?

Prime Minister: There is, I believe, if you will remember, in the Planning Commission's report a statement that where big experiments like this are being conducted, they do not want to split them up; some arrangement will be made in regard to them. Remember this also, when we talk about this...

Question: Has not an exemption been made in the Planning Commission's report for these well-managed farms?

Prime Minister: That was what I said, that there are certain temporary exemptions. But please remember that when we talk about this, we are really discussing—I do not quite know the figure – but a very very small percentage of land, because most of it is in tiny holdings rather than in big ones.

Question: You just now referred to the question of private enterprises not accepting the implications of socialistic pattern. Since the Congress itself seems to contain a large number of these people, and since it has chosen as its candidates, those who are opposed to land ceilings, cooperatives and other things, what is the direction in which the Congress proposes to move? For example, there is the candidature of Mr. M.S. Aney for Nagpur.¹²³

Prime Minister: I have no idea of what Mr. Aney's views are about land ceilings. I have not discussed these with him; I have no idea. The local people have recommended his name; he is a very eminent person. We accepted it. It was recommended by the local committee.

Question: Mr. Aney is the President of the Maha Vidarbha Samiti and the Congress has set him up as a candidate from Nagpur. Does it mean that

123. In the Lok Sabha by-election from the Nagpur-Umrer constituency, M. S. Aney of the Congress defeated the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti nominee B. D. Khobragade on 3 February 1959 by a margin of 58,068 votes.

the Congress has accepted the Vidarbha Samiti's programme.¹²⁴

Prime Minister: No. It does not mean anything of the kind.

Question: There are reports of military preparations in Pakistan¹²⁵—how they will fight and so on—in Rawalpindi and other places. What have you got to say about them; about these military trends.

Prime Minister: What do you expect; it is not a military trend, it is a military boss there. Obviously, if he used to think in military terms; there would be such trends.

Question: Master Tara Singh came and saw you. Have you anything to say about his talks with you?

Prime Minister: Yes, he was good enough to come and see me. He explained his viewpoint¹²⁶ in regard to the amendment of the Gurdwara Act.¹²⁷ First of all, I told him that I was more or less ignorant of these matters, and I did not know much about the history of it, but the broad fact was that we left those religious matters to the religious community concerned for it to decide for itself. In fact, previous to Master Tara Singh's coming, the matter had been sent to me by some MLAs – Sikh MLAs – and a little later those same Sikh or Akali MLAs had written to me thanking me, although I had done hardly anything in the matter. I simply forward what I got to the Punjab Government for them to

124. In 1940, the Maha Vidarbha Samiti, led by M. S. Aney, had proposed a Marathi-speaking state consisting of the Vidarbha region. Following this, the Akola Pact of 1947 between the Congress leaders from western Maharashtra and from the then Central Provinces and Berar, now Madhya Pradesh envisaged two sub-provinces, Maha Vidarbha and western Maharashtra. In 1956, the States Reorganisation Commission proposed a Vidarbha state. On 10 February 1959, Aney said that while his recent election to Parliament "may be interpreted" as showing that Vidarbha was not against the bilingual state, yet the people of Vidarbha "have definitely and unequivocally expressed by their verdict that they stood for a separate state of Vidarbha with Nagpur as its capital."

125. See p. 576.

126. Tara Singh met Nehru on 30 December 1958. Nehru wrote to Partap Singh Kairon about this meeting on the same day. See SWJN/SS/Vol. 45/ pp. 357-358 and p. 338 in this volume.

127. The Sikh Gurdwaras (Amendment) Act was passed by the Punjab Legislative Assembly on 31 December 1958 and by the Punjab Council on 3 January 1959 to provide for control and management of about 181 gurdwaras in the erstwhile PEPSU by the SGPC.

consider, but the Government had made a change, an amendment and they thanked me for this change. When Master Tara Singh came, I did the same. I forwarded his memorandum with a covering letter to the Punjab Government. I would like to say, that apart from the constitutional aspect, I could not overrule the Punjab Government. I can point out things for their consideration. I really do not consider myself competent in such matters to bring any kind of pressure on people who are responsible for them.

Question: What is the latest position about the canal waters talks? One day we hear that the talks have broken down. Another day somebody denies it.

Prime Minister: There is no question of the talks breaking down. They are continuing, as they have continued for the last 8 years.¹²⁸

Question: Your Government has sent a special delegation to China to look into the working of the so-called People's Communes. Is this an official delegation or a private one?

Prime Minister: I do not know which delegation you are referring to. We are sending two, perhaps three, delegations there. One is about rice production. They are all official. We did not send the rice delegation because it was pointed out that the season was over. So it will go the next season, may be in April or so. Then there was a second one on pig iron etc. They are producing pig iron on what might be called a cottage scale, with small furnaces all over. This delegation will be going soon. I think the third one was with regard to water conservancy and such like things.

Question: You visited the new US Embassy today. Have you anything to say about it?

Prime Minister: I was enchanted by the building. I think that it is a very beautiful structure and a very attractive combination of various typical Indian motifs with the latest modern techniques.

Question: A delegation is visiting China also to study the anti-pest control measures. According to Government of India figures, the loss due to pests is huge. If the loss can be prevented, there may be no necessity to import foodgrains?

128. See pp. 578-580.

Prime Minister: As a matter of fact, I have got a large number of reports about these things which have come from our embassies. Only two days ago, I received a long report from a commission that went on behalf of our Atomic Energy Commission there at the invitation of the Chinese Government of the starting of a reactor which they had started there. We are well supplied with information about most of these subjects. Of course, when you talk about pests, I might say there are two types of pests (Laughter). I did not say anything to my knowledge that was amusing. What I meant was that there are some which harm granaries. The other is destruction by insects. The more something is done about this, the better. The third is certain species of animals or birds which do a lot of damage. Well, there we come up against, some sentiments in India which often come in the way, not entirely, but they do come in the way.

Question: In your discussions with Vinoba Bhave, you also discussed the Bombay question.¹²⁹ May we know something about it?

Prime Minister: It would not be correct to say that I discussed it with him but there was some reference and Vinobaji mentioned to me that a few days previously he had met Mr. Joshi¹³⁰ and had a talk with him about these matters. And I think he himself or Mr. Joshi has given some publicity to that talk.

Question: Is the problem anywhere near solution?

Prime Minister: As I said, we hardly discussed this subject. He was telling me about his talk. That by itself was not meant to lead us anywhere in discussing solutions and the like with him.

Question: Can we take it that there is not much difference of opinion between you and Vinobaji on this question?

Prime Minister: I really am not prepared to say how much difference there is or not. I was not cross-examining him. We were really discussing other matters and this came up casually.

129. Nehru met Vinoba Bhave on 17 and 18 December 1958 in Ahmedabad when he inaugurated the centenary celebrations of the textile industry. Shriman Narayan claims in his book *Vinoba—His Life and Work* (Bombay: 1970, p. 310) that his primary objective was to seek “Vinoba’s views on the bilingual state of Bombay given the agitations in Maharashtra.”

130. S. M. Joshi, General Secretary, Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti, and MLA, Bombay.

Question: Do you agree that there is a problem like that?

Prime Minister: There is always a problem, when people differ there is a problem.

Question: Do you agree that if the demand for Samyukta Maharashtra is acceded to, other forces will be encouraged for questions like Vidarbha?

Prime Minister: I do not know that there is any question of encouraging forces but it is to nobody's interest to encourage forces, disruptive forces. But I myself have stated in public — I think it was in Poona or Bombay — that if you upset any kind of a decision then you do not get back exactly to where you were. Other consequences also flow. One has to take all these consequences into consideration.

Question: Could you tell us about the working of the Cabinet, particularly with regard to the coordination between the Defence Ministry and Industry and Commerce Ministry on the question of these Defence contracts? I am asking this question because Mr. Manubhai Shah¹³¹ made a statement recently which virtually contradicts your stand about this, particularly about the automobile industry.

Prime Minister: Automobile trucks you mean.

Question: Yes.

Prime Minister: I have not seen Manubhai Shah's statement. I cannot say what he said.

Question: He said that they have not developed to the required extent due to the limitations on foreign exchange, that is the Commerce and Industry Ministry was not granted enough foreign exchange to develop the automobile industry in the private sector whereas the Defence Ministry has been allowed. At least that is how I interpreted that.

Prime Minister: That may be true insofar as some development or lack of development took place in the last year or so possibly; but what I pointed out independently of these contracts was that the development of the automobile industry in India in the last eight years, nine years, ten years has been remarkably

131. Union Minister of State for Industry.

slow. There is no doubt about it and no question of foreign exchange arose before the last two years or so. It has been slow. No doubt about it.

Question: Mr Manubhai Shah while making a statement in the Lok Sabha on the tariff bill said that the automobile industry in India has made very good progress and he blamed that the industry has not been able to attain self-sufficiency in production only because of the foreign exchange difficulty.

Prime Minister: Really I cannot discuss a statement by my colleague unless I know what it is.

Question: Fortunately he is not a Cabinet Minister.

Prime Minister: No doubt he is a very valued colleague of mine. This has nothing to do with it. The trucks contract has nothing to do with this question of automobile industry. Nothing to do with it directly but on the trucks contract you asked me the question of relationship of the two Ministries.....

Question: The working of the Cabinet particularly the coordination between the Defence Ministry and Industry and Commerce Ministry. How you coordinate them?

Prime Minister: The question of coordination — there is such a thing as the Defence Committee of the Cabinet which is supposed to coordinate activities between different Ministries concerned, apart from the officials meeting and all that. Normally speaking, within the ambit of the work of defence, that is to say production for defence purposes and within the limits of the money allotted to them, no great question arises of coordination. Some question does arise always because that one thing affects another but the Defence Ministry within those limits, for its own sake, for the needs required by it, can take any steps. It is desirable always to coordinate because of the other consequences. Here I need not repeat long statements made before Parliament about trucks and I really do not think that it has any marked effect on the civilian market what Defence produces and personally I think it is a good thing from any point of view for this, what you might call an element on competition to come in between the private sector and the public sector. We want to profit by it on both sides.

Question: You just now said that many interests are represented in the Congress. You think these interests are represented in the Cabinet also?

Prime Minister: No. Obviously not. They may be. There is a certain emphasis of views, some people emphasising something a little more than the other. But the Cabinet functions, by and large, as a homogenous entity.

Question: During the debate in Parliament on the question of trucks, questions were put on behalf of a gentleman who was not given a licence to set up a factory for the manufacture of tractors and trucks.¹³² Subsequently, he has been given a licence to set up this plant. The demand for trucks in this country is not particularly very heavy and the Army is going to put up a factory. Their foreign exchange expenditure is of the order of only Rs. 50 lakhs or so. Where was the necessity to have a second factory put up when they have to start from scrap [sic; perhaps "scratch"] all over?

Prime Minister: I do not quite know whether you are asking me a question or telling me something.

Question: This arises out of the question of co-ordination between the Defence Ministry and the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. Has there been any close consultation and co-ordination in giving this licence to the latter?

Prime Minister: I really do not know what you are referring to. Are you referring to the licence granted to that particular individual?

Question: The licence has been given by the Commerce and Industry Ministry. There seems to be some inherent contradiction between the statement made by the Deputy Minister of Defence¹³³ on behalf of the Defence Committee of which you are the Chairman and the views adumbrated by the Commerce and Industry Ministry subsequently during the debate on the Tariff Bill.

Prime Minister: I really do not know. I did not know exactly what the Tariff Bill contained. I was not interested in it; and I did not follow the debate.

Question: There is the Economic Sub-Committee of the Cabinet. If this question had been referred to that Sub-Committee, it might have taken just

132. See SWJN/SS/45/pp. 12 fn 33, 810-811 and 815-819.

133. K. Raghuramaiah. See SWJN/SS/45/pp. 814-815.

the contrary view because it deals primarily with the Army part and not the industrialisation; of the whole country. Was it referred to the Economic Sub-Committee of the Cabinet also?

Prime Minister: Of course not. Such things are not referred to it. There is no need for it to be referred to the Economic Sub-Committee. The Economic Sub-Committee of the Cabinet has to follow the policy of the Government. And the policy of the Government is to proceed towards a socialist pattern of society, maybe slowly if you like, and, therefore, to encourage the public sector whenever it can be encouraged.

Question: Who decides this industrialisation policy? Who keeps the overall picture in mind? Who coordinates that actually?

Prime Minister: Who coordinates the limited production? Is it?

Question: It is a relative question of industrialisation.

Prime Minister: There is no relative question. You can take it from me that wherever we can do something in the public sector, we will do it. No question of co-ordination arises. The public sector will always get priority, wherever we can do it economically and properly. There is no question about it. You seem to forget the basic policy of Government; most of these critics don't seem to remember it either.

Question: The question is why did the private sector get the licence.

Prime Minister: Let us be clear about it. We have got into an unfortunate habit—most of us in Parliament and outside—of criticising the public sector and criticising the private sector. They seldom have a good word to say about it either. Now, the right policy would be, realising that the public sector is the basic sector for strategic things and important things and it is an advancing sector, yet a very large field is left to the private sector. Having left that large field to the private sector, we do not wish to impede it. We wish to encourage it to function in that field. There is no point in not having it. The question may arise—and it does arise—in regard to certain border-line industries like the automobile industry for instance. We have considered that. But we do wish the private sector to function satisfactorily and to encourage it within the large field that is given to it and not to pull it up all the time. But where the private sector tries to run down the public sector, then it puts forward a wrong foot

and if somebody treads upon it, it should not object.

Question: The Defence Ministry is reported to have written to the Commerce and Industry Ministry that they will have surplus capacity in tractors and that they can make them available to the civilian market. In spite of that the Commerce Ministry has given a licence.

Prime Minister: How can I discuss these matters of detail? But I can tell you this. The Defence Ministry can make some tractors for its own use, principally basing it on the existing machinery which it has got in the ordnance factories plus some additional machinery, not much. If it tried to go in for mass production of tractors or trucks, then it would require a new plant. For the present, we are not thinking in terms of putting up a new, big and major plant but rather of utilising the excess capacity, both in machinery and in technical personnel. The main object is that our excess capacity in the ordnance factories is wasted. We want to use that.

Question: You have said that many interests are represented? How long do you think that it will be when in the Congress only one interest would be represented—socialist interest?

Prime Minister: I hope your idea of socialism is just one, and not two.

Question: You have said that the Cabinet functions as a homogenous body. Is it possible when the Congress is not a political party, not a single political party.

Prime Minister: I have not said so. The Congress is very much a political party but it has always been—it has inherited, at least to some extent though not so much as it used to be before—a national movement. It is not certainly as it was but it has that tinge still.

Now, may I draw your attention to something quite different? We talk about socialism—rightly. We discuss it and we have different views about it. But I would venture to point out to you that the context of our thinking has changed. I do not mean India alone—the world—because of the tremendous technological changes that have taken place. It has changed the whole context of events. It does not matter what policy you pursue today. The technological advance is so great that it can yield results in industrialisation and so on. In some it may take less time and in some, more time. That is the whole context. You send a rocket to the moon. The Soviet Government sends it up. That is the

symbol of the enormous change and we still think in terms of some static conditions of mind which might have existed some 50 or 60 or 40 years ago. It has all changed.

The basic principles of socialism are all right if you agree with them. But you must apply them in the context of today. Today, it is a fantastic world we live in; it is a changing world because of these technological changes. So far as technology, machinery, physics and higher mathematics are concerned, enormous powers are at man's disposal. It is man who is physically at present not quite trained up to them. A rocket can go to the moon but a man cannot go to the moon; yet he may go later. Probably, he would burst or disintegrate on account of the pressures and all that. And amazing things are being done today. I do not know about the Soviet Union, but I am sure in the Soviet Union also—in America and in some other places—training of human beings for the inter-space travel is being done. Experiments, amazing experiments are being conducted on poor human beings, willingly of course. They submit to them because they think they are the pioneers into a new world. I feel, I confess to you – and it seems to me odd that there should be a repetition of old slogans which have no place today at all in this new and tremendously complicated, developing world. It may land you into, well, into all manner of good places or, in the alternative, it may land you in the pit of hell — I do not know where it will land. Yet we still talk and argue in the same limited way of slogans, criticise so and so, curse this method and that method. Let us think in this new context.

Question: Would you like to comment, in this connection, on the article in the international communist journal on your views about socialism expressed in the *AICC Economic Review*?¹³⁴

Prime Minister: No, I won't. But I will tell you this. First of all, I was not expressing my views about socialism or about anything there. It was just an expression of various ideas that came into my head. It was a confidential paper, but when somebody asked me whether it could be published, I said, all right. I was not discussing anything in that sense.

Question: To come back to what you just now said, would you like to expand as to what are the slogans which are still being talked about and which have been overtaken by technological changes?

134. This refers to "Can We Agree with Pandit Nehru's Basic Approach" in *World Marxist Review* (Prague, Czechoslovakia, Vol. 1 No. 4, Dec. 1958) by Pavel Yudin, the Soviet Ambassador to China, unfavourably comparing India with China. For Nehru's article, see SWJN/SS/Vol. 43/pp. 3-11.

Prime Minister: At the right time I might deal with that matter.

Question: Would you like to continue your comment on the note that you prepared and which was published?

Prime Minister: I was not expressing any particular thing. I was expressing in that, in a different context, almost what I have just said, a certain dissatisfaction with the old approaches to modern problems. I said in that note, if I remember rightly, that the orthodox capitalist approach had proved inadequate. As for the other approach, what you might call, the communist approach, I said, there are many things; it has done remarkably well, but, speaking personally, I do not like its association with, I think I used the word, violence or lack of individual freedom. It was a casual remark that I made; I was not discussing anything in full. It is not that the subjects are not capable of discussion. They are very interesting, fascinating subjects to discuss, but I have not got, well, that complete freedom to discuss these matters which you gentlemen have.

Question: The Congress President has expressed his desire to retire. Some papers have said that you intend to take it over.¹³⁵

Prime Minister: Are you asking whether I am going to become the Congress President? Certainly not.

Question: This and that together?

Prime minister: No, no. I did that once. I do not think it is right.

Question: Returning to the notes that you prepared, it seems that you have been singled out for a concerted discussion in the communist world. Do you propose to reply or take any steps?

Prime Minister: No. I do not. I do not. If I have to express myself, I will express myself not as a reply but just what I think on some other occasion. I may or may not, but I am not now going to enter into a polemic argument.

Question: Would you attach any political importance to this attack by the gentleman who is Ambassador in Peking?

135. See pp. 252-253 and 272-287.

Prime Minister: Not much.

Question: When the Ambassador in Peking on behalf of Russia is attacking you, would you suggest any co-ordination—any co-ordination in the ideological sense — on the part of the Communist world in regard to your basic approach?

Prime Minister: That is obvious. I do not pretend to accept their basic approach, and they do not pretend to like or not like my basic approach. It is obvious. What he says is a normal thing which one expects them to say. Ultimately, the only point is, why did he say it. It is not that what he says is surprising at all. That is what one expects about their thinking. It is natural for them to say that. That is nothing surprising.

Question: Do you think the Indian Communists would take up more or less the same line?

Prime Minister: I cannot speak on behalf of the Indian Communist Party.

Question: At the close of the meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party about a fortnight ago, you were officially stated by the Secretary of the Congress Party to have appealed to Congress members to read and think more and that you requested them to express their views and participate in the ideological thinking that is going on behind the Second and the Third Plans.¹³⁶ Does that mean that at present there is too much of blind acceptance of the Congress policy without understanding the implications of any policy that is formulated, and it is because of that that the policy is not carried over to the people.

Prime Minister: Yes, I did say that. But that was meant to apply not to the Congress people but to others also. As a matter of fact, there is far too much of laying down a general principle and then on the basis of that going to consider particulars. I think the right thing would be to go to general principles from the particulars. You are more on firm ground there. Otherwise, you are in the realm of slogans, and the general principle then come out of the slogans. Then, there is not much room left for thinking about the application of it.

We are doing a great deal of thinking about the approach to the Third Five Year Plan. As I told you last time, sometime later — I do not know when—

136. For Nehru's address to the CPP on 20 December 1958, see SWJN/SS/45/pp. 467-468.

perhaps a couple of months later. I should like to have a Press Conference devoted entirely to the matter, to discuss that matter. We have already enlarged our circle of thinking and consultation considerably. That is, the Planning Commission has done that. The Planning Commission has received some very interesting papers. Then there is the Committee of Parliament, of about a dozen persons. Then, we have brought in at this early stage the whole of the Cabinet into it. Of course, we do not ask them to come to the meetings, but they get every paper of the Planning Commission. We are sending every paper, even proceedings of the Planning Commission, to every Chief Minister. In this no doubt the Chief Ministers may consult some of their colleagues. So, we have a large circle of consultation in keeping informed very much, even at this initial, stage, although the Third Plan is two years hence. Deliberately, we are not coming to rigid decisions, because in examining each phase, we are mostly going from the particular to the general; we are not generalising and then seeking to justify the general problem and all the other problems of India.

I may give you an instance. Long ago—about 20 years ago—when I was the Chairman of the National Planning Committee which had been appointed by the then Congress President, Shri Subhas Chandra Bose, well, he appointed a very mixed crowd.¹³⁷ There were big financiers, big industrialists, trade union people, communists, socialists, village industry people, engineers.¹³⁸ It was a very curious mixture and it was not quite clear how people holding such entirely different opinions could hold together. The first day, somebody raised the basic questions of principles. Immediately, there was a heated debate leading nowhere. I suggested, why not discuss the problem without discussing high principles. What have we to do practically? What have we got to do is to feed the people, clothe them, educate them and provide them with health services and then provide work for everybody. On that basis, what we have to do? We have to produce goods that are necessary; we have to produce machines, we have to produce machine-making plants which will produce machines and so on and so forth. I said, 'Let us proceed that way'. So we did. And it was surprising that when we proceeded from this particular [some words missing], how much unanimity there was about it. Some differences of opinion here and there, certainly, but the moment we got away from discussing just principles, high principles and got down to facts and brass tacks, people looked upon it from a practical point of view and the differences were moderated very much. Of

137. Appointed in October 1938, the National Planning Committee started with 11 members and co-opted another 13. See also SWJN/FS/ 9/pp.367-402.

138. For example, Ambalal Sarabhai, Purshottamdas Thakurdas, V. V. Giri, M. Visveswaraya, Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee.

course, that Committee never finished its work but if you still see the sub-committees' work,¹³⁹ you will find how much common thinking there was.

Question: The Planning Commission has got some fixed ideas and they do not alter them even after prolonged discussions and consultations with the leaders of the various political parties. Do you think that at the time of the Third Plan you will give due weight to their suggestions?

Prime Minister: Usually the difference of opinion between the Planning Commission and others has nothing to do with any principle but in regard to some project or other which a state wants. They want a factory in their state or some other plant or a river valley scheme. No principle is involved. That is a question on which naturally discussion takes place. Some decision has to be arrived at. Let us say that three states want a fertilizer factory, it has to go to one, two are disappointed. But if it comes to the much broader question of defining the approach, in that you will notice—and I did not mention one thing, the Congress has also appointed a Committee for the same purpose. So that the consideration of this approach is very spread and covers most of the important parties in the country.

Question: Already controversies on the Third Five Year Plan have started. Prof. Mahalanobis¹⁴⁰ has said in a speech today that the Plan should be very big. He has not mentioned figures.

Prime Minister: Has he made a speech today? He has not mentioned any figure. I suggest to you an occupation for your leisure moments. Try to read some of the preliminary chapters of the Second Plan Report where there are general things, not the details, where the projections are given, what should be done in the future; the Third plan and the Fourth plan. Then try to think of the population of India as it will be, say ten years hence or whatever figures you may arrive seven years, under the Third plan or better still, a little further. According to those projections and the population, try to calculate what you have to do in order to maintain just the present level and not make any progress. Just at the present level, because of the increasing population you have to feed them more, you have to clothe them more, you have to house them more. Therefore, you have to put in more money. Then you will get some rough idea of how much

139. Twenty-nine sub-committees were appointed by the National Planning Committee to report on various aspects of planning.

140. Director, Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta, and Member, Planning Commission.

you have to spend, how much you have to invest in the Third Plan in order just to maintain the level as it is and not go down or go back. Obviously, we do not want to remain where we are. We have to go further ahead and then you have to decide how much further ahead you think we can manage to go. That will mean further investment still. This is an entirely practical approach. You may not have the figures, all the details but it is a practical approach how much is required having regard to the increasing population, how much fresh investment is required to keep where we are. And then secondly, we cannot keep, we obviously cannot. We have to attack the employment problem and we have to go further ahead. We cannot remain where we are. How much, that may be a variable figure. You may think we should go up only 2% a year or 3% or 4%, whatever it may be so that that will give you some rough idea. Some people have said that we should wait; after our efforts during the last three or four years we should rest a while. Rest from planning. That simply means that they have not given much thought to it. You cannot rest. Population is increasing. They want more food, they want more clothing to wear, more houses, education more and more. How can you rest? You cannot. There is no question of a small plan. You cannot do it. How big it will be that is a different matter but you just cannot have a small plan. You may of course just surrender and say "we cannot do anything, let the country go to pieces". That is a different matter. But no responsible person will take up that attitude.

Question: Is it a fact that the World Bank in its report has advised the Government of India that we should consolidate rather than expand our economy?

Prime Minister: I do not remember. May have done so. Perhaps some phrase or other I do not know.

Question: How do you explain the stock of surplus production? For example, there is a surplus of cement in this country whereas 36,000 officers and 'babus' are waiting for houses in New Delhi and Sardar Swaran Singh¹⁴¹ talked of surplus of pig iron for export. What is your norm of surplus? Has the Planning Commission any definition?

Prime Minister: Surplus of pig iron export is a simple proposition because we want to export it to get foreign exchange. You can use in India, of course.

141. Union Minister of Steel, Mines and Fuel.

Question: You are exporting while houses are required here.

Prime Minister: Everything that we are exporting—we are doing because we want foreign exchange and I hope we shall export more and more even if people have to tighten their belts in India. Every country does that. See what China is doing. Flooding the markets with their exports. You cannot get things in Peking itself, which you can get in Hong Kong. A country which is serious on these things.

Question: Here some people alone should tighten their belts?

Prime Minister: Who may I ask? Are there any species of animal?

Question: Has family planning shown any results?

Prime Minister: Our latest reports are that the birth rate is on the upgrade. Of course, it is not due to more births, but to a lesser death rate. Due to more healthy conditions, people live longer. Actually, the birth rate or the survival rate, has gone up and it is now an important factor in our calculations for planning.

Question: What about the annual increase in the population? I think there was some research which showed that it was 8 million or two per cent.

Prime Minister: I think the latest figure is 1.8 per cent. There was some kind of sample survey and I think it comes to 1.8 or 1.9 per cent.

Question: That means that when we say that the population is increasing by five million annually we are wrong. It should be by eight million or near it.

Prime Minister: I do not know. But it is certainly more than five million.

Question: There is not any crash programme about birth control. There was a report that one Governor of a State said that there is a conspiracy of silence about the population.

Prime Minister: That I think is not true. There is no conspiracy of silence. There is more talk and action on birth control in India officially than in any other country. In China, a great deal has been done officially, and there was a

“crash programme”, but for reasons they considered adequate they stopped their birth control propaganda. I do not know why, although I am not sure that they are without propaganda, I think they are doing something. I may be wrong, but I am not aware of any Government that is undertaking this in the official way as we have done. I may agree that we should do it on a bigger scale, but in the nature of things, it is not very easy to do it, till we find what we are searching for, some adequate method of birth control.¹⁴²

Question: It has been said by somebody that we should take into consideration the ways that they have got in Japan...that is abortion.

Prime Minister: May I point out that the Congress Parliamentary Party passed a special resolution on the last day it met on family planning, birth control, etc., and suggested that every hospital should offer facilities for free sterilisation.¹⁴³

Question: Is there unanimity in the Cabinet? Morarji expressed certain views.

Prime Minister: There is no unanimity in the Cabinet, let us say, about vegetarianism; but that does not matter. But Morarji has also stated in public that in this matter he has certain views, but he submitted to the majority opinion. I think he said that.

Question: Almost every population expert seems to say that the effect of control awaits the simple pill. Has there been any attempt made to raise vast amount of money in India and elsewhere for large-scale research?

Prime Minister: I do not know that a vast amount of money will necessarily yield results. Our research programmes are being conducted in Calcutta and Bombay, chiefly in Calcutta. I am told that the Rockefeller Foundation is doing research in a big way too. The difficulty is that if you get a pill you want to test it. Testing is not easy. It has been tested on animals with success. But the moment you go to human beings it is very difficult, unless you keep them in a concentration camp and then test them. They try to do it in hospitals, follow up each case very carefully. They are trying to do it. I am merely pointing out that it is not easy to do it.

142. See also pp. 516-525.

143. See SWJN/SS/45/pp. 463-464.

Question: Are you satisfied that the approach to this question is satisfactory? Because, so far the policy seems to be to go slow, while waiting for the perfect pill to be evolved. But when the perfect pill comes we have to spend another ten years, during which time the population will further increase. So, should we not start propaganda now and continue it till the perfect pill comes?

Prime Minister: I would like things to go more speedily. But you know wherever any clinic has been opened, it has been besieged by people, especially women. It did not require much attempt to convince people.

Question: Don't you think that our thinking is rather static on this problem of population?

Prime Minister: It is not. It is a moving population, moving very fast.

Question: While all these experiments go on, can we not think of advancing the minimum age for marriage of girls by legislation?

Prime Minister: Yes, that is really one way, although, as a matter of fact, in Europe and America the age is coming down. You cannot, by law, go too far in that. I wish the present law is wholly observed in India about the minimum age. I do not think it is.

Question: There was a report in the press last week that the Soviet Government had expressed some concern about the rate of progress of work at the Bhilai plant. I do not know whether it is correct.

Prime Minister: The Soviet Ambassador¹⁴⁴ recently—about a month or six week ago—on his return from Moscow, brought a letter from Mr. Khrushchev to me in regard to the Bhilai plant, ¹⁴⁵ expressing his hope that there will be no delay and various matters be speeded up.¹⁴⁶ We are, of course, very anxious there

144. P. K. Ponomarenko(1902-1984); 1st secretary, Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Belarus, 1938-47; alternate member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPSU, and Minister of Culture, 1953-54; Ambassdaor of the USSR, to Poland, 1955-57, to India and Nepal, 1957-59, to the Netherlands, 1959-62; USSR representative in the International Atomic Energy Agency, Vienna, 1961-62.

145. On 26 Nov. 1958.

146. See SWJN/SS/45/pp. 551-553 for Nehru's reply to Khrushchev.

should be no delay. Some delays have occurred due to various reasons. For instance, one contractor did not come up to expectations. That delayed matters. Then, I think in the ports there have been some delay. Thirdly, we want trained personnel for a particular job by thousands. It is not a question of a few.¹⁴⁷

And mind you, you must remember that we are at present trying to do something which is rather big, i.e., three new iron and steel plants, biggish ones, and a fourth being doubled.¹⁴⁸ So, it absorbed all the welders and all these people who know that job in India. We have sent hundreds of people to the Soviet Union for training, and we have invited and they have come, hundreds of people from the Soviet Union here, for the Bhilai plant. They are coming every week. There is a stream of people coming and going for that plant. We hope that there will be no delay, that we will keep to the schedule, and if it is past, it may be by a month or so, and not much.

Question: Have you any comments to make on the unusual visit that has been planned, that of Mr. Mikoyan to the USA?

Prime Minister: No, I have no comments. How can I comment?

Question: Mr. Grotewohl will be here shortly. Has that any significance in terms of our relations with East and West Germany?

Prime Minister: Mr. Grotewohl is going to Indo-China and then to China, and he is passing through India. This happens to be on his way. You know that we have no diplomatic relations with East Germany, but we have trade relations. They have a trade representative here, and we have some trade agreements. That position remains. I do not think there is going to be any change in that position.

12. Press Conference—II¹⁴⁹

Prime Minister: Sometimes these press conferences go on indefinitely. I think we better limit them to one hour precisely. It is quite enough really; it can be less than one hour if you like, not more.

148. The new ones at Bhilai, Rourkela and Bokaro, and TISCO at Jamshedpur was the fourth one.

149. Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi, 7 Feb. 1959. File No. 43 (73)/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection and PIB files.

Subjects suggested by correspondents:

- 1) Nagpur Resolution and the statements of leading Congressmen against them, including that of the Secretary of the Congress Parliamentary Party.

Prime Minister: It is a good subject but rather a big one.

- 2) Shri M.O. Mathai's resignation.
- 3) Maulana Azad's interpretation of the reasons which brought about Partition.
- 4) C. Rajagopalachari's statements.
- 5) The latest position about the implementation of Nehru-Noon Agreement.

Prime Minister: There is no latest position. Nothing has happened. In proper time, legislation will be put before Parliament. Some of them, some minor exchanges have already been done. Some minor exchanges have taken place already, I think about the 15th January. For the rest, the matter will come up before Parliament.

- 6) Rising food prices.
- 7) Mr Macmillan's visit to Soviet Russia.
- 8) Atom-free zone in Pacific.
- 9) The new Congress President.
- 10) Your interpretation of the stopping of the anti-Indian campaign by Radio Pakistan in Dacca.

Prime Minister: I will take up the last one. There is no question of my interpretation, I welcomed it. In fact, this matter was discussed. I believe, between our High Commissioner and Pakistan's leading leaders, that whatever our policies or views might be, it is not a good thing for this kind of propaganda to be carried on. It is agreed to and I hope that this will have a good effect on both sides.¹⁵⁰

I am taking up the questions in reverse order.

Well, you do not expect me to say about the new President,¹⁵¹ except that I know her fairly intimately, I have been much, not embarrassed but concerned,

150. Rajeshwar Dayal, the Indian High Commissioner, had spoken to Manzur Qadir, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, about this. See also p. 572.

151. Indira Gandhi was elected President of the Indian National Congress on 2 February 1959. See also pp. 267 and 270-287.

about her election chiefly because of her health and also, normally speaking, it was not a good thing for my daughter to come in as the Congress President when I am Prime Minister. I heard of her name being proposed for the first time, I think, the day before the last day of the Nagpur Session, the evening before. I had not thought of it and nobody had mentioned it to me before that. It came rather as a surprise. I gave a good deal of thought to this matter and I came to the conclusion that I should keep firmly apart from this business and not try to influence it in any way, except rather generally and broadly to say that it has its disadvantages. Also, of course, there are advantages. I tried to think about it as objectively as I could. Other colleagues of mine, chiefly from following the views of some leading Congressmen from South India, came to this conclusion and went to her. It took them a long time, I think about an hour to ultimately make her agree, for she was not agreeing. Having agreed, about half an hour later she rushed back to say she did not agree. She ultimately told them that she submitted to the advice of her seniors and accepted it. It is a very difficult task for her, for anybody, for her. Even without it she has undertaken a very large number of activities which keep her, if anything, more busy than I am.

Question: Will she continue to stay in Prime Minister's House?

Prime Minister: I suppose so, except when she is touring.

Question: Did the Congressmen consult you before accepting her nomination?

Prime Minister: She came to me after the first approach to her had been made by others.

Question: What sort of disadvantages do you see in her?

Prime Minister: I have mentioned them. There is always a disadvantage. First of all, I said, I am rather concerned about her health. The other disadvantage was that normally one would not choose, not like this, a person intimately connected with the Prime Minister.

Question: Do you think it is a good precedent for the party?

Prime Minister: I have just said it has its disadvantages and can't be a good precedent obviously.

Question: Are there not advantages also. Don't you think you are giving her a poor start by stressing only the disadvantages.

Prime Minister: Giving her a poor start?

Question: By only stressing the disadvantages?

Prime Minister: I know, the advantages are so obvious that I need not state them – personal advantages, I am rather partial to her. So I need not stress that aspect.

Question: How do you feel when she has become your party boss?

Prime Minister: I have had plenty of party bosses. I have felt quite happy with them.

Question: You accept the boss?

Prime Minister: Of course, I have always been a disciplined person.

Question: Did she consult you before accepting nomination?

Prime Minister: I told you she consulted me, or mentioned to me when this deputation of leading Congressmen went to her. I was not there of course. I mean great pressure was exercised and I am afraid I did not help her at all, except to say that naturally it had some disadvantages, but that it was for her to decide. Something like that I said, I hardly discussed it with her.

Question: Would you view her elections as a triumph for the leftists?

Prime Minister: I would not call it leftist or rightist in this matter, but a certain desire on the part of the Congress, that is the Congress leaders, rather to get out of a rut. By 'rut' I mean the old leadership coming, one after the other. They wanted a younger person. A younger person may normally be presumed to be a leftist. That is a different matter. I do not know what leftist and rightist means now-a-days they have become rather vague terms. A revolutionary in India used to mean a person who threw a bomb. Of course, a bomb thrower may be a counter – revolutionary and his action may be counter-revolutionary. So these terms have become rather vague.

Now, I will go on to rising food prices.

Question: How do you account for these food prices roaring up when we have got a bumper crop only two months ago? Is it administrative.....

Prime Minister: I think, that first of all, the bumper crop is of rice and rice prices have come down everywhere and substantially. It is the wheat prices that have tended or jowar prices that have tended to go up and partly because of the end of the season and in about four, five or six weeks, the new wheat crop will be coming in and is going to be a good crop and I think there has been a tendency, whatever the reason, for a lot of small hoarding—I am not talking of big hoarders. It is not only a temporary phenomenon but not justified really because we have wheat and we push it in there – in fair price shops, etc. I think that apart from these present difficulties—they are there; prices have risen of wheat and jowar—the food prospect in India is better now than it has been for many years, for two or three reasons. One is a very good rice crop; the second is a prospective good wheat crop and the third is that really, the efforts at increased food production per acre are now yielding results. I have no doubt about it that in our community projects and elsewhere those efforts are not yielding results and will continue to yield results. So now we have a more favourable position to manoeuvre from. First of all, we can and we will build up substantial stocks; secondly production—and this, mind you, has been going up regularly in the last many years—will go up faster now, in the main through the community development efforts in those areas.

Question: When do you think the scheme for state wholesale trading in foodgrains will come through because already it is about two months now after you have mentioned it?

Prime Minister: I think that it has. I could not give you a precise answer except to say that it has been partly given effect to. It is difficult, without the apparatus, to give 100 per cent effect to it and it has to function, as I said last time, through licensed dealers. That is happening in greater or lesser degree everywhere so far as I could know.

Now, someone asked me about Mr. Rajagopalachari. Has he referred to Rajagopalachari's criticism of the Nagpur Congress Resolution or what?

Question: He has written some articles in *The Hindu*.

Prime Minister: About what?

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Question: He has said that you are resorting to compulsion in respect of cooperatives...¹⁵²

Prime Minister: That is what I said—against the Nagpur Resolution.

Question: He has also said that there is an element of untruth in the policies and he says these two are against basic Gandhian tenets.

Prime Minister: I said something about this though in a roundabout way in the recent meeting in Bangalore which I addressed. I expressed my great regard and affection for Rajaji and pointed out that it was my misfortune to disagree with him in the last 25 years over some political matters—25 to 30 years.¹⁵³

Question: Even when he was Governor-General?

Prime Minister: When he was Governor-General, it was not for me to disagree with him; it might have been for him to disagree with me occasionally. But I think it is not proper for me to enter into an argument about personalities, especially Rajaji. I think that unfortunately he is less than charitable in his judgments now-a-days. He has every right—as everyone of us has right—to his opinion but sometimes he tends to form an opinion without fully finding out the facts. He has been asking for the formation of, what he calls, a “Conservative” party. What he means by that, I do not know. I am constitutionally opposed to conservative parties so that you can see the difference in approach; it is basic; quite apart from any subjects. But it is far better for us rather than discuss what Mr. Rajagopalachari has written, to discuss, if you like, joint farming. I will discuss that. That is much more to the point. I will come to that if you like.

152. For example, C. Rajagopalachari's article “Reliance on Compulsion, Fatal Error in Nehru's Policy, Gandhiji's teachings forgotten” of 5 February 1959 went thus: “Sri Jawaharlal Nehru is averse to revise the steps he has adumbrated as leading to what he calls socialism [...]. The fundamental and fatal error in these ideas is a reliance on compulsion, a reliance on the coercion of new laws rather on the people themselves [...]. Compulsion and expropriation have become the warp and woof of the socialism we are weaving. This was not what Gandhiji was dreaming for emancipated people of India. Policy has taken on the persistence of pride before which reason retreats.”

153. On 4 February 1959 at a meeting of the Mysore Farmers' Forum in Bangalore. For full text of the speech, see pp. 451-459.

Now, questions were asked about Mr. Mathai's resignation and Maulana Azad's book. Maulana Azad's book—I do not know—there seems to have been many headlines about it.

A correspondent: "*INDIA WINS FREEDOM*".

Prime Minister: I know the name of the book. I might give you a little history. Although I have not read the book since it appeared, I read it in manuscript. And when it was placed before me in manuscript, a suggestion was made by the present editor, Mr. Humayun Kabir, the compiler, that he did not like some passages, or rather, he did not like the publication of some passages in the book. I did not like the suppression of anything that Maulana Saheb wanted published.¹⁵⁴ I did not like some passages, too, in the sense of publication, but I advised Mr Humayun Kabir that he should publish the thing as Maulana would have liked it to be published. Neither you nor I have a right to come in the way of that. It is true that some passages may not be liked by people. They will be critical. But we must take these things. We must not get worried about frank opinions. And so it was published as it is, with my consent. In fact, not only with my consent, but with certain pressure from me that it should not be changed, Mr Humayun Kabir is not responsible for it. I am responsible more than he.

Question: Are you sure that the passages are exactly given as the Maulana would have wanted them.

Prime Minister: How can I be sure of that? I was not present. I can well believe that it should be so. You must not obviously take the book as verbally correct as Maulana Saheb's. Obviously not. But broadly speaking, I think it must be taken to be correct. It does seem to represent Maulana Saheb's broad way of thinking, but the language is not exactly his—necessarily.

Question: Did Maulana Saheb express the views to you which he has put in in his book?

154. First published by Orient Longmans in January 1959, *India Wins Freedom: An Autobiographical Narrative* by Abul Kalam Azad, was dedicated to Nehru. Humayun Kabir, who had written the preface of the book, was closely associated with this project. See also SWJN/SS/42/pp. 809-810.

Prime Minister: Not all. Some yes. For instance, take two matters in which he has criticised me. One is about what happened in the U. P. in 1937 when the Congress Ministries were first formed; and the other is about something I said apparently at a press conference in Bombay in 1946. I remember, I knew his views. But he never referred to it, so far as I know for the last ten years, he never referred these to me. I knew at that time that he disapproved of what had happened. So the fact is correct. But when you asked me if he discussed it with me, he made no reference to it at all during the last ten or eleven years with me.

I will tell you that so far as the Congress Ministries in 1937 are concerned, Maulana Sahib's thinking that I was deciding and I was ordering things was not quite correct. These things are seldom done by an odd individual. I was not in the Ministry—I was not going to be in the Ministry. There were other very important people in the U.P., whose opinions counted, if anything, more than mine. For instance, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant,¹⁵⁵ Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai,¹⁵⁶ to mention only two. There were others, too, who counted, senior people. So that, it was not I who suddenly made a decision. May be, my views counted to some extent and I will tell you quite frankly what I was worried about at that time. I was anxious that as soon as the Congress Ministries came in they should take up the question of land reform and also zamindari abolition. I did not want that question stymied by any agreement with the Muslim League which was largely representative of the big zamindars of the U.P.—I am talking about the U. P. Muslim League. Therefore it was not so much a question of numbers but of policies to be adopted by the Congress Ministry, and although I have no clear recollection of details—naturally, so much has happened and my memory is somewhat confused about what happened 29 years ago, 22 years, whatever it is — but I remember that my main concern was this and further there were other people in the U. P. who were going to play a much more important part in this business. Pantji was becoming Premier, and Rafi Ahmed Kidwai was a very important person, and there were at least two or three others whose opinions counted for much. I think that it is frightfully difficult to try to revive one's memories about these details in a moment of much happening from day to day. But I believe that Mr. Khaliquzzaman¹⁵⁷ said something about it recently. I think probably what was done was—Mr.

155. Govind Ballabh Pant formed the Government in UP in 1937.

156. A Congressman from Bara Banki, UP; Minister for Revenue, Home & Jails in the UP Government, 1937-39.

157. A leading Congressman of the United Provinces till 1937, when he joined the Muslim League.

Khaliquzzaman and Nawab Ismail Khan¹⁵⁸ were not prepared to sign that. I think they were on the whole prepared to abide by the discipline of the joint party—I speak subject to my memory and I am not absolutely positive that I am correct—but my memory is that they would join and then they would accept whatever the majority decision of the joint Party would be, that is the Congress and the Muslim League there. In that sense it may be said that Maulana Saheb was right. The joint party would have a great majority of Congressmen and they would accept it.

Question: Was this question settled at the provincial level or was it referred to the Congress Parliamentary Board?

Prime Minister: There was no such Board then.

Question: At that time there was the Board whose members were Sardar Patel, Maulana Azad and Dr. Rajendra Prasad... Nationalist Muslims were taken into consultation because they were more amenable to the Congress Programme, whereas the Muslim League members were not amenable to the Congress economic programme.

Prime Minister: I really do not remember what happened, who was consulted and who was not. But Mr. Khaliquzzaman at that time was, I might say, occupying both positions—not entirely—he had been in the Congress for many years, he had just left it prior to the elections to join the Muslim League, and I remember his writing to me at that time that he was going into the Muslim League to reform the Muslim League and bring it nearer to the Congress.

Question: Privately he was blaming Rafi Saheb?

Prime Minister: Privately Rafi Saheb was blaming him.

Question: Do you think that Partition could have been avoided if the proposals brought by Lord Mountbatten could have been brought by some other Viceroy? We want to know the exact personal influence which he exercised over your mind.

158. A prominent leader of Muslim League from Meerut, UP; he opted not to migrate to Pakistan, Vice Chancellor, AMU, 1947-48.

Prime Minister: First of all, Maulana Azad has referred to what I said at a press conference. Now, I am sorry to confess that I have no very clear ideas of the day-to-day occurrences in those days; it was a great burden on all of us—a burden of decision, a burden of occurrences, events, happenings all over, and the tremendous strain under which we were functioning in that Interim Government as it was called, inside the Government, I mean, apart from occurrence outside, because the Muslim League Party were out, as they openly said, to prevent us from functioning satisfactorily. During the period of the Interim Government, I think in the first few weeks, I was constantly, going to Lord Wavell and telling him that I had had enough of it. I must have done so—I do not know—four or five times in the course of the next two or three months, that is, verbally resigning not actually writing, but saying that I wanted to get out. He said, “Wait and see” or something like that. So that, it is a little difficult to rely on one’s memory of a thing that happened 12 years ago when one was under great strain, in difficulty — not I alone, but all of us. And it is quite conceivable for people to have different recollections as to who influenced whom or what. The real fact is, I think, that personal influences count. How am I to say how I was influenced? I cannot judge. But I think the real facts were, the situation itself and the bitterness and conflicts that were growing in the communal field and the feeling that even if some arrangement could be arrived at to prevent Partition, those conflicts and inner disruptions would continue, and might come in the way of any marked progress of the economy of the country later. Because we were anxious naturally to make good, after Independence, in the political and the economic spheres and others—planning and all that—and we felt that if there was some kind of a compulsory union carried on, it would prevent—all our energies would be spent in these inner tugs of war. Whether that was a right analysis or a wrong analysis, I cannot say. I am only saying that it had a powerful effect in our thinking. And, even in the course of the Interim Government, we had proposed the appointment of the Planning Commission. It had been opposed by the Muslim League representatives. So that, in every such matter where economic considerations and planning came in, we were likely to come up against inner pulls in different directions. That was, I think – this overwhelming sensation that any kind of a union, if it came about, would first of all not put an end to these inner pulls, secondly, it would leave the Federal Government so weak, with transfer of power to its various constituent units—the Central Federation would be so weak, that it would not be able to act properly or adopt any effective economic measures. These were the real reasons which ultimately induced us to agree. It was a very, very difficult choice – you can well imagine—and it is frightfully difficult to say now what one could do if one had the same choice. It is very

difficult to say; it is very difficult because of what happened subsequently—the terrible things that happened—because when we decided on Partition, I do not think any of us ever thought that there would be this terror of mutual killing after the Partition. It was in a sense to avoid that, that we decided on Partition. So we paid a double price for it, first, you might say, politically, ideologically, second, the actual thing happened that we tried to avoid.

So, how can I judge how far I was responsible, mine was certainly part of the responsibility, and Maulana Saheb may be completely right in thinking that I acted wrongly. Only I would say this that Maulana Saheb thinks too much in individual terms, sometimes, not in terms of historic forces at work. Individuals make a difference and have made a difference but sometimes individuals are only symbols of forces at work.

Question: Have you read the manuscript of 30 pages which can be seen only 30 years hence?

Prime Minister: I have not read, I have not seen it. I know nothing about it. I heard about it, with the rest of the people, that 30 pages had been deposited in the National Archives.¹⁵⁹

If you would ask me precise questions about the Mathai incident, I would answer them. A general question is rather difficult to answer.

Question: What is your opinion about the language in which the resignation letter was couched which smacked of arrogance?¹⁶⁰

Prime Minister: I think it was a very unfortunate letter, very unwise and very wrongly worded. I agree with you. I am afraid I am slightly responsible, indirectly, for its publication. He did ask me, he showed me that letter and asked me if he could publish it. He caught me in the wrong mood for it, I was slightly irritated and without thinking very much I said, 'yes, if you like you can have it published'. It was wrong for me. I should have thought a little more about it but as you know sometimes I act on impulse strongly. As a matter of fact, he was, you can see from the letter, he was highly excited,—angry and excited. He wrote in an excited mood and vaguely I had the feeling, 'well, he is

159. These 30 pages were published in 1988.

160. M.O. Mathai, the Special Assistant to the Prime Minister, started working with Nehru in February 1946 in Allahabad and resigned on 12 February 1959 following allegations of corruption.

resigning, why should I come in his way'. It is wrong of course, I should have considered other matters.

Question: What about the allegations made against Mathai?¹⁶¹

Prime Minister: What allegations?

Question: The allegations that have appeared in the press.

Prime Minister: How can I answer that question. I will tell you this. Mr. Mathai was with me for 13 years. He joined me at a time when there was no question of our being in Government and I told him that he was from that point of view of, well, his market worth, if I may say so, that is the salary he would normally get was fairly considerable. I told him, I could not afford to pay him anything, anything substantial. I might have paid him some very small allowance. He came to me once—I met him first in Assam. He had written to me before. I met him in Assam. I told him this. He said, "Yes, I know that, I want to come. I have enough money. Then I told him to come to Allahabad and spend a few days with me. He came for four or five days and I made it clear to him that he can come and stay with me in the house as a member of our family. I would not be in a position to pay any salary to him. He gave me some rough idea of his financial resources which he said were adequate and he would not take any salary. So, for about a year, he took no salary from me. Then, of course, we moved to Delhi and it was many months after I came into the Government that the question of salary arose, partly because he had to deal with various papers and other things and it was not considered right that a person outside the Government role should deal with confidential papers which came to me. That was one of the reasons. If you want I will answer specific questions. If you want a general reaction....

Question: Do you approve of the formation of the Trust?

Prime Minister: I shall come to that. I shall just tell you about that. My broad appreciation of Mr. Mathai was one of efficiency and integrity and loyalty, at any rate loyalty to me, but also a person who acted foolishly very often, in small matters I mean, and sometimes rather threw his weight about which was wrong I thought. But I never doubted his integrity and I have had no reasons since then and from time to time, I was not particularly interested, but from

161. See also pp. 374-391.

time to time, he came to me and told me about some developments, for instance talking about this Trust. I have a faint recollection that he told me that Rajkumari Amrit Kaur¹⁶² wanted to start a trust, a charitable trust and wanted him to be a member of it. I remember, I said yes, for a charitable trust, there can be no objection, something like that. I am not very precise but I knew subsequently that he had actually asked for permission of, I think, the Home Ministry as well as formally that he had consulted the Auditor-General whether he could join such a trust. So he acted completely correctly. He took as much permission as he could. Questions have been asked about Ministers in trusts but surely I will tell you from memory what Trust I am Trustee of: the Gandhi Memorial Fund, I have been a Trustee of that, the Rafi Ahmed Kidwai Memorial Fund, Gandhi Peace Foundation, Swaraj Bhavan in Allahabad. I do not know, maybe one or two others which have escaped my memory. That type I mean, all of us, I suppose, are trustees of some such thing. So merely saying that a person is trustee does not make any difference. Of what type, that is the real thing.

Question: The point is that the Gandhi Memorial Trust and the Kidwai Memorial Fund are not equal to the Chechemma Memorial Trust?

Prime Minister: Naturally they are not. Who said so? I am merely saying that you must not go by the word "Trust" but examine the thing in itself. A person can be a trustee. All I have been saying is that when Rajkumari Amrit Kaur sent this message to me and Mr Mathai also spoke to me about it, I saw no objection at all to his being a trustee of that. It cannot be converted—the trust money.

I do not know if there was any demand [interruption] I do not think anybody could object to the publication of a trust deed. It was shown to me, it has been shown to me, not then, but later. It has nothing in it; in the trust deed there is nothing; it is all tied up to a certain charitable purpose; nobody can profit by it—I am dead certain—no individual, I mean.

Question: I hope, Sir, that the re-emergence of a character like Mathai would be impossible in the Prime Minister's House or in the Secretariat.

Prime Minister: It is always open to anybody to hope what he likes, but I told you none of us is an individual with only a credit account to his side; we have all debits too. The point is that when the credits are bigger, then the debits are covered.....

162. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Punjab, and former Union Minister of Health.

Question: In the case of any national trust the names of the donors are published in the papers while in the case of this trust, in spite of the provocations given, the trustees have not thought it wise to make the donors known. Is there not something fishy about it?

Prime Minister: Why, I do not understand that, I do not know. Here is a private trust and I do not know who the donors are although I have vague idea about some of them, but is surely for the parties in the trust, principally Rajkumari Amrit Kaur. It is really and essentially a trust created by Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and it was, I think, in the circumstances, not very wise for Mr. Mathai to join it. There was nothing improper about it, but it was not wise because of his connection with me and all that. But Rajkumari Amrit Kaur rather pressed him to do so, and I see nothing wrong about Rajkumari Amrit Kaur creating a trust to which, according to her, according to her letter which was published, some of her old and intimate friends gave her money for charitable purposes. I do not know, it is upto her and upto the donors to decide as to whether their names should be published. But it often happens that people give anonymous donations—I cannot give the reasons for it—and even to the Prime Minister's Fund anonymous donations are given. Anyhow it is not for me to say anything; it is for Rajkumari Amrit Kaur to decide. [interruption].¹⁶³ Particularly I have not been able to follow all the press comments, but naturally the first point is that, from time to time, in the past few years, I mean, Mathai did inform me of some financial transactions of his, such for instance, that he bought some property in the Kulu Valley. He told me about that before the event and, as I said, he had told me previously of the assets he had. He had assets, he told me when he came what assets he had, roughly. Then he sold the Kullu Valley property after three or four months or six months. He told me about it, that he was going to do it. So he kept me broadly informed of these matters. He was in a delicate position. Obviously, connected as he was with me, a delicate position, which could be misused very easily. He could misuse it very easily, a person in that position and I was anxious that this should not happen, and all this time I have no reason, not the slightest reason that financially speaking it was in the slightest degree misused. I was anxious about that. As I said, Mathai misused that position, if I may use the word, by throwing his weight about sometimes and thus creating difficulties, and he did not act wisely all the time. That was my

163. Amrit Kaur wrote to Nehru on 11 January 1959 about this, which was published in the newspapers on 17 January with Mathai's letter of 12 January. For these letters, see Appendices 1 and 2.

Question: Is it open to a Government servant to start a trust in the name of his mother and collect large donations?

Prime Minister: Well, he can surely. I do not know if there is any rule against it. Of course, he has to ask for permission. But he did not start a trust.

Question: The question is not literally whether a trust can be created or not, but the question is about the problem involved in it, namely, whether some interests can control the Government and the Prime Minister by obliging the person intimately connected or with him. That is the problem which is worrying us. We are not worried about the formation of the trust and about how much money is there.

Prime Minister: That is a proper approach to the question as you have put it, i.e. how far such a thing may be used indirectly to influence the Prime Minister. You come back ultimately to the same point. Well, it is difficult for me to judge, but I do not think I have been influenced in the slightest degree. In fact, I was not very conscious of all this. It came to me from time to time and I forgot about it. Nobody has influenced me. I do not think it would be proper for any one to imagine that Mr. Mathai was influencing me in anything or in any policy or matter—that in itself is not quite correct. I doubt if I spoke to him at any length—once in 10 or 12 days. I met him in the course of our business; he put up some papers before me, I dealt with them, I hardly talked with him and he might have had two or three times a month, he might have talked for 10, 15 or 20 minutes. I quite accept that this is the aspect that should be considered always in these matters; the other aspects are only by the way. And care should be taken to see that no such occasion arises.

Question: A Bombay editor who claims to have met you recently had suggested that it was Mr. Mathai's private discussion with Mr. Shepilov¹⁶⁴ that gave us the Bhilai plant.

Prime Minister: I have not heard of that.

Question: Was he authorised to issue his letter through the P.R.O.?

Prime Minister: That is again where I fear I went wrong. The same occasion, when he showed me that letter and asked me whether he could publish it, I told

164. D. T. Shepilov, Soviet Foreign Minister, June 1956-Feb. 1957.

him that some parts of it were not happily worded and could be changed. "Can I publish it"? I said "Yes". "Can I publish it through the P.R.O.?" I said 'Yes'. I am afraid I am in error. Because, as I said I was in a slightly irritated mood at that time and I did not give much thought to these matters.

Well, I shall now deal for a few minutes with the Nagpur Congress Resolution which is a much more important matter?

Question: Particularly from the propriety of the Secretary of the Congress Parliamentary Party's campaign against it....¹⁶⁵

Prime Minister: That is a matter for the Parliamentary Party and others to deal with.

Question: And also from the point of view of what Mr. K.M. Munshi has said.

Prime Minister: That is a matter for the Congress organisation to deal with, not for me to do it in a press conference.

Now the decision of the Nagpur Congress—there are two resolutions, one about planning, the Third Five Year Plan, etc., and one about agriculture and land reforms. Many months previously the All India Congress Committee met and appointed certain special committees, one on planning and the other on agricultural matters. Both of them are high-level committees. They met day after day at some length; they co-opted or invited eminent people from outside the Congress—economists and others—and they gave a very full consideration to it. This consideration, of course, was the culmination of numerous discussions, talks, circulars and replies in the Congress organisation. For the last two or three years we have been discussing these matters, about agriculture, land reforms and ceilings. Take for example the question of ceilings. It has been discussed year after year Cooperation, etc. so that there was nothing suddenly sprung on the Nagpur Congress. It was a matter discussed, as I said, for years in the Congress Committee meetings and the rest. Then we appointed two Special Committees and the Special Committees reported to this Nagpur Session of the Congress—I am sorry, both the Special Committees reported but the Planning Committee of the Congress is still functioning although it reported and the Agricultural Committee is also functioning I believe, in a sense,

165. This refers to N. G. Ranga's opposition to the Nagpur resolution on land ceiling.

but reported more fully—and the report has been published. That is how the matter came up and we discussed it at considerable length in our other Committees—the Working Committee and the Subjects Committee—and adopted their recommendations in the main. Now, for anyone to suggest, as I believe Mr. Rajagopalachari has suggested, that I imposed this properly or improperly on others is hardly fair or in consonance with the facts. It is true that I agree with these matters that the Congress has said 100 per cent and agree with them, if I may say so, with passionate conviction. It is not a matter of some view being thrown about like this. I agree with passion because I agree in the progress of India with passion. I am not a politician out for a job. I am a man to do something in India, to change India within the few years left to me, to change the peasant in India, to change agriculture, economy and all this. I may go wrong, as I do often—as I often go wrong—but even if I go wrong, it is, I hope, in my desire to reach a certain goal. The other day a book came out, *A Bunch of Old Letters*,¹⁶⁶ and I would invite your attention to the views I have held, the policies I have upheld, for the last 30 or 40 years. I don't say that it is a great virtue to go on repeating the same thing, of course not. The world changes and people should change their opinions or views and grow with the world but I merely referred to this to say that I have felt this way all these many years broadly. One changes within the broad context and I have been pressing this upon the Congress in various ways all these years. Sometimes Gandhiji did not approve of what I said, as was evident. He said 'You go too fast'. Maybe, because the one thing I believed in those days was that however much I thought of a certain policy, however much I believed in a policy, in the final analysis, Gandhiji's leadership was essential for India. So that what the Congress has done has been in the natural order of development of Congress thinking for the last 20 years. Whether it is right or wrong we can discuss later but it has been discussed ad infinitum. So far as cooperation is concerned—I am not for the moment referring to joint cultivation as that is separate—that has been the basis of the Congress approach to the programme. We talk about, in our Constitution, the cooperative commonwealth. We talk about cooperation in industry. We have always talked about that. What we have decided at the Nagpur Congress is that there should be service cooperatives all over the country within three years—service cooperatives, please note, not joint cultivation at this stage—that is to say, people keeping their separate holdings, cultivating them separately, but meeting together in the village cooperatives for various

166. First published by Asia Publishing House in 1958.

other economic purposes. Now I do submit that nobody in the wide world can disagree with that proposition, unless he is quite completely out of touch with the modern world. Nobody, it does not matter whether the country is a capitalist country or a socialist country or anything else. It is an obvious proposition which cannot be challenged, I say, more especially in a country like India where you have small holdings, if you leave those small, separate holdings as they are, without that cooperative link, you condemn them for ever to poverty and stagnation. They will never grow out of it. With hard work they may improve their lot a little, with improved seeds and all that, but they will always be condemned to live near the subsistence level, never improve themselves. Now that is not a prospect which one likes. We have to break through it. And for breaking through it, there are many things to be done. The industrial approach and all these five year plans are meant for that, to draw away more people from the land to industries. There is far too great a burden on land, and when I say industry, I mean the big industries, the small industries, cottage industries and all that. But in the sphere of land, the small holdings can only function if this element of service cooperatives comes in first by selling, etc., in a joint way, where they get seeds, manures or machines, whatever they may be, jointly, and thus they can take advantage of improvements and modern techniques, which an individual, small holder cannot.

Now, that is what the Congress has said—service cooperatives. That is step one. It is further said that our objective is later, joint farming, with consent and with the approval of those concerned. That is, broadly speaking, we are concentrating for three years on service cooperatives. If, during this period, any person or any cooperative wants to establish joint farming, of course, it is up to them to do it. There is no compulsion. But I do think, speaking for myself, I am convinced that joint cultivation, more specially in the circumstances of India, is a desirable and profitable thing for those concerned. Many of the criticisms which have been made by Shri Rajaji or Mr. K.M. Munshi, I fear, are completely beside the point. I am surprised that they should criticise, presuming something which does not exist at all. So, please note that what the Congress has decided is to spread village cooperatives which, remember, has been said by the Planning Commission repeatedly for a year or two. The only additional thing it has said is that we aim at joint farming ultimately, with consent.

Question: While Government has been advised not to put pressure on farmers for joint farming and cooperatives will the Government also take care that it takes active interest in the cooperative farms that already exist. There are 2,000 of joint farming cooperatives already existing.

Prime Minister: Certainly. There are a number of them and certainly Government, meaning State Governments, they are normally under the State Governments, they should certainly. Of course, the difficulty with the cooperatives has been the rather restrictive cooperatives laws. It is very well for people to say that if I criticise, why don't I change them? For the simple reason, that laws are not changed by my decrees anywhere in the Central Government, much less so in the State Governments. It is a complicated process. A process to bring about a change starts by my decision; when it ends is another matter.

Question: About joint farming by consent, do you mean 100% consent?

Prime Minister: There is no question of 100% or 90% or 51%. The cooperative is there. What the cooperative decides, by whatever rules it has, it does. Don't you see? The village cooperative is there, and it depends on circumstances on what we may do later but certainly there is no question of compulsion. A certain measure of compulsion inevitably comes in every law that you pass. I pass a law about taxation, it is a compulsion, what else is it? I do not understand this. But when you say that it should be done by consent, you mean by the broad consent of the people concerned—the measure of it I cannot say. The cooperative itself may decide, the village cooperative may say—"we will do this"—the State Government may decide by law later. But I tell you quite frankly there is nothing hidden about it. How my mind works—I want to concentrate on the one hand completely on the service cooperatives and I should like to build them up. There are already, as our friend said, thousands of joint farming societies even now. Only about five days ago some people from Rohtak came to me and claimed eight such societies in Rohtak district, next to Delhi.

Question: There is one village a few miles from Rohtak, which is suffering because of the Government's indifference?

Prime Minister: What I am telling you was that they may have been suffering by Government's indifference, Government indifference meaning, the Registrar of Cooperative Societies in the Punjab possibly was not interested in them. Whatever might be, I do not know. These people from Rohtak, at least one group said to me, about the joint farming society formed a year or a little over a year ago; 'We have increased production and made 50% more profit this year'. It is a very big jump and they were enormously pleased because they had made so much profit. But remember that the normal reaction of a peasant anywhere to such a proposal is to dislike it because he thinks his land is going to be taken away. That is wrong of course. Land is not going to be taken to

some other continent or country. The land will remain there and he will remain on the land. The normal reaction is against it. Therefore, the way to proceed is to have these successful examples of joint cultivation for him to see because the farmer is convinced easily enough when he sees success with his eyes. Then he is convinced. So I really do not understand this criticism of the Nagpur Resolutions. I can understand this, there may be opinion that joint cultivation is not a good thing, though I do not agree with it. From various points of view I think it is a good thing, but good or bad, that is a thing for the future. And people seem to imagine that some awful catastrophe is coming to India. I can only come to the conclusion that they have not taken care to understand what has happened or probably what is truer is that their basic thinking is entirely different from, let us say, mine or, if I may say so, the Congress is basic thinking. Of course in the Congress there are many people of all kinds but there it is.

Question: Are you thinking of connecting collective farms and cooperative farms or joint cultivation, because the impression created abroad as well as in the minds of many critics, is that they are the same?

Prime Minister: My humble advice will be for people not to think, not to express themselves without knowing the facts. People talk too much without understanding. It is slightly irritating, for everybody becoming a Pope without knowing even what the Catholic religion is. I do not understand it. It is very extraordinary. What has collectives got to do with what we have decided? I just do not see any connection.

Question: This is why I asked the question?

Prime Minister: Joint farming, with separate property rights of each person guaranteed, and his getting a share in that accordingly, and that too, mind you, in the future when they agree to establish them.

Question: The argument is that cooperatives have not succeeded so far. They will not succeed in future and after that a demand will come that since these have failed they should be converted into collectives. That seems to be the line of argument.

Prime minister: Maybe, it is a line of argument perhaps.

Question: They have succeeded wonderfully in Denmark.

Prime Minister: Of course, cooperatives have succeeded. I am sorry this argument goes rather ... It is too much influenced by one's own inclination in the matter. Nothing to do with facts and other things.

Question: Will you help these service cooperatives to be formed by people themselves or just as in the case of panchayats and others by legislation for villagers? Will you have legislation for them?

Prime Minister: There is no special legislation. All we have suggested is, that existing laws should be broadened, should make it easy for these to be formed. Of course, all these obstructions, restrictions, should be removed. For instance cooperatives up till now are formed with a person having a certain property, certain resources. We want to include every man in the village in the cooperative whether he has any resources or not. It is all wrong. Otherwise it is only those who have, that can function, others who have not, will not have chance to go ahead.

Question: Would you tell us how you assess the latest world situation?

Prime Minister: I would say that, broadly speaking, the temperature has gone down a little.

II. POLITICS

(a) Indian National Congress

(i) Nagpur Session, 9-11 January 1959

13. Draft Resolution on Planning¹

Eight years ago, India embarked on a planned development of her resources with a view to increasing the pace of economic development, raising the standards of living of the people, progressively reducing social inequalities, and ultimately² establishing a socialist pattern of society. The First Five Year Plan was based chiefly on the continuation of some major projects such as river valley schemes, development of agriculture, rehabilitation of transport, and certain other priorities. The data and information necessary for proper planning were not available then, and the Plan was modest in scope. Though it achieved success, it did not bring about a rate of growth of the size that the country needed.

2. More information and statistical data were available for the Second Five Year Plan. This was on a larger scale than the First and, in fact, visualised a doubling of the latter in terms³ of investment. It sought to lay emphasis on industrialisation, especially steel, coal, power and transport, and therefore, required foreign exchange resources of a much larger volume than the First Plan did.⁴ Unfortunately a succession of bad agricultural seasons, due to floods as well as drought, reduced the output of foodgrains and other agricultural produce considerably.⁵ Certain international factors also affected exports. Difficulties arose in regard to meeting its foreign exchange requirements as well as obtaining the required volume of domestic finance. Savings fell short of

1. Unsigned draft for the CWC meeting of 6-7 Jan. 1959. From internal evidence, it seems to be by Nehru. Nagpur, 5 Jan. 1959. JN Collection. Also available in File No. G-19/1959, AICC Papers, NMML.

For the final resolutions for item nos. 13, 14 & 16 adopted in the plenary session, see *Congress Bulletin*, January 1959, pp. 349-357. The changes are indicated in the footnotes.

2. Deleted "ultimately".

3. Deleted "of the latter in terms".

4. Deleted "did".

5. A new paragraph begins with "Certain".

plan targets, our Sterling Balances suffered serious depletion, and domestic prices recorded an increase.⁶ Even though the Second Five Year Plan was larger in comparison to the First and succeeded in stepping up the rate of investment, this was inadequate to the needs of the situation. The backlog of unemployment would, therefore, tend to increase at the end of the Second Plan period.⁷ We have had to rely on foreign aid to a much greater extent than was originally contemplated.

3. In the light of the country's requirements, the Second Five Year Plan was certainly not over-ambitious in size or in pattern of investment, nor should it be beyond the capacity of the country to achieve it if an adequate effort was⁸ made to that end. It has become vitally necessary to fulfil the targets laid down in the Second Plan both in agriculture and industry. A rapid increase in agricultural production is essential in order to put an end to the necessity for importing foodgrains and to increase the resources of the country for industrial growth.

4. Fortunately, the current agricultural season gives promise of a good harvest. Full advantage must be taken of this so as to ensure food supplies in the future. Every effort should be made during the season⁹ to build up reserve stocks of two million tons of rice¹⁰ and to promote intensive agriculture ensuring¹¹ yields per acre. While the agriculturist must be ensured a reasonable return for his labour, prices of foodgrains, should not be allowed to rise.

5. It is essential from the point of view of planning that the prices of certain essential commodities, such as foodgrains, cloth and some others, should be kept within reasonable bounds.

6. The remaining years of the Second Five Year Plan should be utilised for intensive campaigns to mobilise domestic savings and to fulfil the targets of the Plan in agriculture and industry. It is in the measure that we succeed in the Second Plan that sound foundation¹² will be laid for the Third Five Year Plan. The experience of the First and Second Plans¹³ has shown that the present rate of investment is too small in relation to the needs of the country and is not adequate to ensure the solution of the problem of unemployment. Even this

6. Added "We have had to rely on foreign aid to a much greater extent than was originally contemplated".

7. The paragraph ended here and the subsequent sentence was deleted.

8. "was" replaced with "is".

9. Deleted "During the season".

10. Added "during the season".

11. Added "increasing".

12. Replaced with "foundations".

13. Replaced with "Plan".

relatively low rate of investment has had to be financed to a considerable extent from foreign loans and assistance. Such foreign loans are not unusual in developing an underdeveloped country and should be welcomed in order to alleviate the stresses and strains inevitably associated with the early phase of economic development. But foreign credits must not be tied up with any political or economic conditions which come in the way of the country following its independent policies.

7. It has to be remembered, however, that the main burden of carrying out a programme of economic development must fall on the people of the country and, therefore, it is to the extent that domestic resources are increased that adequate progress can be made.

8. An important factor to be constantly kept in mind is the rate of growth of population. Planning must take into account this population growth. Efforts should be made to reduce this rate of increase in population by suitable methods of birth control and family planning. But, in any event, this increase is going to be considerable because of better¹⁴ health conditions and lower mortality rates. The experience of industrialised countries indicates that the birth rate begins to decline after a certain stage of industrialisation. A lasting solution of the problem of population is, therefore,¹⁵ to be found in raising standards of living, education, particularly of women, and changes in attitudes and outlook.

9. The main characteristic of an underdeveloped country is low productivity and its basic problem is unemployment and underemployment, and the low income content of employment. The task of finding more and fuller fruitful employment depends to a great extent on the ability to achieve a sufficiently high rate of capital formation or investment. This is the main determinant of the rate of economic development, apart from the population growth and the return by way of additional output on the investment undertaken.¹⁶

10. Thus it becomes essential to step up the rate of investment in future in order to cope with the problem of unemployment and to ensure a progressive rise in per capita income of the order envisaged in the projections discussed in the Second Five Year Plan. A very great part of this total investment must necessarily be financed from domestic savings, as too much dependence on foreign assistance is neither possible nor desirable. It is only when a sufficiently

14. "better" was replaced with "the success that is being attained in improving".

15. Deleted "therefore".

16. Added "It must always be remembered that progress depends essentially on the quality of the human being and on skills, training, hard work and efficiency".

high rate of capital formation is kept up and the national income rises with some rapidity that the process of economic development becomes self-accelerating. Further, from the point of view of the people,¹⁷ progress should bring benefits to the large majority¹⁸ of the population, so that a spirit of cooperation,¹⁹ of enthusiasm and of²⁰ initiative be developed in them.

11. Public savings are the most effective method of stepping up capital formation. It is through public savings that a progressively increasing proportion of the total investment can be obtained and progress made towards a socialist pattern of society. In a decentralised economy savings have to come from widely scattered sectors. These savings, if judiciously and efficiently invested, promote and sustain cumulative economic growth.²¹

12. In order to achieve the minimum requirements for a progressive and dynamic growth of India's economy, considerable efforts are necessary to add to resources and, at the same time, to reduce public as well as private expenditure. The marked increase in recent taxation has been absorbed by increase in expenditure. Measures for mobilisation of resources and for economy should include the following:

- (i) Public enterprises and State trading should be conducted so as to yield additional resources for public purposes.
- (ii) Imports should be strictly controlled and non-essential goods should not be imported. Imports Duties should be raised wherever possible. Imports and exports should be coordinated to prevent accumulation of commitments which lead to undue pressure on foreign exchange.
- (iii) Expansion of life insurance and other institutions engaged in stimulating and collecting savings.
- (iv) Patterns of production should be so adjusted as to supply essential needs of the people²² and not articles of luxury for domestic use.
- (v) Wages, salaries and profits should be dependent²³ on work done and on production and should be related to the conditions existing in India. They should be so regulated as to reduce progressively income disparities.²⁴

17. Deleted "from the point of view of the people".

18. "large majority" replaced with "mass".

19. Added "and".

20. Deleted "of".

21. Deleted this paragraph.

22. Deleted the remaining part of the sentence.

23. Replaced with "Wages and salaries should be increasingly dependent".

24. Replaced with "Profits in the private sector should also be controlled".

(vi) The construction of large or expensive buildings, whether for public or private purposes, should be discouraged except for such public structures as are considered absolutely essential for the Plan. Equipment for these buildings should also avoid items of luxury. The specifications laid down for public buildings should be simpler.

(vii) While steps should be taken to see that prices do not rise any further, it is necessary that agricultural incomes do not fall with an increase in output. It is essential for providing incentives for increased production in the agricultural sector that increased output also leads to increased income.

13. Steps should be taken to utilise the vast manpower resources in the country, especially in the rural areas, for direct capital formation. This is important both for building up lasting assets as well as for giving employment. Village and cottage industries, soil conservation and reclamation, digging of irrigation channels, tanks, and wells, bunding, afforestation²⁵ and road construction offer fruitful opportunities for the utilisation of this idle²⁶ manpower.

14. Planning is a continuous process, even though it might be divided into five year or some other convenient periods. It has to be dynamic and progressive, and there can be no standing still or slowing down in this process, as otherwise the²⁷ difficulties and the²⁸ problems will increase. Therefore, it is essential that both in the agricultural and industrial sectors, targets of the Second Five Year Plan should be achieved and the Third Five Year Plan should be so conceived as to lead to more rapid growth.

15. The creation of a socialist cooperative society²⁹ should be clearly and unambiguously placed before the nation as the objective of planning, and all the implications of socialism, in terms of³⁰ what it requires on the part of each individual should be clearly explained to the people. The stress should be not only on meeting needs, but also on the work that is necessary for meeting these needs.

25. Added "housing".

26. Replaced "this idle" with "unused".

27. Deleted "the".

28. Deleted "the".

29. Replaced with "a democratic and socialist society".

30. Replaced with "individual and cooperative effort it requires, should be clearly explained to the people. The stress should be not only on individual and social demands and needs, but equally on duties and obligations and the work that is necessary for meeting these needs."

14. Draft Resolution on International Affairs³¹

The Congress reaffirms its faith and support of the approach and policy of our Government in international relations and affairs, based upon non-interference by nations and governments in the affairs of other nations and peoples, respect for their independence and nationhood; tolerance, mutual respect and benefit³² and peaceful co-existence,³³ calculated to help to lower³⁴ world tensions and the establishment of world peace and cooperation.

These five principles, which have come to be known as Panchsheel, and the consequent policy of “non-alignment” with one or other of the Power Blocs and in the controversies of the cold war; our moral support of and solidarity with the people who aspire and strive to establish and retain their freedom; our determination to maintain the independence of our own land and people,³⁵ by the preservation and development of our democratic institutions and independent outlook,³⁶ in the political, economic and social spheres, have assisted in the better understanding of our country and people even by those who disagree from us³⁷ and whose immediate interest may not coincide with our outlook.

This policy is a reflection of the spirit, approach and method that enabled us to establish our national independence under the leadership of Gandhiji and to become a truly free people, and is essential for the maintenance of our independence and national dignity, and for our economic and social progress as a free people.

In view of the tremendous advances in scientific achievement in the present nuclear and inter-planetary age, the Congress expresses its conviction that cooperation between all nations, and particularly those most advanced in science and technology, is essential if these advances are to be fully utilised in the service of humanity and not to become yet another source of conflict and war.

31. Unsigned draft for the CWC meeting of 6-7 Jan. 1959. From internal evidence, it seems to be Nehru's draft. Abhyankar Nagar, Nagpur, 5 Jan. 1959. JN Collection. Also available in File No. F. No. G-19/1958-59, AICC Papers, NMML.

The changes for the final resolution are indicated in the footnotes.

32. Added a comma.

33. Deleted this comma.

34. “lessen” replaced “lower”.

35. Deleted this comma.

36. Deleted this comma.

37. Deleted the remaining part of the sentence.

The Congress regrets that no substantial advance has yet been made in respect of world disarmament, but instead that competitive armament continues with greater speed and intensity, menacing the world with the ominous prospect of mass destruction and annihilation. More particularly, the economic progress and independence of underdeveloped countries,³⁸ and those who have become new nations, are menaced by the continuing threat of impending world catastrophe .

The Congress welcomes the expansion of freedom in Africa and of the emergence of Guinea as an independent Sovereign Republic. It earnestly hopes that all remaining dependent and colonial territories in Africa will soon become independent, and that colonialism will thus come to an end, making for a happier future for Africa, Asia and the world, free from thralldom and exploitation.

The Congress declares its full support for the peoples of Algeria and Cyprus in their demand for the recognition of their nationhood and³⁹ their struggle for national independence. It declares that⁴⁰ the attempt to bring about partition of their territories and to dismember them is to strike at their nationhood and prevent the solution of these problems.

The Congress reaffirms its declared opinion⁴¹ that the last remnants of colonialism, which still subsist in this motherland⁴² of ours, must come to an end by the liberation of the people of Goa from Portuguese colonial rule. It declares its solidarity with our kin in Goa in their struggle against Portuguese rule, and expresses the hope that even at this stage, the Portuguese will see the wisdom and the advantage to themselves in a peaceful approach and settlement of this issue.

The Congress reiterates its solidarity with the peoples of Indian origin⁴³ in the Union of South Africa in their struggle against racial discrimination. The cruelties and suffering inflicted on them by deprivation of their homes is an affront to their dignity and often the loss of even the means of their livelihood.

The Congress welcomes the enthusiastic response of our people to the ties and growing friendship between our country and people with all nations and peoples, particularly those of the Commonwealth and those of Asia and Africa, and considers that the growth of these friendly relations between India and all other countries is not only in our mutual interest but benefits the cause of world peace and cooperation.

38. Deleted "and those who have become new nations".

39. Added "its full sympathy in".

40. Deleted "It declares that".

41. "conviction" replaced "declared opinion".

42. Deleted "of ours".

43. Added "as well as all others".

15. Unveiling Shivaji's Statue at Nagpur⁴⁴

Symbol of Freedom
Nehru's Tribute to Shivaji
People Reminded of Danger of Disunity

ABHYANKARNAGAR

Jan. 6

Prime Minister Nehru today made a powerful plea to the people to strengthen the unity of the country so that they could march forward together on the pilgrimage of progress. Mr. Nehru unveiling a statue of Chatrapati Shivaji Maharaj this morning, his first function after his arrival here last evening.

The equestrian statue stands on top of a 64-foot high tower of the press building of the Shivaji Fine Art and Litho Works—in comemoration of the 64th session of the Congress being held here.

The Prime Minister made a pointed reference to the height at which "the statue stands." Ordinarily, he said, such statues were erected on the ground but it was perhaps fitting that the statue was erected at such a height because from that place of eminence Shivaji's eyes could see far and the people from far off could see him always. Mr. Nehru said that the great man's memory strengthened us to tackle the problems that confront the country today. Shivaji was a symbol of freedom. He was a great leader of Maharashtra, he was also a great leader of the whole country. India's history turned a new chapter from Shivaji's times and the movement went on till India became free.

India, said the Prime Minister, had great men, learned men and many valourous men too. But she had one disease and that was that valourous men indulged in mutual quarrels and that weakened the country. Outsiders took advantage of that weakness. Appealing for unity, Mr. Nehru said that we must see to it that that disease did not affect us again.

TASK BEFORE COUNTRY

In a brief reference to the latest Soviet rocket the Prime Minister asked "Shall we also not look high and direct our attention to the stars. When we see Shivaji's statue we must remember the pilgrimage which he started and ask ourselves how far we ourselves have progressed. This remembering will benefit all in

44. Report of a speech, Abhyankar Nagar, Nagpur, 6 Jan. 1959. From *The Hindu*, 7 Jan. 1959.

tackling the colossal task before us.

Mr. Nehru recalled the last session of the Congress that was held in Nagpur in 1920 and which had given a new lead to the country. Since then there had been many ups and downs. But we had carried the new message of that Congress till we attained freedom. Freedom had brought many problems with it and it was only by determination and unity that we could tackle them. We would, of course, take help from other countries but ultimately we should stand on our own legs and grow by our own strength.

Mr. Nehru addressed the gathering, estimated at over 50,000, from the top of the terrace of the building. Only a hundred people were on the terrace where the function was held. The rest of the huge crowd listened to the Prime Minister from the terraces of buildings in front of the Litho Works, some even from tree tops and others squatting in an open ground nearby.

Mr. Nehru, who was frequently cheered by the crowds, said that a tower was rather an unusual place to raise a statue. "But it is also a good thing. Every time you look up and look into the eyes of this great Indian leader you will be reminded of his message. He will ask you 'What road are you taking? How long will you continue on this misguided path of disunity? Have you forgotten the lesson that our country learnt in the past?'"

Mr. Nehru compared India to the human body and said that just as the human body would be weakened if one of its limbs was attacked by a disease so also would the nation suffer if one of its parts strayed from the path of unity. "In unity lies our strength and the promise of a bigger and brighter India" the Prime Minister declared.

Mr. Nehru said that the Indian National Congress was meeting in Nagpur after many years. "The last time we met here the Congress gave a new message to the country and set it on its path of freedom. I have no doubt that the present Congress will also give another inspiring message—the message of unity, cooperation and love—that will take us further on this pilgrimage of ours of building up a new India and assuring the prosperity of its people."

Mr. Nehru added: "Our family is not small. It consists of 40 crores of people and we have to look after its well-being." Let us not get discouraged by critics who see nothing good in this country. Let us look at the picture of new India from a distance and we shall realise what progress this country has made in the last ten years.

The Governor of Bombay, Mr. Sri Prakasa, Chief Minister, Mr. Y.B. Chavan, Defence Minister, Mr. V.K. Krishna Menon and local Congress leaders were amongst those who attended the function.

The 15-foot high statue, built in concrete in order to reduce its weight, was sculptured by Mr. Sadashiv Sathe of Delhi.

16. Draft Resolution on Agrarian Organisational Pattern⁴⁵

The Congress having considered the Report of the Agricultural Production Sub-Committee, records its general approval of the Report and endorses the recommendations made therein.⁴⁶ The Congress is of opinion that—

- (1) The organisation of the village should be based on village panchayats and village cooperatives, both of which should have adequate powers and functions⁴⁷ to discharge the work⁴⁸ allotted to them. The panchayat should deal principally with administrative matters and the cooperative with economic functions of the village.⁴⁹ A number of village cooperatives may form themselves into a union. All permanent residents of the village, whether owing land or not, should be eligible for membership of the village cooperative which should promote the welfare of its members by encouraging⁵⁰ progressive farming methods and introducing⁵¹ improved techniques of cultivation.⁵² In addition to providing credit and discharging other servicing functions, it will arrange for pooling and marketing the agricultural produce of the farmers and for storage and godown facilities for them. Both the panchayat and the cooperative should be the spearheads of all developmental activities in the village and, more especially, should encourage intensive farming with a view to raising the per acre yield of agricultural produce.
- (2) The future agrarian pattern should be that of cooperative joint farming, in which the land will be pooled for joint cultivation, the farmers continuing to retain their property rights, and the tiller⁵³ getting a share from the net

45. Draft for the AICC meeting of 7-8 Jan. 1959. The draft is unsigned but from the style and content, it seems to be by Nehru. Nagpur, 7 Jan. 1959.

The changes for the final resolution are indicated in the footnotes.

46. Added "In particular".

47. "resources" replaced "functions".

48. "functions" replaced "work".

49. This sentence was deleted.

50. "introducing" replaced "encouraging".

51. Deleted "introducing".

52. Added "developing animal husbandry and fishery and encouraging cottage industry".

53. Deleted "the tiller".

produce in proportion to his⁵⁴ land⁵⁵ and the work he puts in on the joint farm.

As a first step, prior to the institution of joint farming, service cooperatives should be organised throughout the country. This should be completed within a period of three years. Even within this period, however, whenever possible and agreed to by the farmers, joint cultivation may be started.

- (3) In order to remove the uncertainty regarding land reforms,⁵⁶ ceilings should be fixed on existing and future holdings and legislation to this effect⁵⁷ should be completed in all States by the end of 1959. This does not mean any ceiling on the income, as it is expected that by intensive cultivation as well as by additional occupations, rural incomes will rise.⁵⁸ Surplus land should vest in the panchayats and should be managed through village cooperatives.⁵⁹
- (4) With a view to assuring a fair return to the tiller, a minimum or floor price should be fixed reasonably⁶⁰ in advance of the sowing season with respect to each crop, and arrangements should be made to purchase directly, whenever necessary, the crops produced.
- (5) The introduction of State trading in whole⁶¹ trade in foodgrains is welcomed and should be fully given effect to.
- (6) Every effort should be made to bring the uncultivated and waste land into cultivation. The Central Government should appoint a Committee to devise suitable measures for the utilisation of this land.

The Congress trusts⁶² that the steps indicated above will be taken by the Central and State Governments at an early stage; and that the Congress organisation, in cooperation with others, will help in every way to mobilise mass enthusiasm and arouse initiative and a spirit of self-help in the millions of the farmers in the country.

54. "their" replaced "his".

55. "Further, those who actually work on the land, whether they own the land or not, will get a share in proportion to the work put in by them on the joint farm" replaced the remaining sentence.

56. Added "and give stability to the farmer".

57. Added "as well as for the abolition of intermediaries".

58. Added "such".

59. Added "consisting of landless labourers".

60. "reasonable" replaced "reasonably".

61. "wholesale" replaced "whole".

62. "trust" replaced "trusts".

17. Land Reforms—The Next Step⁶³

President, Comrades ,

I am rather inexperienced in speaking to you on agricultural matters, not that I am not greatly interested as everybody has to be, in India especially, and ever since I worked in Congress, inevitably, I had been carried up to the present agitation today. I am not a farmer, I have never owned a square yard of agricultural land nor did my father own a square yard of such land nor to my knowledge did my grandfather. So, when agricultural land is not in my life blood and I have no desire to own it, and therefore, however much I may read the books, as I do, or however much I may consider these matters, I can never look at it from the point of view of a person who is intimately in his life connected with agriculture as many of you are. Of course, there is one advantage perhaps, in what you call a layman, considering this problem because one gets lost in the details that the experts mention all the time. Nevertheless, naturally you are all deeply interested in this matter because it is of vital importance to a vast majority of people living in this country. The land problem is important—the fact that the land problem is important in this country partly indicates that the country is a backward country—industrially backward country, obviously. Someone, I think has said about it in a different way. Whatever that may be, the land problem is of basic importance in India and it is going to remain so. Even though, as we will develop industrially, I do not agree that in the ten years' time that we have prescribed, I do not think that this problem is likely to be less important. The land problem will remain with us for a long time though other problems will gradually become more important, and I hope a large number of people, who are engaged in agriculture today, will be engaged in industry, because there is a basic way of tackling the land problem and that is to shift population from agriculture to industry. There is possibility that the burden on land today is too great and at some time has to be reduced. I am not suggesting that people should walk to the industrial area, but that the industrial occupation should be encouraged and should be spread in the rural areas.

Now someone said something about the subject not being adequately discussed. [...] Every year, we discussed it—in committees, in Congress sessions, in newspapers, then how can we say to the public that we have something new to discuss. I cannot understand it. Whatever that may be, at a particular time a particular resolution has not been put; well, you cannot say that any resolution that comes up in a particular form in discussion will be tried

63. Speech to the AICC, Abhyankar Nagar, Nagpur, 7 Jan. 1959. File No. Speeches at Nagpur/ 1959, Misc-1959, AICC Papers, NMML.

to be passed next year. That will land ourselves in absurdity. Everything that we have raised in this report or resolution, there is nothing new in it, if put together in a good way, in a suitable way. Everything is to be discussed ad infinitum. So far as the working has to be considered, in a report of this kind, is [that] what are the main features of it and to express our agreement or disagreement. [...] Mr. Kala Venkat Rao, expert as he is, told us of numerous problems.⁶⁴ I, for one, can get no answer to it at all, and what I would venture to say is that you cannot hope to go on discussing these problems without taking a step. That is an impossible position. To accept a broad line of approach and solve the problems as raised, of course there are problems affecting three hundred million people of India. If it was a simple matter, it could have been solved long long ago. It is a difficult, complicated, complex matter and the complexity of it, above all, affects three hundred million people of this country. And to get them to agree and cooperate, [...] neither a resolution nor a kind of slogan can bring about those things on which depend so many factors; and certainly on two factors, (1) that what we say is a feasible proposition; if it is not feasible, it does not matter how much shouting is done; (2) that it is suitable. If we work hard on these two factors, we can succeed and achieve results.

Having spoken and not to talk, to accept the statement which is also made, that the peasantry in India is faithfully conservative and does not want to move, I do not accept that. Of course, it is conservative in a sense, and it is not conservative in a sense; but if it is put in a right way, an understandable way, we can understand. Therefore, I say that this criticising a major approach, because of the new problems, because of the various details not worked out, is not a helpful way of looking at it. Of course, this Committee or the Governments concerned no doubt should look into the problems, and try to solve them in the best way they can. But the Congress must concentrate on a major approach and then see the things as they come. If you fail to adopt the major approach and go after minor things, then of course, you will get moving all the structure.

Some people have said that you must not limit or put a ceiling on the rural incomes, unless you take to their proper incomes. First of all, of course, the answer is nobody is putting up ceiling on the rural income. Nobody wants to put it. Our whole object is to raise the income — double or treble, but where are the ways, these are not the ways. We try to put a ceiling to the quantum of land, which is quite different from ceiling on incomes. But anyhow, to put it on the same basis as the urban income may be sentimentally justifiable but practically

64. Kala Venkat Rao (Andhra Pradesh) thought that the whole picture was still confused and required cautious handling.

it is obviously not so. What we mean and what we should aim at, is equalisation of income.

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Now we have to see what are the main things in this report. There is village organisation: it requires panchayats and cooperatives. Thus we have to increase the level of the village, the village authorities, the functioning of the village—not to make it something gradually fading away because of the onset of the time but to make the village more important, the village panchayats more important, and with its authorities which would function, and may allow them to make hundreds of mistakes in the beginning. We should not be afraid of it. We could have taken a step forward. That is the only way. After all, we have to give the village that position in national life; and it is only then, when you give them authority, that they would be able to function well, not if they rely on [...] going in and out of the cities and going to the Reserve Bank, and not with the idea of being out of it all the time. So the village and the cooperative—remember this—not the tall big things in which the Bank has to give the money, are going to matter. All told, they may do good for the moment, I don't deny that, but we are not working for the layman for tomorrow. We are doing it on a firm foundation on which to build a multi edifice. This multi edifice can be built only when this large class of three hundred thousand million people themselves are working for themselves and participating with self-reliance. There are village panchayats but as the report says, there can be unions of village panchayats. So, thereby you get intimate village cooperatives, which have almost a confessional feeling of knowing each other. They should be used to work with that feeling.

Now, somebody, I think Shri Kala Venkat Rao, talked about panchayat, cooperative and possible conflicts. I have no doubt that there would be conflicts, and I have no doubt that we should face the conflicts. These things happen in life like the complicated things. It is not a nice picture that you go on only enjoying it. Are there no conflicts in the Congress Committees? All the time, some people feel this way, some people feel that way. Why are you afraid of that? But broadly speaking, the panchayats would be dealing on the administrative side, and economic side the cooperatives would do. I do not know why some thing like politics could not go on there. What is politics ultimately? Politics is not running the elections. We have some strange ideas about this from British times. The British domination used to point out something as politics and something not. But that is not the normal state of affairs.

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(Questions and answers)

Anyhow, the point is that the general administrative power will be there, and the economic power will be with the other group. After all, there will be persons, and they will try to find a way out.

Secondly, a very important question is what we are aiming at with regard to the land. Now, it has been clearly stated that our objective is joint cooperative farming. It has been mentioned many times before, that it is specifically laid down, and I think it is rightly laid down—in fact I think there is nothing also that we can do about it, not only that but there is no choice in the matter that something is to be done and something is not to be done. I know everybody is not convinced of that. I know some Ministers of some states proclaim their opposition to it. I am sorry that they should do so because I think there is no future for agriculture in India except joint cooperative farming, the only alternative for this agricultural country, fairly large individual farming. We would not take that. In a country like ours, we cannot take that. In a country like ours, we cannot. Are we to take farms of one acre, two acres, three acres and like that? We talk about ceiling. I came to that. How many people are affected by that? There is no choice. You cannot advance on modern lines and on scientific lines unless there is cooperation, unless cooperation means joint cultivation. Broadly speaking, you require extensive or large areas to put in scientific improvements, etc. Therefore, the only way out is to join them together and have a cooperative basis or separate proprietorship if you like. By doing it immediately, the way is opened out for various kinds of technical advance, whether you go in for mechanised farming, tractors, it does not matter. It is for the people to decide about it. Of course, I am not opposed to it but I personally feel that we should not hurry into it. We will try it here and there, but I do not think we should jump into it. But I am not opposed to it. Anyway, in India, to tend to do that is not likely to achieve good results because usually we have to build up mechanised people to do mechanisation. The man has to be mechanised to run the mechanism. I know the man can be mechanised, there is no doubt about that, but we are thinking in terms of hundreds of millions. Therefore, it is not from this point of view of mechanisation. There are so many other scientific improvements that can come in if the area cultivated is large enough. It cannot come as farming less or a little more. Thus we have to take up cooperative joint cultivation.

I think Shri Tyagi said about service cooperatives.⁶⁵ Well, I very much like to have it straightaway as soon as possible. But I do not think it is a feasible

65. Mahavir Tyagi (Uttar Pradesh) welcomed the idea of cooperatives for both ensuring the sanctity of property and promoting socialism, but warned it would be slow.

proposition. Presently, I may say that where it can be done immediately, has to be done. There is no need why we should go step by step but even by going step by step I do not think people would be able to do it without conflict. But I should like that this changeover comes as smooth as possible and I think it will be helpful— cooperative to begin with. Let the people be used to that type of functioning and not to make them jump too much.

(Miscellaneous questions intervene).

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All that I would say is this: anywhere it is passed, whatever may be the decision, the law should permit or if you like encourage the formation of joint farming cooperatives; there is no question of a law being passed for that, the law to form the cooperatives, to have joint cooperative farming or not. Now the question arises whether the cooperative can by 51 per cent majority start doing it. This question, I am not in a position to answer. Either I think I can concede or I would not like some mechanised persons doing it as that would be undesirable. After all, we are an all India body. All sorts of conditions exist everywhere, even in different states and within the states themselves. The objection, however, as I might like to make it clear, is that of joint cooperative farming, and the category of ceiling that is accepted hundred per cent, because they are many, and some in the Congress oppose it, but they have to swallow it. I may make it clear that if the Congress oppose it, and the Congress Committees, the Congress Government have been committed to it, even if it is half and half, they are committed to it. I wish they should not do so. The way for all this, as I said, the cooperative farming for all purposes, those purposes include live farming too, whether they like it or not, it would be up to them to decide because whether Delhi or Bombay or Nagpur, or wherever it is, that is the action which is coming in your way to ultimately carry out the thing, not even the authoritarian government can do much more. That is the second point.

The next point was about ceilings. I have just said something about ceilings. I do not think that the application of ceilings would be least very much. Some land may, however, come but not very much. Nevertheless situation as it stands, I think, it will become inevitable for us to do it. Congress cannot say that it would give up the idea of ceiling. This would be a tremendous weapon against the Congress all over the country. Not only that but it would be harmful to do so. We have to put an end to some certainty. My submission to you, however, is that realise all the difficulties and the actual practical gain from this is much. Sentimental gain would be considered, whatever that may be, there is now no

escape from it.

Then comes the role of the Congress Organisation. Such big reforms depend very largely on the organisation behind it. When you consider, what you call, the lack of success or adequate success in our food programme, my basic answer would be that of the Government administration and the Congress Organisation. We blame the monsoon and all that and we suffer greatly. The states should be able to deal with this situation; and secondly, the Congress, because it is a majority party, has to meet the situation. The other part is of course there, but that is the other way, adverse, making it worse by extracting, by shouting out and so the burden is on the Congress organisation. Naturally, if there is poor supply of foodgrains in India, the rest of the organisations cannot produce more. But a great deal can be done organisationally and by the Government. Thus the organisational aspect is of highest importance, not only in this food matter, but generally. We are presently going through a vital stage, everywhere—whether it is the world, whether it is India or whether it is the Congress. Rapidly changing conditions are creating new problems for us and we are facing new problems and unless we stop pulling each other's legs this way and that way, which we sometimes do, we would be completely lost in the woods and not be able to see the sun and the light. That applies more especially to resolution of this kind that you are passing.

(Questions and cross-questions)

Logically, I do not understand it. It may be some parts of Rajasthan or some parts of Bengal and same parts of Madras—vast areas—how could we deal with it. We would not. The basic concept of the matter is that we are looking at the point which is logically wrong. Central Government servants for the same type of work, I may tell you, do not get the same scales of pay as the servants in the services of the states. How? There is no justification for it except only a historical accident.

The question of population is highly important, and if I may mention here that the Congress as an organisation should discuss it because the Congress can do a great deal. I want to know, someone mentioned Model Farms. Now, as far as this is concerned, each state has its own model farms; and it is only this, which would show that the State Model Farms have progressed or not. It only surprises me that how many of the State Model Farms have been continuously growing.

It is said that the results are not satisfactory and if it is so, the sooner it is wound up the better. It is high time that it should be a successful farm. Personally, I would suggest that the Ministers concerned should have a rule that the person

in-charge of the farm, which does not function satisfactorily with success, shall go and shall be dismissed. If it is about 500 acres of land or so, it is certainly that there is something wrong with the man; either he is incompetent or not caring to what happens. Such persons should not be in-charge. It is the fault of the ways of thinking, from the British times and British days. Take for instance, we are now slowly getting into the habit that any state enterprise is not on "no profit" or "no loss" basis.

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It is a matter for consideration and not a matter of general approach, that is, what should be decided whether it is not worthwhile if suitable conditions are obtainable perhaps to have a large state farm mechanised yet to produce as much as we can; and the profit is always the reserve of the state. There is no question of procurement or otherwise. It is only a consideration.

Any way, what comes to my mind is this: that we have a large mechanised State Farm today. It is being built up. When Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Bulganin came to India, Mr. Khrushchev made a gift of agricultural machinery. Later on, large consignments of agricultural machinery came to India — not only tractors, and we had difficulty where to use them. We wanted a very big farm for using them. So, ultimately we found out an area in Rajasthan— in Bikaner. It is a farm of about 30,000 acres.⁶⁶ Now it has begun to show results. The results are good, and the profit is considerable, and much higher than what it were. Uncultivated soil, not cultivated for ages past—a virgin soil getting little water, etc., the water is now coming from the canal system and more from the Bhakra system. But please remember that this has nothing to do with our mechanisation in the whole of India.

I think, therefore, so far as the report is concerned, it is a fairly short, concise document, definitely making certain precise proposals which you might feel like slightly difficult but is quite feasible and should be acted upon, and sooner you accept them, and try to act upon them, the better.

66. The reference is to Suratgarh State Farm. See also pp. 441-443.

18. Amendments to Resolution on Planning⁶⁷

Mr. President⁶⁸ and Comrades,

I have listened to the previous speeches with growing astonishment, and with wonder as to what the subject was, which we were discussing. There is a resolution, rather long one, before this House to consider. But many of the speeches — I am not referring to all of them — bore no relation to this resolution, or to planning, but spoke about all odd things,⁶⁹ which may be of interest, which may be of importance, which may be relevant in other context, but which were totally absolutely irrelevant with the present discussion.

I wonder if the people coming here to speak, have cared to read the contents of the resolution, and I wonder whether the gentleman who put forward the amendments here has taken the trouble to understand the resolution. On the amendments, I speak with all deference. They are singularly trivial. There is no particular meaning in it. Just add a word here, and add a word there, there is no particular meaning in it.⁷⁰ Chaudhary Ranbir Singh wants to make out that all the fault is due presumably to the Reserve Bank not giving enough money to the Punjab. Now, is this planning? What is this, what are we after? Has Chaudhary Ranbir Singh given a thought to what planning is? Have we talked about Reserve Bank giving or not giving money to somebody? What has it got to do with the subject before us?⁷¹ However, any way....

67. Speech to the Subjects Committee on the 'Planning' resolution, Abhyankar Nagar, Nagpur, 8 Jan. 1959. File No. Speeches at Nagpur/ 1959, Misc-1959, AICC Papers, NMML.

68. U. N. Dhebar.

69. The speakers were Abdul Ghani Dar (Punjab), Nalinaksha Sanyal (West Bengal), Chaudhary Ranbir Singh (Punjab), Manmohan Misra (Bihar), Sucheta Kripalani (Associate Member), K. P. Tripathi (Assam), Phool Singh (UP), Babubhai Chinai (Maharashtra), Bhagwat Jha Azad (Bihar), K. Hanumanthaiya (Mysore).

70. Dr Nalinaksha Sanyal moved the following amendments: (a) From para 6 last sentence delete the words "or economic"; (b) In para 11 sub para (i) after the word "conducted" add "with utmost care"; (c) In para 11 sub para(ii) line 4 after the word "coordinated" add "over a long period"; (d) In para 11 sub para (v) after the word "controlled" in the last line add "while retaining sufficient incentive to increased production and the formation of capital".

71. Ranbir Singh demanded that food production shortages be ascribed to low investment in agriculture, not natural causes, hence to omit from paragraph 2: "Unfortunately a succession of bad agricultural seasons, due to floods as well as drought, reduced the output of foodgrains and other agricultural produce considerably." Abdul Ghani Dar wanted to insert "improper planning" instead of "Due to floods as well as drought" in para 2 line 7.

Mr. Bhagwat Jha suddenly shoots out into family planning, and says what have we done about family planning here. Well, I ask Mr. Bhagwat Jha to produce an instance to me in the wide world, if any country has done anything more than what India has done in family planning. I do not say we have done much, but let us try to understand what the question is.

Mr. Hanumanthaiya⁷² draws attention to a multitude of subjects, and about education which is so important, and about so many other things, but in the context of the subject before us, if I may respectfully submit, they do not come in, of course, anything and everything comes into planning. Planning is to take into consideration the manifold activities of the nation, as it must and should. But we are not drawing out a detailed plan here. We are giving here approach to planning, the approach to the coming Third Five Year Plan. There are no details here, you would see. It is an analysis of the basis of planning. What have we got to do with the Reserve Bank, to which Mr. Ranbir Singh refers, I cannot understand. It is really highly displeasing, this kind of approach, or Mr. Sanyal comes here and in the most eloquent language, says something to which there is no meaning at all. I say, the language should not be only eloquent, but should be meaningful, so that there is some sense about it. We cannot understand. Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani⁷³ tells us in a woeful and distressful tone.....

(Questions and Cross-questions)⁷⁴

I am sorry that I cannot succeed in convincing Mr. Sanyal. That's my misfortune. Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani comes and tells us about the difficulties people have to face, about the rising food prices—very important,⁷⁵ but having nothing to do with this resolution.

(Questions and Cross-questions)

I repeat, Sir, that Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani got totally irrelevant in this resolution. In wide sense, of course, everything in India is relevant in connection with

72. Chief Minister of Mysore State, 1952-56.

73. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from New Delhi.

74. According to a report in *National Herald* on 9 January, Nalinaksha Sanyal interrupted to ask: "Let us have specific comments on the proposition made (by me) and not mere verbal comments."

75. According to the same report, Sucheta Kripalani had asked: "Has the rising cost of living nothing to do with planning?"

planning. But read through the whole resolution, and you will see it is trying to be a base for planning, trying to lay an approach to planning. I would not say, 'Don't plan'. Take these things separately. That of course is another attitude — which way you adapt. Then again Shrimati Kripalani said about giganticism, in terms of approval. Well, I am rather nervous about her approval sometimes, because I certainly did not mean what she made me to mean here. I referred to the tendency of people, states and all of us, asking for big things, big farms, etc., and I say we must concentrate on the small things, and with that I entirely agree with her. But when she goes on to say wayward in the past, meaning presumably there were alleged schemes, let us say, a steel plant or a fertiliser plant or the machine building plant or the machine tool plant or the locomotive factory plan for Chittaranjan, I disagree. I think they were not only important, but they are the very base of planning. We can have no planning, no food prices, no this, no that, unless we have power and steel. There is an intimate connection in my mind between more power and more steel, and food prices. I am not yet aware of the scale, although we have heard in China they are producing iron and steel in a village fashion, but broadly speaking, you have to have gigantic enterprises to produce steel.

You can have it in the cottage way too. Broadly speaking, you have to have big power schemes to have power. You can have it in a small way too. Therefore, while it is perfectly right for her to lay stress on plenty of small schemes, it is completely wrong to imagine that we can do without these gigantic schemes because India wants to deal with gigantic problems. It has to deal with them in every way — in the small way, in the village industry way, and in the biggest possible industry way. There is no way out in the modern world.

Then there was Mr. Babubhai Chinai⁷⁶ who spoke eloquently, but if you follow what he said, it was really to express his disagreement with our entire approach, not today but yesterday and day before, and long ago. Now he may be right or he may not be right, but if he is right, then the Congress has been wrong for years past, not today, ten years past or even more. Certainly since Avadi,⁷⁷ we have been completely wrong, going astray. Well, I am not for the present, therefore, going on discussing in this house the arguments of Mr. Chinai, because that would mean discussing the basic things, on which the Congress stands all these years, and ultimately go back, doing this now. Have we to go back and back all the time? We have to take certain attitude. We have come to certain decisions. After full thought, we will discuss it, and now to be

76. Independent, Rajya Sabha MP; President, FICCI, 1957-58.

77. The 60th session of the Congress, at Avadi, 21-23 Jan. 1955, which passed the resolution, "Socialistic Pattern of Society."

told that we are wrong, the whole approach is wrong, certainly we can discuss it, if you like, but we can never be able to go forward if we go back always, and think about what we did about eight years ago. He referred particularly to wholesale trade in food, carried on by the State. Now coming to this resolution, it was irrelevant to gain the point of view about this resolution. I have no doubt, it can be referred to at some other place. But since he referred to it, I would like to say that in the opinion of some of us, it is a vital, important, essential and inevitable thing. There is no choice left for us, and let there be no doubt about it, and we shall proceed to the end. He refers to life insurance and to my surprise says that there is no prosperity in that. I was of opinion that it has prospered far better than what it did previously, and I am still of that opinion.

Now, coming again to the resolution, may I say, Mr. Hanumanthaiya was pleased to talk, to discuss, not this resolution, but something that was published in August last.⁷⁸ Now, we have to see what is before us here. It is an important matter for this House to consider. It was not meant to be a picture of the world of what society in India should be. There were some odd thoughts jotted down, and addressed to some of my colleagues. His predecessor was quite right. It does not give any picture of economic or other matters. They were only odd thoughts or criticisms or the apprehensions of the state of work in India. There the matter ends. Then he asks me to produce such a picture, and says that to produce a full detailed picture of the world or of India is beyond my capacity. All I can presume to say or do is to put forward in discussion some ideas before my colleagues and comrades, and try to understand what is happening, try to mend our ways, whether we go wrong, as we often do, and thus try to find the path to reality or objective, whatever it may be. We sit here discussing these resolutions. What are the young men and women doing today, not all, many of them. Somebody told me yesterday, a young man studying in the Nagpur University — a bright young man — he said: we are interested in your Congress Session, of course, but all the important talk is about space travel now. We are thinking about rockets going to the Moon, and what is going to happen next year and year after. If we do not catch up with the events, we shall be left far behind. That does not mean it will be a dangerous thing if we jump after and try to be a rocket to the Moon, because we lose the air and cannot reach the Moon. That is perfectly true. We have to be on earth, but that does not mean that we should not stand on our feet on the earth, and lift

78. For Nehru's note, "The Basic Approach", written on 13 July 1958 and published in the *AICC Economic Review* of 15 Aug. 1958, see SWJN/SS/ 43/ pp. 3-11.

ourselves up and hold ourselves straight because we scroll on the ground. So let us see these problems in this wide context. Big contexts of the world are changing. Mr. Hanumanthaiya talked about this wonderful thing which has never been done in India, in the times of Buddha and Mahavir, and now we are trying to attack property. Really, I am amazed. It is true that many things are being done including the simple things like railway train and a motor car. Does he wish us to give up the railway train and motor car, or hundred and one odd things that industrialists have brought. I do not understand his arguments. Where are we? Are we trying to get to the subject, or merely wondering about the odd ideas. Now let us come to the resolution.

Planning, if I may say so, there is nothing else. It is a silly thing for me to say so, but I will have to say so because people seem to imagine it is something else. Suppose anybody says it does not provide for sufficient orphanages in India, well I am not interested in orphanages in India, I am interested in planning. Orphanages may be good, bad or anything, I don't know. What is the good of bringing up the question. Suppose somebody says that a widow has remarried, why don't you mention it here. Well, I am not opposed to a widow remarrying, but I do not want to mention it in my resolution on planning. So, let us concentrate on the basics of approach to planning, because it does require a certain mental picture of the state, he was going to, and of the way to it. There may be difference of opinion, there are amongst those who are communists, this, that or other, I don't say they are all alike, socialist, non-socialist, capitalist, but at any rate, when the socialists and the capitalists argue, they argue on the data before them, not on the basis of any irrelevant stuff. As a matter of fact, today in a broad context, even the capitalist world talks about a classless society. The ideas change. In America, which is supposed to be the highest development of a particular society, they talk about a classless society, and I may tell you there is less class in America than in many a so-called socialist country, and many those who talk about socialism, in India specially, we talk about socialism and we cannot get out of our caste, which is a negation of socialism, which is the negation of democracy, which is a negation of any kind of feeling of fraternity or equality. Things are changing. Things changed tremendously 200 years ago with the Industrial Revolution. We are gradually keeping up to it. Now the industrial resolution is coming. Even if we come up to it, other things, happen. Today it may be said with complete logic that the world has within its resources, has resources and power if properly applied to serve every material ill of the world — material I say.

Tomorrow the power is still increasing. So this is the context. Who realises the context? When we talk about this subject, do we realise the context of the world, we are living in and moving in? The world is different than what it was

20 or 25 years ago, and we have to realise it, but we cannot suddenly jump up to the Moon, as I said. We cannot produce world out of nothing. There are certain processes of so-called capital formation, so-called creating surpluses for investment. That is the basis.

May I beg of you to read the resolution? Consider the basic factors. There may be any number of differences of opinion, in regard to the details of planning. We have not gone to that yet. We are thinking about the approach to the Third Five Year Plan, and we are thinking of it in good time, two years before the Third Plan is going to be ready, to give to this country, to give to this great organisation full time to consider. We are deliberately doing so. Some people indicate hurry, where is the hurry. This resolution is in direct line with the projections laid down in the Second Five Year Plan. Why does it appear odd to some people? For two reasons, one is that we had rather hard time, during last year or two. For various reasons, reference is made. We had a number of ruts in our head. It may be because of our fault, it may be because of defective planning, whatever it may be, it may be due to our weakness or external causes, or all of them put together. Secondly, there has been a tendency recently to shift or make us shift from the basic positions, we had adopted. I do not mind people who believe in our going back pleading for it. We have every right to do so, but let us not be led away by that. Let us understand and then accept whatever we like. I have recently said something about the private sector. Now, I want to make it perfectly clear, that I believe that in the present circumstances of India, both the public and the private sector are essential. At the same time, I believe that the public sector represents the dynamic urge to go to certain societies which we are seeking to build up, but the public sector has to grow not only in extent, but in importance, but even so, there is a vast expanse left for the private sector, and it does not infringe on the public sector and does not challenge the right of the public sector, what is its due, and it is because the private sector challenged that right and tried to infringe upon it. That criticism was made on its activities. I do not mind, it is trying to do so. The private sector is trying to criticise the public sector. This is a free country, for anybody to say anything, but then they should not object to my saying in my own language, what I feel about their activities.

But the point is, it is rather a futile argument. As I said, the public sector and the private sector in India like places are necessary today, and if we admit that, then we must equally admit that in its right place, the private sector should have freedom to function and not have criticism all the time. What do we do? We criticise the public sector, we criticise the private sector, we criticise everything and prevent it from functioning properly. That is actually not very helpful. We have to be critical of course. We have to be wide awake and alert,

but this kind of drowsing, nibbling, and squabbling all the time, for everything what has been done, for this sector or that sector, helps nobody. So I beg of you to consider this resolution as we approach the planning a little further, carrying the whole projections of the Second Plan a little further, not farther. Then again look to another aspect too. What we plan for? What is planning? Let us remember, it is not putting together number of items — (1) cement factory in Andhra Pradesh, (2) fertilizer factory, (3) something somewhere else. That is not planning. No it is merely giving certain priorities in planning. Planning is something intricate, much more complicated. What we can serve, we plan for the 40 million people of India. Now we are planning in the Third Five Year Plan. By the end of the Third Five Year Plan, it will be seven years from now, so we have to think what will be the population of India, seven years from now. It is rising pretty fast. I do not know what will it be, let us say about ten million. Whatever it may be, so we have to keep before us the figure of 410 million before us. We have to provide food for 410 millions, clothing, food, housing, education, health and what not. So, we may be able to do it, for all. But that is the problem. Now, how are we to do it? There is the agricultural sector of high importance, of basic importance, not only because of food, but because it gives us resources, and there is an industrial sector of equal importance, because it does not matter what happens to agriculture in India. It may go up to the skies in production. So I would beg of you to consider these basic approaches. We have to make millions of people of India to understand this position. We have to work and they will not be preserved loan from the Reserve Bank to do the job. Let us be very clear about it.

I have no doubt that what is said in this resolution can be improved because there is going to be widespread discussion on these principles, wherein we have to join, but we have to give a direction to that discussion. We have to find out, and discuss it amongst ourselves, push it, make people understand, because we have too much non-thinking about these matters, and it requires a good deal of thought, a good deal of discussion and if we do not think enough, others who think enough, will go ahead of us, because they would be more in touch with reality, and we will be in touch with the world.⁷⁹ I do not wish to take any more of your time, and I will now speak to you in Hindi, as promised.⁸⁰

79. The three amendments were defeated and the original resolution was passed unanimously by the Subjects Committee.

80. The script of the Hindi speech is not available.

19. Socialist Planning Best for India⁸¹

अध्यक्ष महोदय⁸² और डेलिगेट भाइयो और बहनो,
मुझे से कहा गया है कि मैं आपके सामने एक प्रस्ताव, योजना के ऊपर, प्लैनिंग पर पेश करूँ। अब अगर आप मुझे इजाज़त दें, तो उस सारे प्रस्ताव को मैं पढ़ के न सुनाऊँ। शायद आपके पास, सभों के पास, वो हिन्दी में, और अंग्रेज़ी में, दोनों भाषाओं में मौजूद है और मैं नहीं चाहता कि आपका समय लूँ महज़ इसके पढ़ने में। लेकिन अगर आप चाहें, अध्यक्षजी, तो मैं उसको पढ़ कर सुना दूँगा, बाद में। (नहीं।)

अभी आपसे हमारे प्रेसीडेण्ट ने कहा कि तीन प्रस्ताव हैं, मुख्य प्रस्ताव इस अधिवेशन के। एक तो वैदेशिक मामलों में, और दुनिया की बातों में। और दो प्रस्ताव हमारे देश के हमारे काम के निस्वतः। वो दो प्रस्ताव अलग-अलग हैं और अलग-अलग बातों से उनका सम्बन्ध है, लेकिन असल में बहुत जुड़े हुए हैं और एक ही निगाह से हमें उनको देखना है। या कहिए कि अगर एक के हम विरोधी हैं तो शायद दूसरा भी हमें पसन्द न आये और हमें इसलिए समझना है कि इन दो प्रस्तावों के पीछे, और विशेषकर जो प्रस्ताव मैं आपके सामने पेश कर रहा हूँ, उसके पीछे क्या दिमाग है, क्या माने हैं, क्या ध्येय है, क्या लक्ष्य है!

यहाँ खड़े हो कर मेरे सामने कई चित्र आते हैं, कई पुरानी बातें याद आती हैं, जैसे आपने बार-बार सुना आज, नागपुर में अड़तीस बरस हुए काँग्रेस पिछले बार हुई थी।⁸³ मुझे मालूम नहीं कि जो डेलिगेट्स यहाँ आये हैं, उनमें से कितने हैं जो उस नागपुर काँग्रेस में थे। शायद बहुत कम हों। उस ज़माने के बाद बहुत लोग, बहुत लोगों ने काँग्रेस का काम किया, बड़े और बुजुर्ग भी हो गये, लेकिन शायद इस वक़्त बहुत कम हों जो उस काँग्रेस में थे। वो काँग्रेस एक अजीब थी और हमारे काँग्रेस के, और देश के इतिहास में गिनी जाती है, खास काँग्रेस। जिसने एक पलटा खाया, जिसने काँग्रेस को तो बदल दिया, लेकिन देश ने भी उसके साथ एक करवट ली। एक क्रान्तिकारी काँग्रेस थी और इसके फ़ैसले थे। और उस काँग्रेस ने गाँधी युग हिन्दुस्तान में, भारत में शुरू किया। मैं, उस वक़्त मेरी भी गिनती उस ज़माने में नौजवानों में होती थी, और उत्साह था, जोश था, और इसलिए वो समय, उस समय का मेरे दिल पर बहुत ज़बरदस्त असर हुआ, उस काँग्रेस का। बल्कि वो काँग्रेस मुझे ज़्यादा अधिक याद है, बनिस्वत उसके बाद जो तीस-चालीस काँग्रेसों में गया हूँ उसके बाद। तो वो तस्वीर मेरे सामने आती है, किस तरह से काँग्रेस के अन्दर एक नयी आवाज़ उठी और एक नयी शक्ति आयी, भारत की जनता की शक्ति। और किस तरह से जो उस काँग्रेस में आवाज़ उठी, गाँधीजी की आवाज़ वो फिर भारत में गूँजी और दुनिया के बहुत हिस्सों में पहुँची है। और उसके बाद क्या-क्या हुआ, वो तो भारत के इतिहास

81. Speech moving the resolution on planning in the plenary session, Nagpur, 9 Jan. 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

82. U. N. Dhebar.

83. From 26 to 31 Dec. 1920.

में लिखा है। पहली बार ज़ोरों से काँग्रेस के अन्दर महात्मा गाँधी की जय की पुकार हुई। पहले भी देश में हुई थी, लेकिन काँग्रेस में संगठित रूप से वो हुई और महात्मा गाँधी की जय के पीछे जाने क्या-क्या लोगों के विचार थे। जो मिल कर बाद में जिन्होंने वो क्रान्ति देश में की, जिसको कि आप और हम जानते हैं और जिसमें आप और हम सभी ने भी कुछ थोड़ा बहुत भाग लिया।

आज फिर हम इस नागपुर शहर काँग्रेस के अधिवेशन में जमा हैं, और इस अड़तीस बरस में बहुत कुछ ऊँच-नीच हुई, और कम-से-कम जो अड़तीस बरस हुए कहा था, वो बात तो पूरी हो गयी। और बातें उठीं, और प्रश्न उठे जो हमको परेशान करते हैं और जो हमारे सामने हर वक़्त रहते हैं। उन्हीं प्रश्नों के बारे में आपके सामने दो प्रस्ताव आने वाले हैं, और मेरा प्रस्ताव है।

यह प्रस्ताव एक माने में कहा जाय तो आर्थिक प्रश्न हैं; और भी उनके भाग हैं, लेकिन विशेषकर आर्थिक प्रश्न हैं, इकोनॉमिक हैं। कैसे भारत की जनता को उठाया जाय? कैसे भारत की दरिद्रता को दूर किया जाय? कैसे भारत खुशहाल हो? कैसे भारत बाद में एक समाजवादी देश हो जाय? क्या इन सब शब्दों के माने हैं? समाजवाद, सोशलिज्म को हम इधर-उधर फेंकते हैं। काफ़ी इसका इस्तेमाल करते हैं। इस शब्द का और बातों का भी। अक्सर लोग जो हमारे बहुत सारे दुख हैं देश के उसको सामने रखते हैं। कल जब इस प्रस्ताव पर बहस हो रही थी सब्जेक्ट कमेटी में तो बहुत सारे हमारे डेलिगेट साथियों ने कुछ तरमीमें पेश कीं। अक्सर उनमें भली तरमीमें थीं, भली के माने अपनी जगह पर वो भली थीं, और व्याख्यानों में भी लोगों ने कहा कि देखिए वह बात ख़राबी [ख़राब] है और इसको अच्छा करना है। इसका कोई इसमें चर्चा नहीं, प्रस्ताव में, इसका चर्चा नहीं। भई सही बात थी, वो ख़राबी है, उस पर ध्यान देना है आपको हमको। लेकिन इस प्रस्ताव में उसका चर्चा करना मौजू नहीं था, जगह नहीं है उसकी। अगर हम और आप बैठें एक फ़ेहरिस्त बनाने भारत के प्रश्नों की, और तकलीफ़ों की, तो वो तो लम्बी कहानी हैं। तो हमें, उसमें हम खो जायेंगे उसमें, और हमारे ज़िन्दात उठें, हमें गुस्सा चढ़े, या जो कुछ हो, और हम खो जायें, बजाय इसके कि हम उस बीमारी का इलाज ढूँढ़ें हम एक-एक फुंसी को देख कर गुस्से हों। और बीमारी दिल की, शरीर के अन्दर की, तो फिर समझना यह कि किस तरह से शरीर का स्वास्थ्य ठीक हो, न कि यह कि जरा-सा मरहम लगा दिया इस फुंसी पर इधर, और उस फोड़े पर उधर। क्यों हमारा देश ग़रीब है? किस तरह से इसकी ग़रीबी दूर हो सकती है? प्रस्ताव से तो नहीं हो सकती। कोई-न-कोई बात हो।

अब इस बारे में हम, और उसी के साथ और बात, अभी हमारे अध्यक्ष जी ने आपसे कहा, रोज़गार की बातें, बेरोज़गारी बहुत है, और बहुत बातें उसके साथ बँधी हैं। एक ग़रीब देश के पीछे ये सब बातें बँधी होती हैं, और आप अपनी ग़रीबी के हाल में इधर-उधर दौड़े कि इसको कुछ दें, कि काम दें, उसको दे दें, कुछ-न-कुछ आप कर लेंगे, लेकिन अगर ग़रीबी है तो ग़रीबी का बँटवारा होगा वह खुशहाल उससे नहीं हो जाती। न आप बेरोज़गारी दूर करते हैं, इधर ज़रा-सा आपने हेर-फेर कर दी। इसकी जड़, बुनियाद क्या है? इसके लिए विचार करना होता है किसी क़दर, अलग-अलग नहीं। लेकिन दो बातों का, एक तो कुछ-न-कुछ हमारे मन में जिसको कहा

जाय अंग्रेज़ी में, स्पेशल फ़िलॉसोफी क्या होनी चाहिए। पहले, बल्कि कहिए, पहले हम कहाँ जाना चाहते हैं? चित्र अपने मन में बनायें कि हम भारत को कहाँ ले जाना चाहते हैं? क्या तस्वीर है हमारे सामने भारत की—आज नहीं, या दो बरस, चार बरस, पाँच बरस भी नहीं, बल्कि पन्द्रह बरस, बीस बरस बाद, क्योंकि ऐसे बड़े देश दो-चार-पाँच बरस में तो बिल्कुल, नहीं बदल जाते और हमें देखना है पन्द्रह बरस, बीस बरस बाद, कि उस वक़्त हमें क्या करना है? कहाँ तक हम पहुँचेंगे?

एक तो यह देखना है और देख कर फिर हमें विचार करना है कि यह बातें, इनके पीछे कोई फ़िलॉसोफी है, दर्शन है कोई, कोई सामाजिक? क्या हमारे सामने क्या चित्र हैं? कैसे समाज बदलती [बदलता] है, बढ़ती [बढ़ता] है, क्या सोशल फ़िलॉसोफी होती है? इन पर विचार करना है, क्योंकि अगर कोई सिद्धान्त हमारे सामने नहीं है, कोई वैज्ञानिक रूप से हम इस सवाल को नहीं देखते, तो भूले-भटके रहेंगे, अपने जज़्बात से जायेंगे इधर-उधर, कभी सही, कभी ग़लत। एक, एक अच्छे हकीम नहीं होंगे, वैद्य नहीं होंगे, ये तो क्वैक होंगे कि इधर ज़रा-सी कुछ गोली दे दी, उधर एक पुड़िया दे दी। यह प्रश्न उठता है और इस प्रश्न के समझने में, हमें अपने देश का हाल तो जानना ही है, क्योंकि मरीज़ को देखना है, मरीज़ को समझना है, हम सब मरीज़ हैं, देश में जो हैं। लेकिन उसी के साथ जानना है कि और जो दुनिया में मरीज़ रहे, उनका इलाज कैसे हुआ है? क्या, किस ढंग से ग़रीब देश थे, वो कैसे खुशहाल हो गये और दुनिया में कैसे बढ़े?

इसमें तो कोई सन्देह नहीं कि दुनिया के अक्सर देश हैं, यूरोप के, अमेरिका के, जिनमें और जो कुछ अच्छाई-बुराई हो, खुशहाल हैं वो, दरिद्र नहीं हैं, ग़रीब नहीं हैं, काफ़ी वहाँ धन-दौलत है। काफ़ी हज़ारों क्रिस्म के काम हैं। यह सब बातें हैं वहाँ; क्यों, कैसे हुआ? मैं नहीं कहता, न ठीक होगा कहना कि हम जो अमेरिका में हैं, जो और देशों में है उनकी नक़ल करें। नक़ल करना हमेशा बुरा होता है। अपने देश को अपने ढंग पर चलना होता है, लेकिन दूसरे की ग़लतियों से, दूसरे की सफलता से सबक़ सीखना होता है, और खासकर के इस बात में जिसको आप कहें सोशल फ़िलॉसोफी, सोशल टेक्नीक, जो कुछ आप कहें।

समाजवाद का आप नाम लेते हैं और हम सब लेते हैं और हमने कहा समाजवाद की तरफ़ हम जा रहे हैं। समाजवाद के क्या माने हैं? अक्सर जो हमारे भाई समाजवाद का नाम ले कर जो तरमीम में पेश करते हैं तो मुझे भ्रम हो जाता है कि यह समाजवाद के लिए, [...] तरमीम है, सुझाव है या किसी और बात के लिए, या समाजवाद ख़ाली एक दिल की भावना नहीं कि सभी का भला हो। वो तो ठीक है। वो भावना अच्छी है सभी के लिए। लेकिन वो नहीं है। एक आप आदमी को पकड़ लायें, बीमार आदमी, उसका इलाज करें और [...] दिल में हो आपके कि अच्छे [अच्छा] हो जाये। लेकिन आप न डॉक्टरी जानें, न वैद्यक जानें, न हकीमी जानें, [...] तो कुछ और भी उसके साथ होना चाहिए भावना के अलावा। कुछ समझ, कुछ तजुर्बा और जगहों का जानना क्या हुआ, अपने देश का हाल जानना इस तरह से। तो समाजवाद का जो चर्चा होता है उसके माने कि उसके पीछे कोई सोशल फ़िलॉसोफी है। किस ढंग से आप उस को लगायें

यह आपका काम है अपने देश को देख कर, नक़ल नहीं करें। ख़ाली यह नहीं है, भावना नहीं है वो। भावना तो सभी की होती है।

बात तो सच यह है कि जब से यह समाजवाद का चर्चा हुआ दुनिया में, पचासों बातें हुई, उसके माने बदले। बहुत सारी बातें जो समाजवाद अपनी समझती थी आज से पचास बरस हुए, सौ बरस हुए, आजकल पूँजीवाद के देश सब उसको स्वीकार करते हैं। सब ने मान लिया है, यहाँ तक उन्होंने मान लिया है अक्सर जिसको आप वेलफ़ेयर स्टेट कहते हैं, हम कहते हैं, वो तो दुनिया में हर देश मानता है, समाजवाद ख़ाली नहीं, पूँजीवाद के देश सब मानते हैं। वेलफ़ेयर स्टेट और वेलफ़ेयर स्टेट हासिल कर लिया है पूँजीवाद के देशों ने बाद में। धन की कमी नहीं है उनको। आप देखें यूरोप के अक्सर देश, अमेरिका के देश, उधर नॉर्थ यूरोप में, स्कैंडिनेविया के देश—बिल्कुल सोलह आने वेलफ़ेयर स्टेट्स हैं। पैदाइश से मरते दम तक देख-भाल होती है हरेक की, कभी नहीं होती। लेकिन, तो बहुत सारी बातें जिनको हम समाजवाद कहते हैं वो फैल गयीं, हरेक ने स्वीकार कीं। यहाँ तक कि यह भी अब स्वीकार है पूँजीवाद के देशों में कि लोगों को बराबर होना चाहिए, कमोवेश। ऊँच-नीच अधिक नहीं होनी चाहिए, आमदनी में भी ऊँच-नीच अधिक नहीं होनी चाहिए, या कम-से-कम हरेक एक दर्जे तक हो। यहाँ तक कि अमेरिका जो कि सब में अधिक पूँजीवादी देश गिना जाता है, वहाँ लोग कहते हैं कि अलग-अलग श्रेणियाँ नहीं होनी चाहिए, क्लासलेस सोसाइटी हो। आप सोचें तो यह शब्द तो सोलह आने समाजवाद के हैं और साम्यवाद के हैं — क्लासलेस सोसाइटी और अब यह अमेरिका के लोग कहते हैं कि हाँ साहब, क्लासलेस सोसाइटी ठीक है। और यह भी मैं नहीं कहता [कि] किसी को धोखा देने को कहते हैं। हालाँकि बहुत फ़र्क उनके समाज संगठन में और संगठन में, लेकिन बहुत ज़्यादा ऊँच-नीच नहीं है वहाँ। हमारे देश में हम समाजवाद कितना कहें, हमारे यहाँ ऊँच-नीच कहीं ज़्यादा है। और समाजवाद क्या और कोई और वाद क्या हो, जब तक आपके यहाँ जातिवाद है, न समाजवाद आपके पास आता है, न कोई आता है। ऊँच-नीच कूट-कूट कर भरा हुआ है, जातिभेद में, यह ऊँच जाति है, यह नीच जाति है, यह अन्त्यज है, यह अछूत, यह हरिजन। कहाँ समाजवाद? कहाँ डेमोक्रेसी? कहाँ कुछ? तो इन शब्दों के कोई हमें माने नहीं हैं, जब तक इन बातों को हम नहीं समझ लें। मैं कहता हूँ कि अमेरिका जो कि पूँजीवाद का गढ़ है, उसमें भी इतने अन्तर नहीं हैं, ऊँच-नीच नहीं है, जितने हमारे देश में हैं। हम कहते हैं हाँ, वो पूँजीवाद है, हम समाजवादी है।

तो इस बात को देखना है। दुनिया बदल रही है, और पुरानी बहसें बहुत कुछ पुरानी हो गयीं, आजकल की बहसों भी नहीं रहीं। बहुत अदब से मैं कहूँगा कि बहुत सारे हमारे साम्यवादी [...] मित्र जो हैं और वो जो नारे उठाते हैं, कम्युनिस्ट मित्र, वो भी कुछ उन्नीसवीं सदी के नारे उठाते हैं बीसवीं के नहीं या बीसवीं सदी के शुरू के नारे हैं आजकल के नहीं हैं। ख़ास मतलब नहीं है वो। इसके माने यह नहीं है कि कोई फ़रक़ नहीं है। फ़रक़ है, [...] समाजवाद की सोशल फ़िलॉसोफी में फ़रक़ है, और पूँजीवाद की कैपिटलिस्ट फ़िलॉसोफी जो कुछ है, है फ़रक़, यह मैं नहीं कहता नहीं है। लेकिन यह मैं ज़रूर आपसे कहता हूँ कि दुनिया जिस तेज़ी से बदल रही

है उसका नतीजा यह है कि यह तो [जो] फ़रक़ बहुत थे, वो कम होते जाते हैं, दोनों क़रीब आ रहे हैं। और इससे हमें ख़ास तौर से फ़ायदा उठाना चाहिए, इस माने में, कि हम बँधे हुए, जकड़े नहीं हैं — इस गिरोह में या उस गिरोह में। हम एक खुले दिमाग़ से जो हमें चीज़ पसन्द हो उसको ले सकते हैं।

अब मैंने आपसे कहा कि दुनिया के बदलने से ये बातें, ये फ़रक़ कम हो जाते हैं। वो क्या दुनिया का बदलना है? वो भी किताबी बदलना नहीं है, या व्याख्यानों का या नारों का। वो दुनिया का बदलना है, यह कि दुनिया के पैदा करने के तरीक़े बदलते गये। क्या माने इसके? शायद मैं अपने माने पूरी तौर से आपके सामने रख नहीं सकूँ, गोल कहना पड़ता है, क्योंकि मुझे ठीक-ठीक शब्द नहीं मालूम। लेकिन मीन्स ऑफ़ प्रोडक्शन बदले। आज नहीं, यों तो हमेशा ही थोड़ा-थोड़ा बदले। लेकिन सब में बड़ा उनका परिवर्तन हुआ जब इण्डस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन दुनिया में शुरू हुआ और मशीन आयी, इंजन आया, स्टीम आया, बिजली आयी, जिसने एकदम से एक आदमी की शक्ति बहुत बढ़ा दी। एक आदमी जिसके दो हाथ, उसको सौ हाथ और हज़ार हाथ दे दिये। यानी यह आप समझिए, कि जहाँ इण्डस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन आया वहाँ दस सिर और बीस हाथ के रावण हो गये वहाँ पैदा, सब। लम्बे-चौड़े, बहुत उनकी शक्ति बढ़ गयी और उससे भी आज कल हज़ार हाथ हो गये वह तो, इससे बहुत ताक़त बढ़ी, इससे दुनिया की ख़ाली मीन्स ऑफ़ प्रोडक्शन, मेथड्स ऑफ़ प्रोडक्शन नहीं बदले, वो तो बदले, और उससे कहीं ज़्यादा अधिक पैदा किया उन्होंने, बल्कि इससे उनका रहन-सहन बदलने लगा, ज़ाहिर है, और रहन-सहन के बदलने से उनके दिमाग़ में नये-नये विचार आने लगे, जो आते ही हैं। यह बात हुई और इसी की औलाद सोशलिज़्म है। नये विचार आये इस बात से, इसी की औलाद साम्यवाद है, कम्युनिज़्म है। यानी ये सब बच्चे हैं इण्डस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन के। यह जो बड़ी क्रान्ति हुई, यूरोप से शुरू हुई, इंग्लैण्ड से फैली और हमारे यहाँ भी कुछ-न-कुछ आयी है कि जिसके बच्चे कारख़ाने वग़ैरा हैं, जो आप देखते हैं। यह हुई [हुए] वैज्ञानिक बच्चे इण्डस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन के, इसके और उसके। यह चीज़ है बुनियादी चीज़, और जब से वो आयी, उसकी वजह से इतनी दौलत इन मुल्कों में पैदा हुई कि वो ख़ुशहाल होने लगे और हालाँकि एक श्रेणी दूसरे को दबाये, लेकिन सब श्रेणियाँ उठने लगीं और, यह जो सवाल आया सामने कि हमारे पास काफ़ी धन है और लोग भी उसके हक़दार हो गये। यह बात बढ़ कर होती गयी। वो सौ बरस, डेढ़ सौ बरस तक होती गयी, बढ़ती गयी। और आजकल के ज़माने में इस तेज़ी से वो बढ़ रही है यानी विज्ञान बढ़ रहा है, और नये-नये तरीक़े पैदा करने के — ज़मीन से, कारख़ाने से, क्या-क्या से, समुन्दर के पानी से, चीज़ें, आवश्यक चीज़ें निकलें, खाने की चीज़ें निकलें, कुछ-कुछ कपड़ा निकले, हवा से कपड़ा निकाल कर दे दें आपको। एक अजीब कोई आज तक दुनिया में— शुरू से आज तक — कोई ऐसे जादूगर हुए हैं जो बातें की हों या उनके दिमाग़ में आयी हों, जो आजकल हम देखते हैं और सुनते हैं जिसको। आप विचार करें। तो यह बात हुई।

तो नतीजा क्या हुआ? पुरानी दुनिया में, बहुत पुरानी में, इण्डस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन के पहले यह सवाल ही नहीं उठता था कि सब लोग ख़ुशहाल हों। यह नामुमकिन बात थी, क्योंकि काफ़ी

सामान नहीं था दुनिया में या किसी देश में। तो मुट्ठी भर आदमी, ऊपर के लोग खुशहाल होते थे जो उनको कहिए राजा-महाराजा, ज़मींदार, ताल्लुक़ेदार, जागीरदार [....], फ़्यूडल क्लासेज़, बाक़ी ग़रीब थे, कुछ बीच में व्यापारी थे। यह दुनिया थी। इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं और सारी दुनिया में, हर देश में यह था, क्योंकि कोई ज़रिया नहीं था, अधिक पैदा करने का। अच्छी फ़सल हुई, खाने को मिल जाय सभी को। आबादी कम थी। यह बात ज़रूर है। और अच्छी फ़सल न हो तो लोग भूखे मरते थे। लेकिन और सामान बहुत कम था। चन्द लोगों को मिलता था। इण्डस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन आने के बाद सामान बढ़ने लगा और हरेक को मिलने की हल्के-हल्के मौक़ा मिले। तब बहस हुई। झगड़े हुए। हमारे हिस्से ज़्यादा और सोशलिज़्म वगैरह पैदा हुई [हुए], उससे हमारा हिस्सा यह है, हमारी मेहनत से पैदा हुई, यह और वो। अब हम तीसरे ज़माने में पहुँचे हैं जबकि इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं कि दुनिया में काफ़ी शक्ति है, विज्ञान से, और उद्योगों के ज़रिये से कि एक-एक आदमी दुनिया में जो है, वो खुशहाल हो जाय। यानी वो सवाल छीना-झपटी का नहीं रहा, कि हम तुम्हारा हिस्सा लें, यह हो सकता है, यह काग़ज़ पर लिख कर आप साबित कर सकते हैं कि हरेक ज़रूरियात जो हैं, और ज़रूरियात से अधिक भी समझ लीजिए आप खाने का, कपड़े का, रहने का, स्वास्थ्य का, पढ़ाई का, काम का, और-और भी, सांस्कृतिक ज़रूरियात दुनिया की, एक-एक आदमी की पूरे [पूरी] हो सकते [सकती] हैं, यह दुनिया में शक्ति आ गयी। उसमें कुछ समय लगे और बात है। लेकिन शक्ति दुनिया में है पूरा कर देने की। तब पुरानी बहसों ज़रा फ़िज़ूल हो जाती हैं कि किसको क्या हिस्सा, फिर तो भारी ताक़त लगानी चाहिए कि हम उसको पैदा करें ताकि हरेक को, हिस्सा हरेक को मिले।

असल में साम्यवाद के माने क्या हैं? इन बहसों को छोड़िए। साम्यवाद के माने यह हैं कि हर चीज़, ज़रूरी चीज़, इतनी दुनिया में हो, इफ़रात से हो, जहाँ चाहिए उठा लीजिए जा के। उसमें कोई बहस की ज़रूरत नहीं है, कोई न कशमकश, न भाव, न दाम, क्योंकि इफ़रात से, खाना है, तो इफ़रात से है, जो चाहे पड़ा हुआ है, ले आइए, खाइए, कमी नहीं है किसी को, कपड़ा है, इस तरह से तो अब वो पुरानी जो बहसों होती थीं समाजवाद की, यह वो, आजकल के ज़माने में ठीक नहीं रहीं। बुनियाद उनकी ठीक है। मैं नहीं कहता बुनियाद ग़लत है। लेकिन फ़रक़ हो गया जो पुराने ज़माने में कार्ल मार्क्स ने बहुत कुछ लिखा था, और बड़ा ऊँचे दर्जे का आदमी था लेकिन उसकी बहुत बातें आजकल जो इतनी तरक्की हुई है वो नहीं खपतीं। अमेरिका में ग़रीब-से-ग़रीब आदमी हमारे अमीरों का मुक़ाबला करता है। अमेरिका की प्रोलिटेरियेट कौन है? पुराने हिसाब से कोई भी नहीं। प्रोलिटेरियेट मुट्ठी भर आदमी थे, क्योंकि बेशुमार पैदा होता है सामान वहाँ। किसी तरह से हो, पूँजीवाद से हो, कुछ हो, पैदा होता है। इतनी दौलत वहाँ है कि वो बुरी तरह से बाँटे, कुछ हो, तब भी हरेक के पास बहुत काफ़ी पहुँच जाय।

तो ग़रज़ कि मेरा मतलब यह है कि दो बातें, इससे नतीजा निकलता है, एक तो यही कि ज़रा हम बहुत पुराने नारों में न पड़ जायें। हाँ, पुराने सिद्धान्तों को हम समझें, विचार करें। मुझे डर यह है कि हम पड़ जाते हैं और हम जो एक किताबें अक्सर पढ़ते हैं, यूरोप वगैरह की जिस में यूरोप के सवाल, आर्थिक सवालों से बहस है, उससे हम अक्सर उस ग़ज़ से [....] नापते हैं

इन सवालों को, तो हमेशा सही नहीं होता, कभी होता भी है। एक तो यही कि हमें अपनी आर्थिक स्थिति को अपने ढंग से सोचना है। हाँ, यूरोप से फ़ायदा उठा कर, उसके अभ्यास से, दूसरे यह कि एक ही तरह से यूरोप में तरक्की हुई है, खुशहाल देश हुए हैं, वो इण्डस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन के ज़रिये से। वो विज्ञान से और विज्ञान के जो बच्चे पैदा हुए, टेक्नॉलोजी और ये कारखाने तरह-तरह के, उससे तरक्की हुई है। क्योंकि वो एक शक्ति है। विज्ञान ने शक्ति दी। रेल चलती है, भाप की शक्ति से, विज्ञान ने बतायी। बिजली एक शक्ति है, और यह एटॉमिक एनर्जी है, अणुशक्ति है, उससे भी महान बड़ी शक्ति है। वह शक्ति उसमें, जो प्रकृति में है, उसने इन्सान के हाथ में दे दी। और अगर हमें तरक्की करनी है तो उस शक्ति को अपने हाथ में ले कर करनी है। हम महज़ एक यह कह के छीना-झपटी से आपस में नहीं कर लेंगे। हमें नया धन पैदा करना है। कहाँ से? अपने [अपनी] ज़मीन से, अपने आसमान से, अपने काम से, अपने हाथ-पैर से। यह करना है। अगर यह बात निश्चय है, और मुझे इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं, क्योंकि और जो कुछ है वो तो ग़रीबी का बँटवारा करना है। वो तो कोई भी खुशहाल न रहे, तो फिर किस तरह से हम यह करें, इसके लिए यह फिर प्रश्न आता है क्या योजना हम बनायें? महज़ यह नहीं कि हरेक आदमी जो चाहे करे। किस तरफ़ हम उसको दिखायें? चाहे ज़मीन में, किसान को या कारखाने को। क्या-क्या करना है? किस ढंग से हम समाज का संगठन करें, जिससे ये चीज़ें, यह शक्ति हमारे पास आयी है और उस शक्ति का प्रयोग ठीक हो, जिससे जनता का फ़ायदा हो? क्योंकि शक्ति आ जाती है और यह हो सकता है जनता का फ़ायदा अधिक न हो, थोड़े-से आदमियों का हो उससे। हालाँकि थोड़ी-बहुत जनता का हो ही जायेगा, लेकिन अधिक नहीं होगा।

तो इसलिए प्लैनिंग की ज़रूरत है। इसलिए बुनियादी बातें हमें देखनी हैं — कैसे हम इस शक्ति को लायें? कैसे जड़ बनायें अपनी औद्योगिक क्रान्ति की, इण्डस्ट्रियल क्रान्ति की तब। ज़मीन का आप देखें — एक दूसरा जो प्रस्ताव है, उससे सम्बन्ध है खेती से। बात यह है कि हमारे यहाँ बड़े अच्छे किसान हैं, मेहनत करते हैं, लेकिन और दुनिया का आधा-चौथाई भी नहीं पैदा करते फ़्री एकड़, क्या बात है? इतना कम करते हैं, कुछ उनका क्रसूर नहीं, वाक़यात का क्रसूर है। लेकिन कुछ उनकी नासमझी से कुछ। लेकिन मतलब यह है कि हमें खेती में भी क्रान्ति करनी है। और होवेगी, और हो सकती है और यह समझ लें कि वैसे-का-वैसा ही रखें तो नहीं बढ़ती; इसलिए आपको सोचना होता है, कि किस ढंग से करें? थोड़े-से। हमारे यहाँ इतने लोग हैं, तीस करोड़ तो ग्रामों में रहते हैं, खेती से सम्बन्ध रखते हैं, और आखिर में उन तीस करोड़ आदमियों को बदलना है, वे बदले जायेंगे, कोई मुश्किल नहीं है बदलना, समझदार लोग हैं, अगर उनको मौक़ा मिले, बदलना है, उनका [उनको] सिखाना है। और बड़ी बात है कि आप थोड़े-से लोग हों, आप अलग-अलग रह सकते हैं, अपने बाग़ बनाकर रह सकते हैं। जहाँ भीड़ बहुत हो जाती है, वहाँ आपको ख़याल करना पड़ता है [...], आपको पड़ोसी का, और पड़ोसी से सहयोग करना होता है। यह सवाल आजकल दुनिया में हो गया है और देशों में। दुनिया में तो यह है कि इतनी भीड़ है कि हर देश दूसरे की चौखट पर बैठा रहता है। तो अगर या तो उसको लड़ कर निकालो और लड़ कर निकालने में मुमकिन है लड़ के वो तुम्हें निकाल दें या दोनों ख़त्म

हो जायें। या फिर मिल कर रहो। इसलिए दुनिया की पॉलिसी एक ही रह गयी है अब जब से खासकर ऐटम बम आया पीसफुल को-एग्जिस्टेन्स की; एक-दूसरे को समझें, एक-दूसरे से मिल कर रहें, दखल न दें इस तरह से देश के अन्दर; इस तरह से तो नहीं, लेकिन इसी सिद्धान्त से इस बात पर विचार करना है आपको कि कैसे सहयोग से हम काम अपना बढ़ायें? अब वो ज़माना नहीं रहा कि एक-एक बेचारा थोड़े-से एक एकड़, दो एकड़, तीन एकड़ ज़मीन ले के पसीना दिन-रात बहाये, और थोड़ा-सा पैदा करे, और समझा जाय कि वही बड़ा अच्छा संगठन है। वही नहीं है, सीधी बात यह है, कि वो कोई छिपाने की बात नहीं है, हम [...], उसको चलाते जायें, चलता जाय कुछ दिन, और बात है। आप देखें इस तरह से आज नहीं है। अगर वो सिलसिला वैसा ही चलता गया [...], सौ बरस तो किसान की तरक्की नहीं होगी। कुछ होगी थोड़ी-बहुत माना मैंने, अधिक नहीं। हमेशा ग़रीब रहेगा, कभी खुशहाल नहीं हो सकता है। और उपाय ढूँढ़ने हैं। इसलिए मैं इससे अधिक नहीं कहता। इसलिए दूसरा प्रस्ताव है। लेकिन मैंने इसलिए [...], आपसे कहा, यह भी योजना प्लैनिंग का जुज़ है, ज़मीन का सवाल, और जो लोग समझते हैं कि किसान को छोड़ देना चाहिए, बस उसकी कुछ सहायता करनी चाहिए, वो उसको हमेशा के लिए ग़रीबी में छोड़ देते हैं। यह मुझे स्वीकार नहीं है।

तो हमें हिन्दुस्तान के तीस करोड़ आदमियों को उठाना है, इसलिए वहाँ के संगठन को बदलना है। इसलिए वहाँ कोऑपरेटिव लाना है, सहकारी संघ लानी [लाना] है, तरह-तरह के। इसलिए उनको मिल कर काम करना है, मिल कर खेती करना सीखना है। जिसमें उनके हिस्से रहें अलग; और दूर तक उसके माने हैं, क्योंकि दुनिया में आप मिल कर काम करके तरक्की कर सकते [हैं]। चाहे आप उद्योग में करें, चाहे उधर करें। तो इसलिए भी ज़मीन में भी वो करना है।

तो ग़रज़ कि मैं आपके सामने प्रस्ताव पेश कर रहा हूँ। यह क्या है? यह एक माने में है कि हम किस ढंग से प्लैनिंग करें, जिस ढंग से हम तैयार हों, तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना के लिए। पहली पंचवर्षीय योजना हो गयी, दूसरी आधी हो गयी, क़रीब-क़रीब आधी हुई [...] है। अभी दो बरस से ऊपर बाक़ी हैं, लेकिन अभी से हमें सोचना है तीसरी योजना के लिए। अभी से विचार करना है, ताकि इत्मीनान से हम उसको देख सकें, सलाह-मशवरा कर सकें, लोगों से, सभों से, और जो कुछ आखिर में निश्चय हो, वो जहाँ तक पक्का हो सकता है वो और जहाँ तक सारे लोगों की राय का हो, वो अच्छा है।

आप जानते हैं हमारा एक प्लैनिंग कमीशन है। अच्छे लोग हैं, चुने हुए सात-आठ आदमी। कोई आठ आदमी इतने अक्लमन्द तो हैं नहीं वो सब दुनिया का हाल जान लें, निकालें। इनका काम है बटोरना, औरों की अक्लों से, औरों के दिमाग़ टटोलना, खुद अपना दिमाग़ टटोलना, औरों का दिमाग़ टटोलना, जमा करना, बहस करना, बात करना, और उससे हल्के-हल्के-हल्के कुछ-न-कुछ तस्वीर निकलती आती है। फिर जब तस्वीर निकलती है तब फिर लोगों को भेजना, उस पर विचार करके बतायें। इस तरह से कुछ-न-कुछ तस्वीर, गिर-पड़ कर कभी उठ कर हम आगे बढ़ते हैं। आखिर हम सब अकेले होते तो दुनिया के मसले हल हो गये होते, नहीं हैं हम

क्या किया जाय।

तो इसलिए दो बरस पहले इस सवाल को उठाया और दो बरस से हम चाहते हैं। काँग्रेस का तो उसमें बड़ा हिस्सा है ही विचार करने का, सोचने का, समझने का; लेकिन ठीक है, इसलिए कि काँग्रेस उस पर विचार करे; इस वक्त्र पार्लियामेन्ट में होवेगा, और कुछ चाहते हैं और जगह हो। हम चाहते हैं कि हमारे नौजवान जो यूनिवर्सिटीज़ में पढ़ते हैं, वो इस पर विचार करें [....], और प्लेनिंग फ़ोरम्स खुले हैं, बहुत सारे यूनिवर्सिटीज़ हैं [में] जो उस पर विचार करते हैं, मिलते हैं, बहस करते हैं। क्योंकि पेचीदा सवाल है; और जो दल हैं वो भी यक़ीनन करते हैं। और ज़ाहिर है, सबमें बड़ी ज़िम्मेदारी काँग्रेस की है इस बारे में। कई मानों में, सब से बड़ी संस्था है, और इसलिए भी कि हमारी गवर्नमेंट सिवा एक के और सब काँग्रेस की गवर्नमेंट हैं। लेकिन फिर भी हम कोई इसकी, कोई इस नीति से इस सवाल को नहीं देखते कि वह पार्टी की नीति से, कि काँग्रेस का ख़ाली सवाल है। यह देश का सवाल है और हम हरेक के सहयोग से साथ चला चाहते हैं। हम दावत देते हैं और जो दल के लोग हैं, आइए, हमसे सलाह कीजिए, मशवरा कीजिए। हम बात करें। हाँ, ज़ाहिर है, फ़ैसले की ज़िम्मेदारी हमारी होगी, यह ठीक है, लेकिन इसमें बहुत-कुछ बहस की ज़रूरत नहीं है, इस माने में कि एक दल एक तरफ़ जाय, कुछ-न-कुछ तो होवेगी ही। फिर भी बहुत सारी बातें ऐसी हैं जो कि अगर हम अपने नारों को छोड़ दें तो हम मिल जाते हैं, समझ जाते हैं। ख़ैर, हर सूरत में हम चाहते हैं कि इस साल-दो साल में अधिक-से-अधिक सलाह-मशवरा हो। इसलिए पहले शुरू किया।

अब एक और बात पर आप विचार करें। नक्कशा हम कैसे बनायें? पंचवर्षीय योजना तीसरी, आज से दो बरस बाद वो शुरू होगी, फिर पाँच बरस उसके अन्त तक, सात बरस हो जाते हैं। तो पहले तो मैंने आपसे कहा था कि हमें कुछ अपने मन में चित्र रखना चाहिए बीस-पचीस बरस का। तभी हम ज़रा कुछ हिसाब लगा सकते हैं, नहीं तो हर साल नहीं लगता। हम कोई बड़े काम करते हैं, हम कोई नदी की योजना बनायें, उसी के बनाने में सात बरस लग जाते हैं। हम कुछ लोहे के कारख़ाने बना रहे हैं, फौलाद वग़ैरह के। उसमें पाँच बरस लग जाते हैं। तो दूर तक देखना पड़ता है, तो इसलिए बीस-पचीस बरस का हम देखें। लेकिन बीस-पचीस बरस को देखने के बाद हम ज़रा खेंच के लायें अपने निगाह को सात बरस तक देखें। तो पहले प्रश्न तो यह होता है हमारे सामने, कि कितने लोगों के लिए हमें इन्तज़ाम करना है? यानी देश की आबादी उस समय कितनी होगी? आज नहीं सात बरस बाद कितनी होगी? या पन्द्रह बरस बाद कितनी होगी? क्योंकि अगर हम इस समय प्रबन्ध करें आजकल की आबादी का और सात बरस बाद एक करोड़, दो करोड़, पाँच करोड़ बढ़ गयी तो फिर हम फिर मुश्किल में फँस गये। इसलिए हमें समझना है कि उस आबादी के लिए प्रबन्ध करना है, जो होने वाली है।

कैसा प्रबन्ध? पहला [पहले] खाना। उसको मिले, ठीक-ठीक; कपड़ा मिले और ज़रूरी चीज़ें; घर रहने को मिले, पढ़ाई मिले, स्वास्थ्य हो, उसका प्रबन्ध हो और उसको काम मिले, बेकार न हो। बड़े सवाल हो जाते हैं न? अब जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा, इसका कोई चारा नहीं है। मुझे इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं, सिवा इसके कि आप जिसको इण्डस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन कहते हैं, उसमें [उसे]

हिन्दुस्तान में लायें। मैं इसलिए इस बात पर ज़ोर दे रहा हूँ कि आज लोगों को यह भ्रम है कि हम हेरा-फेरी करके अपने मुल्क में इन सवालियों को कर लेंगे, यह नहीं होता। हेरा-फेरी करके अक्सर आरज़ी तौर पर वक़्ती सवाल हल हो जाते हैं। और करनी होती है, करेंगे हम उसे, लेकिन बुनियादी बात यह है कि हमें इण्डस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन यहाँ लाना है। उस को लाना है। उसका असर ज़मीन पर हो, इसका असर विशेषकर इण्डस्ट्री पर, उद्योगों पर हो। उसके लाने के क्या माने हैं? यह तो नहीं कि नागपुर में एकाध कारखाने बन जायें। उसके माने बुनियादी ये हैं कि इण्डस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन के पीछे बुनियादी चीज़ें क्या हैं? पावर, शक्ति। पावर जो आप चाहें, बिजली का पावर हो या कहीं और पैदा करें इस पावर को, क्योंकि उसी से कारखाने चलते हैं। यह कैसे शक्ति पैदा होती है? अरे साहब, आपने सुना है, भाखड़ा-नांगल है, हीराकुड है, दामोदर है — यह है सारे भारत में। यह पावर पैदा हो रहा है, और अधिक करना है। इसी से आप अन्दाज़ा कर सकते हैं कि देश कितने दूर तक जा सकता है। दूसरे यह इण्डस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन की जड़ लोहा है, स्टील है, फ़ौलाद है, यह है। इसको पैदा करें। अगर दो चीज़ें न हों तो कर ही नहीं सकते, आप अटक जाते हैं। हाँ, आप कहें हम अमेरिका से मशीन ले आयें। आप ले आइए अमेरिका से, मशीन लाने पर भी उसका पावर तो नहीं पैदा होगा, वहाँ से तार नहीं आयेगा पावर ले कर। और वहाँ से आप मशीन लायेंगे, मशीन के पुर्जे वहाँ से लाने पड़ते हैं। हमेशा आप मोहताज होंगे, मशीन आपकी बन्द पड़ी रहेगी, पैसा बाहर जायेगा। यह कोई तरीक़ा नहीं है। इसके माने ये हैं कि पावर पैदा हो; इसके माने ये हैं कि मशीन यहाँ पैदा हो। इसके माने ये हैं कि मशीन बनाने की मशीन यहाँ लगे। बड़ी मशीन, जिससे मशीन बने। बड़ी, बहुत बड़ी चीज़ें हैं, ये आवश्यक हो जाती हैं, यह जड़, बुनियाद है। यह चीज़ें हो जायें हमारे यहाँ काफ़ी, यह पावर हो, शक्ति हो, काफ़ी लोहा पैदा हो, और मशीन बनाने की बड़ी मशीन बनाने की मशीन हो। यानी ऐसी मशीन हो जो कि हम लोहे का कारखाना बनाना चाहते हैं तो वो हमारे मशीन बना कर दे दें। हम [हमें] रूस और जर्मनी और विलायत नहीं जाना पड़े उसके लिए। तब बुनियाद हमारी पड़ती है इण्डस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन की। वो बुनियाद हुई। उसके ऊपर फिर आप ज़रा खेल-कूद सकते हैं। क्या करें, क्या न करें। और भी चीज़ें आवश्यक हैं। मैं नहीं कहता तो फिर अगर आप नक्श़ा बनायें, प्लैन बनायें तो ये बातें बुनियादी आपको सामने रखनी हैं, नहीं तो कभी आप बढ़ेंगे ही नहीं, कुछ थोड़ा-सा बढ़े और फिर आप रुक जाते हैं, पावर नहीं है, रुक गये, फिर अटक गये। मकान हमने खड़ा कर दिया।

तीसरी बात यह है कि और आवश्यक बात; ख़ाली लोहा, तार वगैरह तो है ही, लेकिन सब में ज़्यादा ज़रूरी हमेशा, आज-कल-परसों आदमी होता है। क्योंकि आदमी सब करता है। कितनी ही मशीन्स हों। आदमी कैसा, गिनती के आदमी नहीं। आप कह दें हमारे यहाँ चालीस करोड़ आदमी हैं, फिर क्या? चालीस करोड़ से कुछ नहीं होता। कितने लोग चालीस करोड़ में सीखे हुए हैं, यह सवाल होता है। जितने सीखे हुए हैं, वही क़ीमती हैं, बाक़ी बोझा है। तो सीखे हुए काम, तो सब चीज़ें मैंने आपसे कहा, लोहे का कारखाना बनता है, पाँच बरस में, लेकिन वो आदमी [जो] उस लोहे के कारखाने चलायेंगे, उसको बीस बरस सिखाना पड़ेगा, पन्द्रह-बीस

बरस। तो फिर अगर हम अभी से नहीं शुरू करें, तो उसका प्रबन्ध नहीं करें, तो हमारे यहाँ कारखाने सब बन जायँ हिन्दुस्तान में बहुत कुछ चलाने वाले कोई नहीं होंगे यहाँ? इसलिए प्लानिंग में आपको अभी से सोचना पड़ता है कि हमें लाख, दो लाख, पाँच लाख इंजीनियर चाहिएँ। कैसे चाहिएँ, अभी से, उनको अभी से, उनको अभी से पढ़ायें। और डॉक्टर कितने चाहिएँ, इतने चाहिएँ, टीचर इतने चाहिएँ, जो-जो चाहिएँ गरज़ कि अभी से।

यह सब प्लैनिंग में एक एक तरफ़ देखना है, नहीं तो यह होता है कि एक तरफ़ से आप गये, दूसरे तरफ़ से नहीं बढ़ पाये तो आप बढ़ नहीं सकते, आप रुक जाते हैं। तो यह ख़ाली आपकी-मेरी इच्छा है, यह बात हो जाय, वो बात बड़ी अच्छी है। लेकिन इस बात को करने से अगर हमारे योजना में लाभ नहीं होता, तो उससे बहुत लाभ नहीं होनी, बल्कि कुछ हानि हो जाती है, हानि इस माने में, कि इस के एवज में कुछ और होता है तो लाभ अधिक होता। इसलिए सोचना पड़ता है कि क्या ज़रूरी चीज़ हैं, प्लैनिंग के, योजना के नुस्ते से क्या आवश्यक चीज़ है जिसको हम पहले करें। वह बन जाय, मज़बूत हो जाय तब हम आगे बढ़ते हैं। इसलिए सोचना पड़ता है। ज़मीन का आप लीजिए तो ख़ाली ज़मीन की, बड़ी ज़रूरी बात है कि हम ज़मीन से अधिक पैदा करें, ग़ल्ला और और सामान। बहुत आवश्यक बात है, लेकिन उससे अधिक आवश्यक बात है कि हम ज़मीन का ऐसा संगठन करें, ऐसा हम लैण्ड रिफ़ॉर्म करें, जो कुछ हो, जिससे हम लाभ उठा सकें, वह वैज्ञानिक बातें जो हो रही हैं उससे। आवश्यक बात है ज़मीन के लिए, एक-एक लड़का और एक-एक आदमी और एक-एक औरत जो किसान है वो पढ़े जा कर, पढ़ कर आये, और उससे सीख सके, समझ सके। यह न समझिए पढ़ाई कोई, यह कोई शहरी चीज़ है। एक-एक आदमी को, जितने देशों ने तरक्की की है उन्होंने तभी की है जब वहाँ हरेक बच्चा, हरेक बड़ा पुरुष, स्त्री पढ़ा हुआ तब तरक्की की उन्होंने अच्छी तरह से, हमें करनी है और बिलकुल ग़लत खयाल है बाज़ लोगों का कि हमारे पास इस वक़्त पैसा कम है, पढ़ाई के लिए, इस वक़्त और बातों में लगाओ, कारखाने बनाओ। पढ़ाई पीछे होगी तो कारखाने चलेंगे नहीं, जब तक पढ़े-लिखे न हों। पढ़ाई तो बुनियादी चीज़ है। ठीक पढ़ाई, ज़ाहिर है।

इस तरह से इस सब बातों को आप देखेंगे प्लैनिंग में तो नक्शे बनाने पड़ते हैं। और अगर प्लैनिंग न हो तो आप भूले-भटके फ़िरें। इधर कुछ हो रहा है, उधर हो रहा है और मुमकिन है कि कभी लाभ हो जाय आपका, लेकिन देश तरक्की नहीं कर सकता। ख़ासकर जब हमारे ऊपर यह एक मुसीबत है कि हर साल पचास-साठ लाख नये खाने वाले पैदा हो जाते हैं, यहाँ नये कपड़े पहनने वाले, यह मुसीबत है। मुसीबत है, मैं जान कर कह रहा हूँ, यह शब्द। इससे हमारे देश को बहुत लाभ नहीं होता। और ज़रा क़ाबू में रहे तो ज़्यादा लाभ हो और क़ाबू में रहने [रखने] की कोशिश करनी चाहिए और महज़ कोशिश की बात नहीं है, इसके तरीक़े हैं, कोशिश करने के, जिससे हो सकता है यह, आवश्यक बात हो गयी, क्योंकि नहीं तो जितना हमारा देश तरक्की करेगा वो खिंचता जायगा इसी बोझ से, दबता जायेगा, कभी तरक्की नहीं हो सकती। हाँ, हमारी आबादी बढ़े, यह थोड़े ही मैं कहता हूँ न बढ़े, लेकिन रोक-थाम के बढ़े। बेक़ाबू हो कर नहीं।

तो अब इस प्लानिंग के नक्शे में, बहुत सारी बातें देखनी होती हैं। ज़ाहिर है अगर आप

तरक्की करना चाहें, जैसे हम चाहते हैं, तो तरक्की में शुरू में रुपया लगता है। आप कारखाना बनायें, रुपया लगता है। हम लोहे का कारखाना बनायें, उसमें 150 करोड़ रुपया लग गये एक कारखाने में। गरीब देश है इतना पैसा जमा करें, खयाल तो कीजिए। तो यानी रुपया लगाना होता है तरक्की में, इन्वेस्ट करना होता है। जितना अधिक आप इन्वेस्ट करेंगे उतना ही ज्यादा आप बढ़ेंगे। अब वह इन्वेस्टमेंट के लिए रुपया कहाँ से आये? इतना। और बड़े-बड़े पण्डितों ने हिसाब लगाये हैं, कितना इन्वेस्ट करने से कितना फायदा होता है, कितना नहीं और पिछले पाँच बरस में कितने हजार करोड़ रुपया हमें इन्वेस्ट करना चाहिए। तब सवाल यह है कि अगर आप जहाँ पर हैं इस वक्त वहीं पर रहना चाहें और आगे बढ़ना नहीं चाहते यही हालत आर्थिक हालत देश की रहे तो कितना आपको रुपया इन्वेस्ट करना पड़ेगा पाँच बरस, सात बरस के अन्दर। क्योंकि सात बरस के अन्दर आबादी चार करोड़ बढ़ गयी, याद रखिए तो कम-से-कम उसके लिए इन्वेस्ट तो करना ही है, चार-पाँच करोड़ के लिए अधिक और अपने लिए जो कुछ करना है। तो जब हम हिसाब लगाते हैं तो महज़ वहीं पर, महज़ खड़ा रहना जहाँ पर हैं हम, सात बरस के बाद, हमें कई हजार करोड़ इन्वेस्ट करना पड़ता है। और अगर हम उससे आगे बढ़ेंगे तो ज़ाहिर है, उससे ज्यादा करना पड़ता है। यह इसलिए मैंने आपसे कहा कि बाज़ लोग कहते हैं, बाज़ लोगों ने कहा कि भाई बहुत हमने दूसरे पंचवर्षीय योजना में खर्चा-वर्चा किया, अब ज़रा रुक जाओ। आराम कर लें, फिर हम आराम करने के बाद करेंगे। यह वो लोग हैं जो प्लैनिंग का, योजना का विरोध करते हैं, वो कहते हैं। लेकिन [....] ज़रा भी उसमें रुकने का सवाल नहीं है, क्योंकि ज़िन्दगी रुकती नहीं, ज़िन्दगी दरिया है, बहता जाता है। बच्चे पैदा होना रुकता नहीं है; जवान बूढ़े होते हैं, वो मरते हैं, कोई रुकती नहीं, ज़िन्दगी की कोई रुकावट तो है नहीं। अगर आप ज़िन्दगी की कुछ सम्हाला चाहते हैं प्लैनिंग से, सेवा किया चाहते हैं तो प्लैनिंग नहीं रुक सकती है। सारी ज़िन्दगी रुक जाये तो प्लैनिंग भी रुके, आप गिर पड़े। मैं मिसाल आपको दूँ कि आप बाइसिकल पर आप चढ़ रहे हैं, और जहाँ बाइसिकल रुकी वहाँ उतरना पड़ेगा, आप गिर जायेंगे। जब तक आप चलते जाते हैं तभी तक आप हैं। तो इसलिए यह विचार करना कि हम हल्के हो जायँ, नहीं, अगर हमें आइन्दा तरक्की करना है, तब हमें बहुत मेहनत करनी है। और हमें कुछ दिन तक आराम, बहुत आरामतलबी नहीं करनी है। यह मुश्किल बात है कि क्योंकि लोग कहें कि साहब हमने आराम क्या किया कि आप कहते हैं आरामतलबी न करो और बात सही है, लेकिन फिर भी इसका जवाब यही है कि हमें मेहनत अधिक करनी होगी, जोरों से, और इस मेहनत का लाभ हमें जल्दी नहीं मिलेगा, क्योंकि समय लगेगा भारत की तरक्की में। आप सुनते हैं चीन का, रूस का और और मुल्कों का। और जो भी कुछ वहाँ नीति हो, उसके पीछे बेहद मेहनत है उनके यहाँ दिन में अट्ठारह घण्टे काम है, बेहद मेहनत है। हम इतना नहीं कर सकते। हम नहीं चाहते इतना करें। लेकिन फिर भी मेहनत करनी होगी और मिल कर एकता से। तो यह सब बातें आती हैं। ठीक है तो बुनियादी बातें हैं।

जो मैं [....] आपको योजना का प्रस्ताव पेश कर रहा हूँ, उसमें तफ़सील नहीं है। तफ़सील तो बनेगी सलाह-मशवरे से बनेगी, जिसमें आप भी सलाह में शरीक हो, और फिर आपके सामने

रखा जाय काँग्रेस के सामने, और जगह इसकी आप टीका-टिप्पणी करें, वो सब बातें ठीक है। इसमें तो खाली यह है कि किस निगाह से किस दृष्टिकोण से आप उधर देखते हैं। क्योंकि यह ज़रूरी बात है। अभी से अगर हम एक तरफ़ न देखें, ग़लत तरफ़ देखें तो ग़लत नक्शा बनेगा जो आपके सामने आयेगा और उस वक़्त आपको सँभालना कठिन हो जायेगा। इसलिए अभी से हमें कह देना है कि किस ढंग का नक्शा बने, तफ़सील तो उसकी बाद में हो। और यह तो हम नहीं कह सकते, हमें बढ़ना है, हमें इससे ज्यादा बढ़ना है, इतना बढ़ना है कि जितने हम अपने अनएम्प्लॉइड की बेरोज़गारी की फ़िकर करें, इस काम में लगें जिससे हम काफ़ी इन्वेस्ट कर सकें, काफ़ी कैपिटल फ़ॉर्मेशन हो। यह आवश्यक बातें हैं, हिसाब आप कर सकते हैं, मैं उस में जाता नहीं। इसलिए इन सब बातों को ध्यान रख कर, हमें बढ़ना है और इसके माने यह है कि हम ज्यादा बोझा उठायें। तरह-तरह के बोझ, हाथ के, मेहनत के, पैसा देने के, और पैसा जो बचायें हम, उस को हम दें, हर तरह से उसके नतीजे निकलते हैं।

तो ग़रज़ कि मैं आपके सामने इस प्रस्ताव को बहुत अदब से पेश करता हूँ और मैं चाहता हूँ, मैंने कोशिश की कि आप उसकी जड़ बुनियाद को समझें इसके क्या फल फूल होंगे उस पर आप बहस कर सकते हैं बाद में। लेकिन ठीक बीज पड़े तब वो दरख़्त निकलेगा जैसा हम चाहते हैं और हम बीज डालने की तरफ़ ध्यान नहीं देते, और इधर-उधर जो कुछ झाड़-झंखाड़ है उसी की फूल-पत्ती जमा करते रहते हैं, तो बड़े दरख़्त यहाँ कैसे पैदा होंगे? इसलिए यह आवश्यक है कि हम इस बात को स्वीकार करें कि यह जो दूसरा प्लैन है, नक्शा है, योजना है जो चल रहा है, इसको हमें पूरा करना ही चाहिए, ज़ोर लगा कर और तीसरे को हमें ऐसा बनाना चाहिए जो कि हमें कुछ दूर तक ले जाये। एक दफ़ा हम इस खाई-खन्दक से उस पार हो जाते हैं, जो कि ग़रीबी की होती है तब चाल तेज़ हो जाती है, तब उसमें उसकी खुद रफ़्तार अपनी हो जाती है, जैसे इन देशों की है, अमेरिका और इंग्लैण्ड और रूस वगैरह।

आप यह भी याद रखें, बड़ी बहसें हैं पूँजीवादी देश और समाजवादी और साम्यवादी, और बहुत बहस हैं, बहुत-सी बातें हैं, क्योंकि अलग-अलग ढंग हैं। हालाँकि जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा जितना उनमें फ़रक़ था वो कम होता जाता है और दोनों असल में किधर देख रहे हैं? दोनों भरोसा करते हैं बड़ी मशीन पर। विज्ञान पर। दोनों कोशिश करते हैं चाँद तक अपना रॉकेट भेजने की। सब विज्ञान है, चाँद के राकेट बनाने में, न कम्युनिज़्म आता है, न कैपिटलिज़्म आता है। उसमें विज्ञान आता है। जो वैज्ञानिक लोग हैं वहाँ पहुँचेंगे, चाहे कहीं हों। जो ज्यादा हों, हाँ, वह हो सकता है कि जिस देश में [ने] विज्ञान की मदद अधिक की है, उसको लाभ अधिक होगा, यह दूसरी बात है। यह कह सकते हैं कि रूस ने ज्यादा मदद की। तो इन देशों में आप देखें, आजकल खुशहाल देश अमेरिका है। और यह कहना कि अमरीका खुशहाल हो गया, और मुल्कों की दौलत पर, यह सही नहीं है। और मुल्कों की दौलत उसने ली, लेकिन अपने परिश्रम से हुआ है। उसकी तिजारात भी मुल्क के बाहर दस फ़ीसदी है, 90 फ़ीसदी वो खुद खाते हैं। अपनी मेहनत से हुआ है, अपने बल से हुआ, अपने ज्ञान से हुआ। मुल्क बहुत अच्छा है। उसको मौक़ा है। लड़ाई में हारे मुल्क, कौन हारे? जर्मनी हारा, जापान हारा और जीतने वाले मुल्कों में इसकी बहुत ही हानि

हुई। पोलेण्ड की बड़ी हानि हुई, और मुल्कों को बहुत हानि हुई, तबाह हो गये और अब एक तरफ़ से आप देखें, जर्मनी और जापान, दूसरी तरफ़ रूस, दोनों की अलग-अलग नीति थी, एक की साम्यवादी, रूस की, दूसरी, दूसरे ढंग की। लेकिन दोनों-तीनों बड़े मेहनती देश। और तीनों में इण्डस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन हो चुका था। तीनों के यहाँ सीखे हुए लोग थे काफ़ी और मेहनती लोग थे और विज्ञान ने तरक्की की थी, इसलिए दस बरस में खड़े हुए हैं तीनों। हालाँकि उन की नीति अलग की। जर्मनी खड़ा हुआ है, और बेहद दौलत फटी पड़ती है उसके यहाँ। दस बरस, बारह बरस हुए उनके शहर मट्टी के ढेर थे। अब सब शहर खड़े हुए हैं, जापान खड़ा हुआ है, ऐटम बम खा के खड़ा हुआ है। रूस जिसमें बेशुमार तबाही आयी थी, वो बेहद आगे बढ़ गया है और चाँद को पकड़ने की कोशिश करता है, यहाँ तक आप देखें न हम नीति की बड़ा बहस करते हैं, इस वाद, उस वाद की, उसके पीछे है मेहनत, विज्ञान, विज्ञान है, मेहनत है, टेक्नॉलोजी है, और मिल कर काम करना है और ये असल चीज़ें हैं। और ये बुनियादी चीज़ें हमें सीखनी हैं और अपनी जो, अपनी सोशलिस्ट फ़िलॉसफ़ी लायें।

हमने चुना, हमने सही चुना, हम सोशलिज़्म के रास्ते पर चलेंगे, और उसकी आखिरी तस्वीर समाजवाद की हमने की [सोची]। मेरा खयाल है कि कमोबेश उस तस्वीर को, इस जगह तक और दुनिया तक भी पहुँचेगी और जो आजकल नहीं है सोशलिज़्म वो भी पहुँचेगी पहुँच रही है और बात सही है नाम नहीं लेते, नाम से शरमाते हैं लोग, लेकिन उधर किसी क़दर जाते हैं। बहरसूरत, हमने यह निश्चय किया और हमारे लिए विशेषकर, हम अमेरिका नहीं हैं, हमारे पास दौलत नहीं फूटी पड़ती, कि हम दौलत को अच्छी तरह से प्रयोग करें, और फेंक भी दें। इसलिए हमारे लिए कोई चारा नहीं है सिवा इसके प्लैन को हम करके सोशलिज़्म ढंग से करें। दूसरे ढंग से मैं मानता हूँ कि आजकल की हालत में विज्ञान इतना बढ़ गया है कि इतना ज़्यादा पैदा हो सकता है कि दूसरे ढंग से चलने से भी कभी-न-कभी पैदा हो जाये। लेकिन कभी-न-कभी बहुत दूर कभी-न-कभी हो जाता है और उसका क्या तरीक़ा, क्या उलट-फेर हो। हम नहीं बरदाश्त कर सकते उसे। इसलिए हमारे लिए कोई दूसरा रास्ता नहीं है अलावा इसके कि हम इस रास्ते को पसन्द करते हैं; दूसरा रास्ता नहीं है सिवा इसके कि हम प्रयत्न करें और किसी क़दर एक सोशलिस्ट ढंग से प्रयत्न करें। और कोई चारा नहीं है। और उसमें विज्ञान को और टेक्नॉलोजी को बढ़ा कर, इण्डस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन को ला कर और आजकल जो नयी क्रान्ति हो रही है शुरू औद्योगिक रेवोल्यूशन, उसको भी अपने सामने रख कर और उसको भी हल्के-हल्के बढ़ने की कोशिश करके। यह ज़ाहिर है कि हमने शक्ति यह सब बातें करने की एकदम से नहीं है। जितनी शक्ति हमारी, जितनी हम मेहनत कर सकते हैं, उतनी ही है। जितने हम प्रस्ताव पास करें उसकी तो शक्ति है नहीं।

तो अब एक बात और हमारे भाई ने कल कहा था कि प्रस्ताव फीका है।⁸⁴ उसमें कुछ जान नहीं है। बात ठीक है। प्रस्ताव एक, क़रीब-क़रीब मैं कहूँ एक दुकानदारी का है — बिज़नेस लाइक

84. According to *The Hindu* of 10 January 1959, N. R. Malkani had described the resolution as "colourless" at the Subjects Committee on 8 January 1959.

है। यह बातें दिखाई, एक बड़े ज़ोरों से उसे कोई एक झण्डा नहीं उठाया। यह मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप इस प्रस्ताव के कुछ पीछे देखें कि क्या है? क्या नक्शा है? है वह बिज़नेस लाइक प्रस्ताव। इसलिए कि लोगों का ध्यान दिलाये। लेकिन बिज़नेस लाइक प्रस्ताव तब ही चल सकता है जब उसके पीछे किसी क्रूर एक क्रान्तिकारी दिमाग हो। हिम्मत हो, जान हो, समझ हो, एकता हो, तब ही चल सकता है। इसलिए मेरा एक विचार होता है, दिमाग में आता है जब मैं इस पुरानी काँग्रेस का सोचता हूँ जो यहाँ नागपुर में हुई थी तीस बरस हुए और जो यहाँ से एक पैगाम लेकर गयी थी, एक आवाज़ यहाँ से गूँजी थी, एक, हिन्दुस्तान ने उसको सुना था और हिल गया था। ज़ाहिर है, आप और हम उस दर्जे के आदमी तो हैं नहीं जिन्होंने आवाज़ उस वक़्त दी थी लेकिन फिर भी कोई वजह नहीं कि क्यों, हम अपने को इतना अदना क्यों समझें? क्यों न हम हिम्मत उठा कर और ज़ोरों से बढ़ने की कोशिश करें? क्यों न यह नागपुर काँग्रेस फिर से एक ऊँची आवाज़ से, ऊँची आवाज़ एक धूमधाम की नहीं, लेकिन मज़बूत, जिसके पीछे लोहा है आपके इरादे का, क्यों न वह उठाये इस ढंग से? उसको बढ़ना चाहिए और फिर उस ढंग से मुल्क आगे बढ़े।

[Translation begins:

Mr President,⁸⁵ delegate brothers and sisters, I have been asked to present a resolution on planning. If you will permit me, I shall not read out the entire resolution. I think all of you must have got copies of it in Hindi and English and I do not wish to take up your time in reading it out. If you wish, Mr President, I shall read it out at the end. (No.)

As our President told you just now, there are three main resolutions for this session. One is on international affairs and two on our work in the country. These two are separate resolutions and are concerned with different matters, but as a matter of fact, they are closely inter-linked and we must look at them from that point of view. Or, it would be appropriate to say that if we are opposed to one, the other, too, might not find favour in our eyes. Therefore, we must try to understand the thinking, goals and purport behind these two resolutions, especially the one that I am presenting to you.

As I stand here, all kinds of pictures and memories come to my mind. As you have heard today, the last time a Congress Session was held in Nagpur was thirty-eight years ago.⁸⁶ I do not know how many of the delegates who are here today were present on that occasion. Perhaps the number would be very small. Many others have come into the Congress since then and spent an entire

85. See fn 82 in this section.

86. See fn 83 in this section.

life-time in its service and have joined the ranks of the elders. But the number of people who attended that Congress and are still here with us must be small.

That was an extraordinary Session and is regarded as a significant one in the history of the Congress and the country. It marked a turning-point in the Congress as well as the country. It was a revolutionary Congress which arrived at momentous decisions and marked the beginning of the Gandhian era in India. At that time, I was still young and full of enthusiasm and life, and the Congress made a tremendous impact on my mind. In fact, I remember that Congress much more clearly than the thirty to forty sessions that I have attended since then. So the picture comes to my mind of how a new wave emerged in the Congress, and infused fresh strength into the people. Gandhiji's voice rang out in the Congress and reverberated all over India and in many parts of the world too. What followed has now become a part of India's history. For the first time, we heard cries of "Mahatma Gandhi ki jai" in the Congress. It was the symbol of the organised strength of the masses which Gandhiji used to bring about a great revolution in the country. All of us know about that and all of us have played a role in it.

Today we are once again assembled in this city of Nagpur for the Congress Session. There have been many ups and downs in the last thirty-eight years and at least the pledge that we took all those years ago has been fulfilled. Other questions have arisen and other problems plague us now. This Resolution is concerned with these problems.

This Resolution concerns in a sense basically our economic problems. How can the people of India be uplifted? How is their poverty to be removed? How can India become a prosperous country? How can India ultimately become a socialist country? What is the meaning of socialism which we talk about constantly? In fact, we use these words quite freely. The difficulties that the people suffer are often laid before us. Yesterday, during the debate on this resolution in the Subjects Committee, many of our colleagues presented amendments. Many of them were good, that is, in their own place. People pointed out in their speeches the various ills that afflict us and suggested remedies; they drew our attention to various things which have not been mentioned in the resolution. It is true that there are many ills which have to be set right. But it was not proper to discuss them in this resolution. If we were to draw up a list of the problems and difficulties that India faces, it will be a very long one. We will lose ourselves in it and get angry and impassioned; instead of finding a cure for the disease, we try to focus attention on each boil and wart in the body. The disease afflicts us internally and we must try to find a way to make the body healthy. It cannot be done by applying a little balm or ointment to some small wound here and there. Why is India poor? How can the poverty

be removed? It cannot be done by passing a resolution.

As our President pointed out just now, the biggest problem before us is of unemployment and other allied problems. A poor nation is always afflicted by these things and by doing something in a panic, or providing a few jobs here and there, we can achieve nothing. We shall only be distributing poverty and not prosperity. You cannot remove the unemployment problem by creating a few jobs here and there. We must go to the crux of the problem and instead of looking at it piecemeal, look at it in its entirety. There are however two things that we must be clear about. One is where do we wish to go. We must have a clear picture in our minds about where we wish to take India, not today but fifteen, twenty years hence because large countries like ours do not change in a couple of years. We must look ahead and decide where we wish to be in fifteen to twenty years' time.

Secondly, we must know if we have some sort of social philosophy behind all this. There has to be a philosophy, some sort of picture, because if there is no principle before us, if we fail to look at these problems in a scientific way, we will be groping in the dark. We will not be good doctors but mere quacks who treat blindly. The main thing is to understand the situation which exists in the country and the ills which afflict us. At the same time, we must understand how such ills have been treated elsewhere in the world. How did other poor countries of the world become prosperous?

There is no doubt about it that most of the countries of Europe and the United States, irrespective of their other good or bad points, are prosperous and well off. They have enormous wealth and thousands of avenues of work are open there before the people. How did all this come about? I do not suggest, nor would it be proper, that we should copy the United States or other countries, for imitating is always bad. We must go our own way. But we must learn from the mistakes and successes of others especially in what you might call social philosophy or social technique.

All of us talk about socialism and we have adopted it as our goal. What does socialism mean? Often when our colleagues present amendments in the name of socialism, I begin to wonder whether it is really an amendment for socialism, or a suggestion for something else. Socialism is not only an emotional desire to do good to everyone. Emotions are all very well. But it is not enough. You cannot treat an ailing person merely by wishing that he should get well unless you know medicine. It is no doubt a good thing to wish others well. But at the same time you require something more. Similarly, you need an understanding, experience and awareness of what is happening in the country and elsewhere. So, socialism means that there should be a social philosophy behind what we do. That has to be evolved out of an understanding of our

problems and not by copying others or merely by expressing a desire to do good. Desires and emotions, of course, are there in everyone.

The fact is that ever since socialism was first thought of and discussed in the world fifty years ago, it has undergone a change. Many of the things which were considered peculiar only to socialism fifty or a hundred years ago are accepted by all capitalist countries now. The concept of a welfare state is accepted by almost all the countries of the world, including the capitalist states. In fact, the capitalist countries have established a welfare state because they have no dearth of money. You will find that the countries of North Europe and the United States, Scandinavia, etc., have established full-fledged welfare states. The individuals are looked after from the moment of birth to death by the State. So the principles of what we call socialism have spread so much so that the capitalist countries have even accepted that people should be equal, more or less. They believe that there should be no great disparity between the haves and the have-nots and a certain degree of equality in peoples' income and standard of living must be maintained. In the United States, which is regarded as the biggest capitalist country in the world, people believe in a classless society. Now you can imagine that these are concepts which used to be regarded as socialistic principles. I would not say that they are paying lip-service to these concepts. In spite of the fact that their social organisation is entirely different, there is not much disparity between the rich and the poor. In fact, in India no matter how much we talk about socialism, there is much greater disparity. Anyhow, how can there be socialism or any other ism so long as we have casteism and distinction between one section of society and another and we believe in untouchables and Harijans and what not? How can there be socialism or democracy or anything else? Such words have no meaning unless we remove these social afflictions. I would go so far as to say that such great disparities do not exist even in the United States which is a bastion of capitalism as we do in India. We declare that yes, that is capitalism, we are socialist.

So we must look at it from this point of view. The world is changing and the old arguments and concepts are becoming outdated. I would like to point out very humbly that even our Communist colleagues shout slogans which belong to the nineteenth century which have no relevance to the modern world. That does not mean that there is no difference between the social philosophy of socialism and capitalism. I do not say that. But I certainly feel that the rapidity with which the world is changing has resulted in diminishing the differences which existed between these systems and they are coming closer. We must take advantage of this state of affairs especially because we are not bound to one or the other. We can make a choice with open minds.

Now I told you that in the changing world of today, differences between

various ideologies are diminishing. What are the changes that have taken place? It is not a theoretical change or a change in slogans and what not. The fundamental change that has come about is in the means of production. What does that mean? I think I am not explaining myself quite clearly. I am putting it badly because I cannot find the right words. Means of production have changed. It is not sudden because changes have always been taking place. But the greatest change occurred during the Industrial Revolution with the coming of the machines, engines and steam and electric power which increased man's capacity to work tremendously. Man suddenly acquired the strength of a hundred or over a thousand people. You may say that with the coming of the Industrial Revolution, human beings were transformed into ten-headed or twenty-armed Ravana. Man's strength increased a thousand-fold now. The result was that not only did the means of production change but the entire way of life of the human race began to change. It is obvious that this in turn has led to new ideas which is inevitable. Socialism and communism, etc, are the offshoots of the Industrial Revolution which took place in Europe and England first and then gradually spread to the rest of the world. All these industries that you see around you are the off-shoots of the Industrial Revolution. So the fundamental thing was the Industrial Revolution which resulted in the production of enormous wealth in the countries of the West and a gradual blurring and merging of class distinctions. Though there was to some extent suppression by one class of others, all the classes of society became more prosperous and began to share in the enormous wealth that was being produced. This process has continued over the last hundred or a hundred and fifty years and is gathering momentum in the modern age with the rapid advance of science. New methods of production from land and industries and even seabeds are being discovered. Things which had existed in the realm of fantasy and magic have now become reality.

What were the consequences of all this? In the olden days, the question of everyone being prosperous simply did not arise. It was impossible because the quantity of goods available anywhere in the world was just not enough. A handful of people at the top in every country, the feudal classes, the zamindars, jagirdars, taluqdars and kings and emperors were rich while the rest of the people were poor. There was no doubt that this was the state of affairs all over the world. The reason was that there were no means of producing more goods. Good crops certainly meant that everyone had enough to eat it is true, because the population was small. But if the crops failed people starved to death. The other kinds of goods were scarce. But with the coming of the Industrial Revolution, goods began to be produced in plenty and reached the masses. It was then that the question of equitable distribution and the concept of socialism,

etc, arose. Now we are in the third stage of evolution when there is no doubt that with the enormous power and the scientific discoveries and industrialisation at our command, every single individual in the world can become well off. It is no longer a question of fighting for one's share. It can be proved on paper that the world can produce enough or more than what is needed for the material needs of food, clothing, housing, health and education facilities, employment and other cultural needs as well, of every single individual in the world. The power to achieve this is in the hands of man today. It is a different matter that it may take some time. The point is that the world has the capacity today. In such circumstances, the old arguments about who should have how much becomes slightly irrelevant. It is a question of concentrating all our energy in increasing production so that everyone may get his fair share.

What does socialism mean? Leave aside the theories of socialism. It means that all necessary goods must be available in plenty everywhere in the world. There should be no cause for tension or fighting for them and they ought to be free. Nobody should have any problem about getting food and clothes and other essential items. So the old theories of socialism have undergone a slight modification. I do not say that the fundamentals are wrong. But the concept has changed since the days of Karl Marx. He was no doubt a great man but many of the things that he said then are no longer relevant. In the United States, the poorest man can compete with our rich people. Who is the proletariat in the United States? According to the old definition, there is nobody who belongs to the proletariat because an enormous amount of goods is produced there. However it is, by capitalism, or by something else, there is so much wealth that even if it is not distributed properly, everyone gets quite a big share.

In short, what I mean is that you can draw two conclusions from this. One is that we must not get bogged down by old slogans. Of course, we must try to understand the old theories. I am afraid we often try to judge our problems by the yardstick of the European viewpoint which is not always right. For one thing, we must look at our economic situation in our own way. We can certainly learn from the experience of Europe. Secondly, Europe has become prosperous and wealthy only through the Industrial Revolution. Their progress has been entirely due to the advance in science and technology. Science has given them enormous sources of energy like steam-power, electricity and now atomic energy. These are all natural sources of energy which have come into the hands of Man. If we wish to progress, we must also learn to acquire these sources of power. We have to produce new wealth from our earth and the skies by hard work and manual labour. I have no doubt that anything else is just a distribution of poverty. Nobody will become prosperous. How is it to be done? So we have drawn up the five year plans. We cannot allow each individual

to do whatever he wishes. We need to have a sense of direction and change the social organisation so that there may be a proper utilisation of resources and the people may benefit. It is possible that without proper planning, only a handful of people benefit. The rest will continue to be poor.

Therefore, planning is essential. So we must take into consideration the fundamental necessities and learn to lay the foundations of an industrial revolution. You will see that the second resolution concerns land. The trouble is that though our farmers are very good and hardworking, they do not produce per acre even one-fourth of what the rest of the world does. It is not their fault but that of circumstances. Their ignorance is also responsible to some extent. But what I mean is that we must revolutionise our agricultural production and it is possible to do so. It cannot increase if we hold on to the old ways of working. Almost thirty crores of our population lives in villages and so what is required is to change their thinking and educate and train them in modern methods of production. If the population is small, you can live in isolation. But when you are living in a crowd you have to think of your neighbour and cooperate with him. This is the problem which confronts everyone all over the world. It has become such a crowded place that even countries are now living in close proximity or sometimes overlapping each other's arena. And if there is a conflict, either one would evict the other or both would perish. A war will destroy everyone. So the only alternative is to live in peaceful coexistence especially since the coming of the atom bomb. There is no alternative to peaceful coexistence and non-interference in the affairs of others. Within the country also, we must apply this principle and consider how to progress through cooperative effort.

Now the times have gone when individual farmers sweated and toiled over small pieces of land and produced very little. This was the system that was considered the best in the past. But it is no secret that it is a useless system and completely irrelevant in the modern world. We may carry on with it for some more time which is a different matter. But if it continues for long, the farmer cannot progress even in a hundred years and will always remain poor. We must look for other solutions. I will not say more about this. There is another resolution concerning this.² But I wanted to point out that the farmer and the question of land are an important part of planning. I do not accept the view that we need not bother with farmers except to give them some help because that would be condemning them forever to a life of poverty.

Since we face the problem of uplifting thirty crores of people of India, we will have to change the system and organisation and bring in cooperatives of different kinds. The farmers must learn to work in cooperation. They can take their share of the produce. This will have far-reaching consequences because

we can progress in the world only by a policy of cooperation whether it is in industries or anything else. The same applies to land too.

What is the meaning of the resolution that I am presenting before you? One aspect is how the Third Plan should be drawn up and what we must do to prepare ourselves for it. The First Plan is over and the Second one is more than half finished. Another two years remain. But we must start thinking about the Third Plan so that it can be drawn up unhurriedly after proper consultations with all sections of society in the country and ultimately whatever shape it takes will be based on a general consensus of opinion.

As you know, we have a Planning Commission which consists of seven to eight selected people. Now a group of eight people cannot be brilliant enough to think of everything. Their task has to be shared by others, by picking other people's brains, holding discussions and debates, so that gradually a clear picture emerges. This has then to be shared with the people for their views. This is how a broad consensus can be gradually evolved. If the thinking is pooled, the problems of the world could easily be solved.

Therefore, this question is being raised two years in advance. It is true that the Congress has a major role in formulating the Plan. It will be discussed in the Parliament and elsewhere. We want that our youth in colleges and universities must have debates, organise planning forums, etc, to discuss the Plan.

It is a complex question and all the parties in the country must share the responsibility, though it is obvious that the greatest responsibility rests with the Congress in many ways. It is the biggest organisation and there are Congress governments in all the states except one. But we do not look at this problem from the point of party policy. It is a national issue and we want everyone's cooperation. We invite all people belonging to various groups and parties to come and take part in the discussions and express their views. It is obvious that the responsibility for the final decision will be ours. There are bound to be differences of opinion. Yet there are various things in which if we forget our slogans, we will be able to evolve a consensus. Anyhow, we want that there should be as much discussion as possible in the next two years. That is why we are starting early.

Now there is another thing that you should consider. How is the Plan to be drawn up? It will begin two years from now and seven years would have elapsed by the time the Plan is over. So as I said in the beginning, we must have a clear picture in our minds of the next twenty to twenty-five years. We cannot make proper calculations by looking at the problem from year to year. Any big projects, like the river valley schemes, and steel plants, etc. take at least seven years to complete. Therefore, we must look ahead twenty or twenty-five years and then bring our sight back and calculate what has to be done over the next

seven years.

So, the first question before us is the number of people that we have to provide for. We have to ascertain what the population will be seven years hence or fifteen years hence, because if we provide for the existing population and fail to take into consideration its yearly growth and two to five crore population increases after seven years, we shall be in trouble. Therefore, we must provide for the growing population.

First of all, everyone must get enough to eat, clothes to wear, houses to live in, education and health care facilities and employment. These are enormous problems. As I told you just now, I have no doubt that there is no alternative except to bring about an industrial revolution in the country. I am emphasising this because some people seem to think that we can solve the nation's problems by some kind of manipulation. We may be able to solve some problems temporarily and sometimes we have to do it. But the fundamental thing is to bring about an industrial revolution. What does that mean? It does not mean putting up a couple of industries in Nagpur. It means something much more fundamental. We will have to produce more power, electricity or whatever it is, because it is necessary for industries. How is power to be generated? Have you heard of Bhakra-Nangal, Hirakud and Damodar Valley? These are the various places in India where power is being generated. It has to be increased further. You can judge from this how far we have to go.

The second fundamental requirement of an industrial revolution is steel which we have to produce. Without these two things, we will get stuck. We can certainly import machines from the United States. But we cannot import power from there. Moreover, machines require spare parts and if we continue to import them, we will always be dependent on other countries, machines will be idle, and precious foreign exchange will be drained. This is no way of going about it. We have to produce power in order to set up machine-making industries. These are the basic requirements for an industrial revolution. We will have to produce a great deal of power and put up heavy industries and machine-making industries, so that we do not have to go to Germany, the Soviet Union or England for them. This is how we can lay the foundations of an industrial revolution. Then you can build upon that as you wish. I do not say that other things are not necessary. But when you are planning, you have to keep in mind these basic requirements. Otherwise there can be no real progress for we will get stuck at every point by the lack of steel and power and what not.

Thirdly, and this is the most important thing, we need trained human beings for it is they who run the machines. It is not numbers which count. We are forty crores in number but the question is how many of us are trained and skilled. The trained human beings are the ones who are valuable and the rest

are just useless burden. All the things that I told you about, like steel, etc., take five years to develop but the men who will run the industries will require fifteen to twenty years of training. If we do not start right from now and make adequate arrangements, we will have the industries standing and no one to run them. Therefore, planning also involves trained human beings to be engineers, doctors and teachers, etc.

Therefore, we have to look at every angle for proper planning. Otherwise, if we progress in one direction and lag behind in the other, you cannot really grow. All of us may wish to do many things but we have to look at everything in the context of the Plan. The important thing is to have a clear idea of our priorities. For instance, if you take the question of land, the important thing, of course, is to increase production from land. But even more important is the question of land tenure, land reforms, etc., and to adopt scientific methods of agriculture. It is essential for every farmer to be educated in the improved techniques of agriculture. Please do not think that education is an urban necessity. Countries which are advanced today have done so only by educating every single man, woman and child in the country. Many people mistakenly believe that we must invest in other things now and make arrangements for education later. Nothing will move properly unless there is proper education. Education is a basic requirement, obviously the right kind of education.

So you see that planning requires careful thought. Without proper planning, you will stray here and there, which may do some good. But there can be no real progress. This problem becomes even more complex because of the fact that the population is increasing every year by fifty or sixty lakhs who have to be fed and clothed. This is a great problem and I use the word deliberately for we have to learn to control the population growth. It is not merely a question of making some effort because there are methods available which can be adopted. Otherwise all our progress will be sucked away by the increasing population and the country will continue to groan under the burden. I do not say that there should be no population growth at all. But it must be controlled.

There are many angles that have to be considered in the context of planning. It is obvious that if we wish to progress, we need money to invest. Steel plants, for instance, require Rs 150 crores per plant. Ours is a poor country and we have to save and invest enormous sums. The more we invest, the greater will be our progress. Where is this money to come from? The great pundits of economics have calculated the investment/development ratio and the amount that we will have to invest in the next five years. This shows merely what we need to invest to stay where we are now, to maintain status quo in the economic condition of the country during the next five to seven years. You must remember that if the population increases by four or five

crores in the next seven years, we will have to invest more for them. So, in fact, our calculations show that merely to maintain the status quo, we will need to invest millions of rupees. It is obvious that if we wish to progress, we shall have to invest even more. I am pointing this out to you because some people seem to feel that enough has been invested during the First and Second Plans and now we must stop and take a break. These are the people who are opposed to planning. But there is no question of stopping because the stream of life flows on. There is no break in the birth of babies and youth gives way to old age and death. There is no stopping this cycle of life. If you wish to improve the standard of living of the people and be of some service to them, you cannot stop planning. You can call a halt to planning only if life itself comes to a halt. It is impossible to do so otherwise, because the moment you do it, you will become backward. Let me give you a small example. If you are riding a bicycle, the moment you stop you will fall down, you can stay on it only so long as you are moving forward. Therefore, it is futile to think of slowing down. If we wish to progress, we will have to work very hard. There can be no rest or relaxation for our generation. People might protest and they would be justified in doing so. But the only answer is hard work and long years of hard work without any appreciable returns for a long time to come. You hear of the progress made by China, the Soviet Union and other countries. But whatever ideology they may follow, a tremendous amount of hard work is involved. The people of those countries work for eighteen hours a day. We cannot do that much and nor do we wish to. But we will have to work hard all the same and maintain unity. So these are the basic problems.

These things are not set down in detail in the Resolution that I am presenting to you. Details will come later during consultations and discussions in which all of you must take part. You must give your suggestions and criticisms. All this is no doubt true. But the important thing is the point of view from which you look at these things. If our thinking itself is wrong, the planning will be wrong and by that time it will be too late to do anything about it. Therefore, we have to have a clear idea in our minds about the broad outlines. The details can be filled in later. The main thing is that we cannot stop. We must progress and with greater speed in order to provide new avenues of employment and enable us to invest more and to make more capital formation possible. This is very essential. I shall not go into the details. We have to bear all these things in mind and the main conclusion to be drawn from it is that we have to shoulder greater burdens, all kinds of burdens in terms of hard work and saving in order to invest and what not.

So I present this resolution very humbly before you. I have made an effort to make you understand the basic principles of planning. The details can be

thrashed out later. But the seed has to be good if you wish that the tree should be healthy. If we do not pay attention to the seeds, we will grow weeds which will prevent the healthy growth of trees. Therefore, it is essential for all of us to understand that it is imperative to go on with the present Plan and complete it and draw up the Third one in such a way that it will take us far. Once we are able to leap across this abyss of poverty, we all gather momentum as it happened in the United States, England and the Soviet Union, etc.

You must also remember that there are often great debates about the different ideologies like communism and socialism and what not. However, as I said, the differences between these ideologies are rapidly diminishing. Both depend on heavy industries and science and aspire to reach the moon. There can be neither communism nor capitalism in all this. There is only science and those who advance in science can go as far as they wish. You will find that of all these countries, the United States is the most prosperous. To say that it has become rich by plundering other countries is not right. They have produced an enormous wealth through their own effort and strength and knowledge. It is a very large country, a land of great opportunities.

On the other hand, you take countries which were defeated in war, Germany lost and Japan lost and although the Soviet Union won but suffered terrible losses in war. Other countries like Poland too suffered great damage due to the war. So, you have a communist country like the Soviet Union on the one hand and Germany and Japan on the other. But all the three countries have worked very hard to put their people back on their feet. They brought about an industrial revolution and trained hard working human beings; they made advances in science. That is why they have become prosperous and wealthy once again in ten years, all the three nations, though their policies were different. Just ten or twelve years ago, the cities which had been razed to the ground are standing once more. Japan is prosperous once again in spite of devastation caused by the atom bomb. The Soviet Union which had suffered enormous devastation is now trying to reach the moon. There is no question of any isms in all this. It is entirely due to hard work and advance in science and technology and unity and cooperation. We must also imbibe these basic things before we bring about a socialist philosophy.

We have rightly chosen the path of socialism and adopted a socialist pattern of society as our goal. It is my opinion that almost all over the world, countries are moving in that direction though many of them might be wary of using that word. We are not bursting with wealth like the United States to fritter away our resources. So we have no alternative to trying to bring about planned socialism. I agree that science has made such tremendous progress that even following the other path can produce an enormous amount of goods. But the consequences

may not have been wholly to our liking and so there was no alternative to adopting the socialist way. We must advance in the field of science and technology and bring about an industrial revolution in the country. It is obvious that our resources do not permit all this to be done immediately. We can go only as far as our strength and resources and hard work permit. We cannot do anything by merely passing resolutions.

Yesterday one of our colleagues said that the resolution is colourless.⁸⁷ It is true that it is very businesslike. It does not raise a banner of any sort but I want you to see the principles and the picture underlying it. It is a businesslike resolution to draw the people's attention. But it can be implemented only if the thinking behind it is revolutionary and if there is courage and daring, understanding and unity behind it. Therefore, my thoughts go back to that Nagpur Congress of thirty years ago which had carried a new message to the country and a voice had rung out from here which had reverberated throughout India and shaken her to the core. It is obvious that we are not men of the calibre of the human being who had raised his voice on that occasion. But there is no reason for us to consider ourselves to be small or to be afraid of daring to move forward. Why should this Nagpur Congress not raise its voice once again and sound a note of steel and determination with no fanfare? It can show the way to progress.

Translation ends]

20. Amendments to Resolution on Planning⁸⁸

Mr. President, Comrades,

I shall deal rather briefly with the three amendments which have been moved. One is to add in second para line 7 after the words due to floods etc, and defective planning.⁸⁹ The second is something about adding to check tax evasion, no I am sorry, "there should be a ceiling on income in non-agricultural sectors,"⁹⁰

87. See fn 84 in this section.

88. Speech in the plenary session, Abhyankar Nagar, Nagpur, 9 Jan. 1959, AIR tapes, NMML.

89. Moving this amendment, Prabodh Chandra (Punjab) complained that so many entrusted with implementing the plans not only had no faith in the Socialist Pattern of Society, but were opposed to it. He suggested forming committed cadres as the solution.

90. Moved by Mool Chand Jain (Punjab), who emphasised that officials' attitudes must change for development programmes to be successful.

and the third is add after resources in para seven, "including tax revenue."⁹¹ Now, I am sorry, I cannot accept these amendments.

The first one about defective planning, there of course, is, comes in a descriptive part of the resolution not in the basic part, descriptive where it says something about floods etc. Now, whether there is defective planning or not, nobody here has said anything about it. What I mean is this, defective planning is one thing, non-implementation of the plan is another thing. What is sometimes being referred to is non-implementation, which is a different thing from defective planning. You might have said that the Second Plan is defective as contained in the book. Nobody has said that to my knowledge. Therefore, in any event these words are appropriate there. I am perfectly prepared to agree that in the implementation of the plan in many places, we have failed. Factors have come in, or our fault or whatever it may be. That is so. But these words certainly have no place there, even according to the arguments advanced here.

The second point, the second thing is, our friend Mr. Rameshwar Dayal Totla wanting to improve tax revenue, where he said that "the main burden of carrying out a programme of economic development must fall on the people of the country and therefore, it is to the extent that domestic resources are increased that adequate progress would be made." You want to add after the "domestic resources" "including tax revenue." Well, of course, domestic resources are of only of two kinds as far as I know: tax revenue and loans, unless the gifts also are included; but tax revenue is obviously one of the principal domestic resources apart from loans from the public. The reference there in the resolution to the domestic resources is so that we may not rely too much on foreign resources. But I entirely agree. I cannot accept this amendment. It does not fit in, but I entirely agree with Shri Rameshwar Dayal Totla's argument. I do think that it is possible, it is desirable, and it should be done, that taxation in the agricultural sector can be increased. There has been no settlement in many places. Incomes have gone up: I do not say that the people are very very well off, this is not my point; but I am merely pointing out, there is no doubt that there is room under the normal scale of taxation to increase there. Really it has not increased for probably political factors, not exactly economic factors.

Now, I come to the third amendment, which is about ceiling, that "there should be a ceiling on incomes in non-agricultural sectors also". First of all, I do not understand "also" there, because no one has proposed ceiling on rural incomes. "Also" does not come in at all. I should like this point to be appreciated because it is important. Our desire is, far from imposing a ceiling on rural

91. Moved by Rameshwar Dayal Totla (Madhya Pradesh). He wanted rural areas to raise more resources, district level targets, and severe action against corruption.

incomes to increase them, and our whole policy is to increase those incomes; those incomes are brought down because of various factors. One of the factors being that there is far too much burden on land, far too many people on land. If you look at the history of India during British rule, you will find that the basic cause of our poverty is the increasing burden on land because of industries going down; because of small industries, manufacturing industries, cottage industries, all that being wiped out in the early days of the British rule, and the people having to revert to land because they had nothing else to do. And that is a basic cause of poverty and [...] we are removing it, removing people from land or rather with new additional industries, giving employment in various types of industries whether big, middle, or small. You cannot have too many people on the land. If you have them, they will remain poor; it does not matter what you be. That is one way; and the other is better agricultural techniques. There is no third way. So our main purpose, the whole purpose of our planning, is to raise the level of the villager. What else does it mean when we say that we want to raise the standards of the nation, not of the cities. How to do it is another matter? It is no good saying that because we are limiting holdings we must limit urban incomes. We are not limiting any income except by taxation, rural or urban, except by taxation of various kinds. That is a normal way to deal with it, [...] limiting profits if you like. Those are the proper ways of doing it. Any other method would be so regressive that you will not get much money out of it, and it will stop industrial progress. I do not go deeply into that proposition now but for anyone to say that proposal is unacceptable and I think if you consider it yourself, it really cannot be give effect to without very harmful results. But I quite agree that our whole policy should aim towards bringing a certain measure of uniformity between the rural and urban incomes [...].

What do you call the urban income today? Well, the big incomes presumably come from industry and the like. We want to take industry to the village; that is the way to raise, not to cut short everything and prevent development, the industrial development of the country. At the same time I agree that effort through taxation and other means should be made to reduce these differences, because the ultimate objective should be more or less its equality. And one cannot be absolutely equal but relatively equal, or at any rate, lesser differences.

Now, in this connection, I might say that there is almost an inevitable tendency, if you leave things to themselves, for the rich to get richer and the poor poorer. That applies to the rich countries getting richer and poor countries getting poorer. That applies within a country, the rich state getting richer and poor state getting poorer. That applies all over the place, the poor man getting poorer. If left to themselves, other forces come in, the state comes in, taxation comes in, a hundred and one things come in. But the point is that the rich

individual or the rich state or the rich country has the resources to add to their income. The rich may be richer in body and stronger in body, a good agriculturist who is strong in body can work harder, will make good more and more than the person who is weak in body. The more you have resources, either in bodily strength or other resources, you make good. The rich country has greater resources and it makes good and the fact of the matter is that in the last ten to twelve years, ever since the war, the gap between the poorer countries and the richer countries of the world has increased, has not lessened, the poor countries have advanced a little but the other countries have advanced even more. In fact, that is one of the arguments against our following the policy which might normally be called the capitalist policy of development. As I said, I am perfectly prepared to agree that in course of time, following the normal capitalist policy of development with modern techniques and all that, we will develop. India can develop and standards will go up, in course of time. Time is an important factor. One cannot wait for fifty years, sixty years, or a hundred years to do that.

In the old days when America and Western Europe and others developed in a hundred years or a hundred and fifty or two hundred years, there were other factors present. There was time. The economic revolution took place there before the political revolution. The demands and pressures were not so great. There were historic changes. Today our political revolution is taking place before the economic one. Therefore, political pressures are great, and rightly so. But apart from that, the historic forces at work in the world today, their speed is infinitely greater than before, and therefore, if we try to follow the capitalist method, what would happen is that in an all India analysis you would be able to show: oh, our production has gone up. Undoubtedly, it has gone up, cement has gone up, this has gone up, that has gone up, that is perfectly true. And to that extent, it will be a good thing. But it will be, first of all, a completely uneven and unplanned development pulled back by circumstances here and there. Secondly, it would widen the gap, the differences between the more prosperous and the less prosperous. The more prosperous states in India will go ahead faster because they have the greater resources. It is a state that has to come in to help the poorest states in India, the more prosperous groups will go up.

In fact, what has happened in the last seven to eight years, broadly speaking, is that large numbers in our country have profited quite considerably by our planning. They are much better off, the better class peasants better off. But on the other hand the landless labour is not better off, certainly not, and in some cases one might say they are worse off. I am prepared to admit that. Because we have to deal with vast groups in this country and, one group may be affected

and the other may not be. That is where the state comes in or should come in to pull them up. You cannot pull up a person with one leg, [...] you cannot. You may certainly help him but you just cannot; the community has to pull itself up by education, by physical standards, mental, intellectual standards. There is no other way. The state helps. Therefore, I am saying that if we adopted this relative *laissez faire* method, that would lead to jumps in production here and there, they would lead to some groups profiting very much, some top groups very much, some other groups profiting a good deal, and many many groups not profiting at all or going back.

Now, all that has therefore to be dealt with, from a more socialistic approach in planning. But, the essential thing about a so-called socialistic approach, I use the word "socialistic" in a very vague sense, in this matter, because a better word would be scientific planning. Quite apart from socialism, scientific planning meaning that you want to increase your national income rapidly, you increase your productive capacity rapidly. How are we to do that? That is the point purely, consider it purely scientifically—socialism, capitalism everything apart. Increase our income, and of course that should affect the masses of the people—that is important.

Now, I say that as soon as you start looking at them from that point of view, you have to plan with the greatest care, to lay the base for rapid increase. And that happens only when you increase your power capacity, your steel capacity, and your machine-building capacity, two or three other things too. These are the basic things. And these things consume money and do not give results till they are ready. Your steel plants, three or four of them, will begin paying next year slowly and about two or three times in a big way. Then we will profit by them after five years of effort.

Now, a lady delegate asked me that I should put in something or remember that I should say something about unemployment in this resolution and something about I think the food situation or food prices. Now, because she said that, it would please people.⁹² May be. But, I should like her and others to realise that what she has said are basic to the situation, far from ignoring them or by passing them, they are absolutely basic. The unemployment question in India, how to meet it? I say you cannot meet the unemployment question without industrialisation, without this and that, without proper planning. The whole purpose of this planning is that. It is all wrong I say, if you—I quite agree with

92. Nirmala Potdar (Madhya Pradesh) regretted that the resolution was weak on unemployment and food prices; solving problems would earn Congress immense popular support.

the honourable Member who interrupted—in laying emphasis, it is quite wrong to lay the wrong emphasis. I say it is completely wrong emphasis, if you do not lay emphasis on the basic approach. You may go on saying unemployment must be remedied. But how, is the question. Not merely putting unemployment “must be remedied.” How? I say unemployment in a big way cannot be remedied without industrialisation. I state that categorically. You may temporarily relieve unemployment by other means, that is a different matter; but basically you cannot deal with this question without widespread industrialisation. And when I say industrialisation, I include all types of industry, big or small, cottage industry, and so on, but basically big. That is to say, big industry does not remove unemployment much. It is what is called a capital intensive industry. But it is only that process which leads to other processes. If one man is employed in big industry, ten to twelve persons are employed elsewhere as a consequence of that, and that evidence is before you. In the countries where unemployment has practically disappeared, there are countries where it has disappeared through industrialisation. In India I think that whatever the measure of your big industry may be, small industry of course is vastly important; and cottage industry is also vastly important as far as I can see. I cannot speak about future generations or what later conditions may be. But [...] I repeat again that you will not be able to deal with the unemployment question unless you basically industrialise India, and that means you produce the machines in India, and that is industrialisation. Producing machines in India, which means huge plants to produce machines, power, steel [...]. It is, it is not enough I repeat this again and again for us to realise, that this problem which is a tremendous problem, a vital problem, can only be faced if we understand how to handle it in its essence. By putting it in a resolution or creating odd jobs here and there, if we relieve unemployment for a few thousands when you have to deal with millions, you have to change the whole fundamental structure of it.

As for the food situation we have said more about food and these resolutions or the resolution that comes up before you tomorrow. The whole thing revolves round an adequate supply of adequate agricultural production. In this too, the whole system of planning is based on the agricultural sector playing its part, that is, producing first of all enough for the people in the country, and secondly, more than enough so that we can export it and get something in exchange; and industrial development in an agricultural country depends upon what you can get out of the agriculture. These are basic things, what the lady delegate said I accept it, and I want her to appreciate that the whole planning revolves round at least those two matters. There are one or two other matters too, they are so basic.

So, I regret I cannot accept those amendments and I would beg of you

again to consider this resolution more, not of course in detail, but this is not a detailed planning of anything, but a resolution pointing the way in which we have to go, in which way we have to think. Now, I hope you will forgive my saying so, but normally the resolutions in the past have dealt with categorical things which is good of course, and not with the philosophical approach to a problem, if I may put it that way. Individually we do that, but as a rule, there is no philosophical approach to economic and similar problems: in this resolution there is, in a measure, that philosophical approach. Because you cannot do without it when you have to consider this complicated matter and I can quite understand the difficulty in diverting our minds from what some one may consider a practical approach—we have to do this, we have to increase food—to a philosophical approach as to what we shall have to adopt to get there.

Therefore, because it is a slightly novel approach—not very novel to us, but novel in the sense of the Congress adopting the resolution, only in that sense I mean—therefore, perhaps, originally it was not fully understood, and many delegates said things which were, as I said, which were important in their own context, which were relevant in their context, but were not relevant in this particular context. Because we are discussing a certain philosophy and it is vitally important that we do so; because a time has come when we cannot live from hand to mouth, if I may say so, in regard to our thinking, and there has to be some consistent approach—I do not say a rigid approach—but some consistent philosophy in dealing with our economic and similar problems. [...] Even those who refer to socialism quite a great deal may sometimes have that approach, and may not, and socialism may mean to them, “oh! nationalise everything.” Now, I do not think that is the basis, [it is] a very important factor in socialism and it may be occasionally a factor, important factor, [or] it may not be. But just equating socialism with two or three slogans like that means that you are not really thinking of a complicated problem as one should do. Now, this resolution is an attempt to divert the mind of the nation towards that, groups think like this, may be professors think like this. But it is time that the nation should begin to think in that way, that thinking is not rigid thinking, it may be that following this path, we may arrive at different conclusions, that does not matter. But the base you have to accept if we have to accept this resolution, that is an important thing and the base inevitably leads you in some directions, what is, again if I may repeat we want, what do we want? Leave out for a moment, socialist pattern of society, which are vague phrases. We want higher standards of living in India for all our people. We want to pull up four hundred million people. We want to reduce disparities, we want to give equal opportunities to everybody in India, more or less, equal opportunities. These are things regardless of ideologies which I hope everyone accepts

whatever his party.

Now, some of us think that the socialist pattern of society gives these things. All right. But leave out the socialist pattern, do not use the word, we want those things. How are we to get them? That is the problem. Isn't it? Now, we have to get them by production, that is by producing the things that the four hundred million people require. Who is to produce them? The four hundred million people of India—somebody else won't. We may exchange with other countries, but broadly speaking, the people of India have to produce the wealth that they require for their own use and to get rid of this poverty. Now, the problem becomes of bringing these people together and providing them opportunities to produce those goods. How are they to do so? Well, in a variety of ways and thereby also solving the problem of unemployment. In producing the goods that they require, they work and they get employment. That is a problem. That is where planning comes in immediately. I am using these phrases you will see, without any technical terms socialism, communism, capitalism, leave them out. That is a problem. Now, by doing so we arrive at the first conclusion, that if we do not take advantage of modern science and technology, we cannot solve this problem.

We cannot produce enough, it is just impossible and it is no good going back. Looking back at some old time, when mythology or tradition tells us that everybody was happy in India, because in those old times, presumably, why presumably certainly, the population of India was probably one hundredth of what it is today. I can understand, reduce the population of India by one hundredth or one fiftieth, well, they won't lack food, they won't lack this and they would not lack that. Conditions are different, you have to face the position today with the present population and a growing one. You cannot solve it without the use of science and technology. That is basic. In introducing science and technology you introduce the machine age, you introduce industrialisation, in every sphere. You cannot introduce industrialisation without introducing the big machines, the parent machine, the mother industry which gives birth to smaller industries. You have to. There is no escape from that.

Now in planning, therefore, you try to introduce the parent machines first because after that it becomes simpler. But in introducing these big parent mother machines or industries, it means that you have to take a great burden on yourself, because they don't pay till sometime passed. The burden grows in planning, the essential burden grows till they begin but ultimately you proceed much faster.

Now here again, there is a vital difference between the thinking of the average capitalist, and I am not using these terms in any bad sense, and I am sorry that people should use the word capitalist as a kind of abuse or something,

that is absurd. The average capitalist thinks that the proper way, let us say in India, is to start the multitude of consumer goods industries. No doubt they will do good, but you will never get out of that vicious circle of having to rely for basic things on other countries. And your progress will be very slow. Therefore, the capitalist argument is to have these lots of consumer goods industries and out of the profits of those gradually build up your basic industries. Now that, I think, is a very slow process and too slow for our purpose today. We will be overwhelmed by our problems. The other way is to build up the basic industry also—consumer goods also of course to some extent—the basic industry, because only then you set the process going—of the self-feeding process—that is, the self-development process. Otherwise you never do it. That is a more difficult thing to begin with, but that brings the results much quicker.

We have seen fairly rapid progress in some countries, maybe that progress was due to all kinds of pressures and coercions and all that. But leave the pressures and coercions out, think only of the economic approach, and there is no reason why that economic approach, not wholly suited to our circumstances, should not be considered by us as feasible here in order to make more rapid progress. These are complicated problems which normally are discussed by the professors of economics and the like; but you have to discuss them, and not only you and I, who know something about these matters, to consider them and discuss them, but in a broad sense. I want these problems to be discussed by the peasant in the field and the little shopkeepers and others. That is, to understand the basic problems, and you should go and explain it to them because otherwise he does not understand what is happening, he does not understand what particular trouble may be due to, he doesn't.

Take even a question about which so much has been said, corruption. Now, there is obviously in the administration and elsewhere a considerable amount of, unhappily, corruption, and we have to fight that. There can be no doubt about it, we have to fight with that. May I tell you only from my experience and more from the Delhi point of view or the Central Government point of view, that I think we have been fighting it rather effectively. I cannot say for the lower levels of the Government—the railway clerk and this and that spread out, I cannot. You know better than I do. The lower levels are a little difficult to reach and let us fight them by all means; but I want you to consider another aspect, and that is that corruption is associated with a certain phase or certain set-up in a country, or a set phase in its development. Corruption comes tremendously, certainly, as you know, in wartime. Everything goes to pieces. And here is a stage in India, with all the advantages of an ever-growing state apparatus; naturally, the extent it covers is so great that proportionately, if the

corruption remains quite the same as before, the extent would be greater. Mind you, you don't hear much about private corruption because it has been there, state corruption one hears and rightly so, but one gets an idea of the extent, perhaps an exaggerated idea. I am not going, I am pointing out that these are connected rather with the social methods of growth, apart from individual character, and all those matters, and we have to consider these matters.

So that coming back to this resolution, this resolution is an attempt to make, not the delegates of the Congress so much because to some extent they are used to it, but the common people in India to think slowly and gradually on economic lines, on historical forces working, on all these problems that arise in planning, because they are important. You cannot plan by merely picking out this and you want employment, let us put everybody, that everybody wants employment, let us keep prices down or let us do this or that, let us have irrigation channels. Those are details, very important details, but they are not planning, they are the result of planning. Therefore, it is no good putting in those details here, important as they are. And I would beg of you not only to accept this resolution, as you probably will, but to accept it after you think about it; and think about it even afterwards, the consequences of it, because we are going to have naturally a great deal of argument about this matter in the country, about the Third Five Year Plan. As I said we have got two years before us. There is going to be great deal of argument. I want every one to argue, every if I may say, every school-boy to think of it, every college boy, every university student to think of it, and naturally grown-ups to think of it also; and discuss it and thus develop a mentality, a mental attitude. Because it is only out of that that we are going to proceed more or less scientifically. Of course, we will make mistakes either because we plan wrongly—in [...] planning, we cannot be perfect—or because we are not strong enough, whatever it may be, we make mistakes. But the clearer our minds about it and stronger our determination to pursue a certain path, the fewer will be our mistakes.

Now, this resolution tries to clear the path, only the very beginning of it. It becomes necessary to do this not only because of the approach to the Third Five Year Plan period but because a great deal of confusion had been caused by people vaguely talking about giving up, about resting for a while, and planning should be given up, and the public sector is all wrong and all that.

Now, may I in all honesty say and with all respect say, that I am rather proud of our public sector as it is today [...]. I am surprised at this constant remark being made by the opponents of the public sector [...] [that] the public sector is a failure, this and that. It is not a failure, it is a remarkable success, this public sector in India. I know the mistakes have been made here and there, I know that. But I say, taking all in all, it is a success and a remarkable success

and a growing success. I am not ashamed of our public sector. I want to improve it. That is a different matter. We all want to improve it, but it is completely wrong for anyone to say, for anyone to accept that it has failed, it had not failed. Remember very often these things have been there in their initial years and the initial years are a little difficult. So that this type of criticism is wrong and it has confused the public sector. We talked about the corruption in the public sector I say, I don't deny that, it is here and there. But I would imagine that even there it is less than in the private sector.

Now again, talking about the private sector and the public sector, I would like here again, as I have said before. I have sometimes strongly criticised, well, not the private sector but some leaders of, what is called, private enterprise in India, not criticised them by name I mean, because of the assumptions they were beginning to make and the criticisms they were making over the public sector. I would not have mentioned all that, but when I saw that all kinds of wrong assumptions are being made and wrong criticisms are being made, I thought that I ought to say something about it.

Now, I do hold that in the present state of India, the private sector is important. I am, when I hold that it is important, I want to encourage it, within its proper field. I don't like constant criticism of the private sector. Criticise it by all means, any individual lapse but just criticising the private sector is no good. Either we allow it to grow or don't have it. It is no good making it function and make it more and more difficult for it to function. But as I said, I want to encourage it in its proper sphere. It is not, according to me, the private sector's sphere to constantly come in the way of public sector, and it will injure the private sector more than the public sector. It is in the interest of the private sector, I say, that they should not try to go against something which the country has decided and the country is bent to carry out. All the propaganda they can do in beautiful pamphlets will not make any difference to the country's decision there. They will not react against themselves. I want it and I want competition if I may say so, between the private sector and the public sector, to keep both up to the mark. I am not afraid of that, that if it will keep the public sector up to the mark. I do not want closed monopolies, I dislike monopolies, everywhere whether in the public sector or in the private sector. In the public sector, there have to be monopoly of some kinds, that is a different matter. Railways is a monopoly, post office is a monopoly, maybe some defence expenditure are a monopoly, that is a different matter, but I want competition. But basically, I want all the strategic points in industry to be controlled otherwise there is no planning.

Basically, I want the public sector to grow but I don't want it to grow for growth's sake suddenly impeding production. I want more and more production

but in a controlled way and in the right direction, in the planned way. Therefore, I am not against the private sector but I am against this idea, which some leaders of the private enterprise seem to hold, that it is only through private enterprise that a country progresses. That is supposed to mean something like the old *laissez faire* doctrine. Now *laissez faire* is dead as the dodo, is dead as anything, even in the country which praises private enterprise most. The difficulty is that many of our leaders of business have not quite caught up even to private enterprise in other countries, they are so backward in their thinking. In other countries, in highly industrialised countries, they have got a much more, much wider outlook, social outlook than those in India. It is not an individual's fault I am talking about, it is rather, this thinking grows out of a certain context, certain environment.

Your thinking, my thinking grows out of a certain environment, we are trying to pull ourselves out of that environment in order to make us think on the right lines and this resolution is one such attempt, to pull us out of that old environment of thinking in a closed circle and get us out into this and think in this way of planned development of the country so that you might face and understand the difficulties of the problems because they are difficult. Anyhow it is difficult for a country like India, a big country to pull itself up, its four hundred million people, it is a devil of a problem. It cannot be done without the mightiest effort, mightiest cooperation, mightiest this, mightiest that, it cannot be done and therefore we have to realise the difficulties and tell our people of the difficulties. You cannot promise them any easy way out of their difficulties.

You hear about the tremendous pace of China's programme. Well, China is welcome to it. I am glad there is no competition between China and us, but I was only reading yesterday the latest resolution of their government or party, laying stress on people are expecting too much too soon, they will have to wait for at least fifteen years or twenty years before they get socialism. You see in spite of all their progress they are realistic. They warn their people, they will have to wait 15-20 years, people are expecting everything to happen quickly and we are advancing fast but it will still take us up to fifteen to twenty years. So we have hard work ahead. But let us at least think aright and act aright. I trust you will accept this resolution (cheers).⁹³

93. The three amendments were rejected; the original resolution was carried unanimously.

21. Village Cooperatives of Landless Labourers ⁹⁴

अध्यक्ष महोदय, भाइयो और बहनो,

कल आपने इस कॉंग्रेस के अधिवेशन में एक प्रस्ताव को स्वीकार किया। वह योजना के बारे में था। आज यह दूसरा प्रस्ताव आपके सामने पेश हुआ है और मैं आशा करता हूँ आप इसे स्वीकार करेंगे और इसके बाद एक तीसरा है, वह कुछ वैदेशिक नीति हमारी क्या हो, दुनिया के बारे में क्या हमारी नीति हो, उसके बारे में है। अलग-अलग तीन प्रस्ताव हैं, लेकिन अगर आप विचार करें तो तीनों प्रस्ताव एक माने में कुछ जुड़े हुए हैं और एक भावना से एक बड़ी नीति से तीनों निकलते हैं। यों तो हम अलग-अलग उन पर विचार कर रहे हैं, लेकिन ये बातें असल में जुड़ी होती हैं। यह हो नहीं सकता कि हम अपने देश के अन्दर एक नीति रखें और देश के बाहर कोई और नीति रखें। इसलिए जुड़े हैं। किसी क्रम में, अच्छा, मैं वैदेशिक नीति के बारे में तो आप से कुछ इस समय नहीं कहता, वह दूसरा प्रस्ताव आपके सामने आयेगा, लेकिन यह जो कल आपने एक पर विचार किया और आज किया वे भी बहुत ज्यादा जुड़े हुए हैं। कल के प्रस्ताव में तो हम विचार कर रहे थे कि क्या हमारी योजना, विशेषकर तीसरी, तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना क्या हो, क्योंकि उसके लिए अभी से तैयार होना है। अभी से उस पर विचार करना है। किस ढंग की हो, किस तरफ हम देश का रुख मोड़ें। यह एक तीन बरस का इन्तज़ार नहीं करना है, यह अभी से इसको करना है और यह उसका एक बहुत ही आवश्यक जुड़ा है। जैसे कि पन्त जी ने आपसे कहा कि हमारी योजना में तो बहुत बातें हैं,⁹⁵ लेकिन उसकी मूल बात जड़, बुनियादी यह है कि हमारी ज़मीन से, खेती से, क्या उत्पादन होता है, क्या पैदा होता है, कितना होता है। क्योंकि उसी से देश के धन की गिनती होती है। और बड़े-बड़े कारखाने आप देखते हैं, और हम चाहते हैं कि और भी कारखाने बनें, बड़े-बड़े, और लोगों को रोज़गार मिले, सब ठीक है, लेकिन अगर आप सारे देश के धन की गिनती करें, तोलें, जितना देश में ज़मीन से निकलता है, वह बहुत बड़ा भाग है और [...] जितना हम उसको बढ़ाते हैं उतना ही एक तो देश का धन बढ़ता है और दूसरे बहुत अपार जनता का लाभ होता है जो ज़मीन पर काम करते हैं। ये दोनों बातें आवश्यक हैं।

अब हमारे समाने कठिनाई यह हो गयी है, बहुत सारी कठिनाइयाँ हैं, लेकिन ज़मीन के बारे में एक कठिनाई यह है, कि और काम ने होने से ज़मीन पर बहुत अधिक लोग हो गये हैं, यानी उनका काम खेती करना है, चाहे खेती में उतने आदमियों की आवश्यकता हो या न हो। तो फिर इसलिए यह आवश्यक हो गया है कि हम उन लोगों को और काम दें वहीं। मेरा मतलब नहीं कि उनको बड़े शहरों में ले जायें। मैं इसको नहीं पसन्द करता। लेकिन वहीं देहात की ज़मीन

94. Speech in the plenary session during the debate on the resolution on the land policy, Abhyankar Nagar, Nagpur, 10 Jan. 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

95. Govind Ballabh Pant, the Union Home Minister, moved this resolution in the plenary session and C. Subrahmanium (Tamilnad) seconded it.

पर छोटे-मोटे बड़े कारखाने शुरू हों, ग्राम उद्योग-धन्धे हों, हर तरह के हों जिससे रोज़गार मिले, जिससे उन ग्रामों में धन अधिक पैदा हो, [...] जिससे ज़मीन के ऊपर बोझ कम हो। इन बातों का चर्चा हम [इस] प्रस्ताव में नहीं है, लेकिन मैंने आपके सामने रखा, क्योंकि अगर आप सोचें, हम सोचें कि [...] जो इस समय सारी ज़मीन पर खेती करते हैं लोग, वे हमेशा खेती करते रहें तो उनका लाभ कुछ तो हो सकता है, अगर खेती अच्छी हो, लेकिन अधिक लाभ नहीं हो सकता, कभी बहुत खुशहाल वो नहीं हो सकते जब तक कि कोई और काम नहीं हो, उद्योग का काम न हो वहाँ, तो वह आवश्यक है। लेकिन ज़मीन पर तो हम काम अपना बढ़ाना ही है, हर तरह से। और जैसे कि आपसे बार-बार लोगों ने कहा कि ज़मीन में और देशों में तिगुना जितना यहाँ पैदा होता है एक ज़मीन पर उसका दुगुना तिगुना और चौगुना तक होता है; और और देशों का तो आप छोड़ें, हमारे देश में भी जहाँ-जहाँ खास परिश्रम से काम हुआ, यहाँ उसी एक एकड़, दो एकड़, तीन एकड़, ज़मीन पर दुगुना, तिगुना-चौगुना हुआ। अन्न का पैदा होना। आप गेहूँ का लीजिए, हमारी गेहूँ की औसत है इस देश में, मालूम नहीं, नौ मन एकड़ हो, कहीं आठ, कहीं दस, कहीं बारह, लेकिन नौ-दस मन औसत पड़ जाती है; इससे कुछ कम ही है। और मैं जानता हूँ हमारे देश के हिस्से हैं, किसानों को जानता हूँ जिन्होंने अपने एक एकड़ ज़मीन में पचास मन गेहूँ पैदा किया है।⁹⁶ अच्छी ज़मीन रही, अच्छी भूमि रही, खाद भी, अच्छे बीज लगाये, लेकिन कहाँ सोचिए नौ-दस मन, कहाँ पचास मन पैदा किया उसने, मामूली किसान ने और कोई बड़ा ट्रैक्टर नहीं लाया वह, कोई ट्रैक्टर मशीन नहीं, खाली ज़मीन की सेवा अच्छी तरह से की। तो इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं है कि हम ज़मीन से अधिक पैदा कर सकते हैं अगर हम उसकी कोशिश करें, और कुछ हमें सहायता मिले। सहायता से मेरा मतलब खाद अच्छी हो, बीज अच्छे हों, पानी मिले, इस किस्म की बातें हों, परिश्रम हो। यह सब तो हो सकता है और होना चाहिए, क्योंकि बहुत आवश्यक है, लेकिन उसी के साथ इस बात का हमें विचार करना होता है, कि किस तरह का हम संगठन बनायें? [...] किसान वगैरह जो हैं कैसे किस ढंग से वे अलग या मिल कर काम करें, जिससे वे लाभ उठा सकें आजकल के नये नतीजे जो हैं। तो इससे यह [इस] नतीजे पर हम पहुँचते हैं कि पुराने ढंग जो हैं, विशेषकर जहाँ छोटे-छोटे खेत हैं लोगों के, एक एकड़ कहीं डेढ़-दो एकड़, ऐसे अधिकतर हैं उत्तर प्रदेश में और जगह, तो उन के लिए बहुत आगे तरक्की करना बड़ा कठिन है, उनके पास साधन नहीं हैं, कुछ नहीं हैं, इसलिए यह सवाल आया, यह कोऑपरेटिव का, यह सहकारी संघ का, कि उसमें मिल कर एक-एक-एक आदमी के हिस्से अलग रहें, वह ठीक है, लेकिन मिल के काम करें तब उनकी शक्ति अधिक हो जाती है आगे बढ़ने की, उससे उनकी आमदनी बढ़ेगी, एक-एक कृषक की बढ़ेगी आमदनी, और देश का भी भला होगा। यह आवश्यक हो गया है और कोई चारा नहीं है।

दूसरा चारा यह था कि बड़े-बड़े ज़मींदार, बड़े-बड़े गाँव रखिए, एक-एक सौ, दो-दो सौ एकड़, यह तो हम कर नहीं सकते, या तो बड़ा अन्याय हो[गा], बल्कि उसके विरोध में हम कहते हैं

96. For Nehru's speech in UP in which he mentions this, see SWJN/SS/43/pp. 67 & 114.

कि जो लोग काम करते हैं उनको बेदखल नहीं करना चाहिए। यह भी हम कहते हैं। तो इसलिए आजकल के ज़माने में, यह बात सब मानते हैं, यह कोऑपरेटिव ढंग से काम करना। सब तो मैं नहीं कहूँगा, बाज़ लोग न मानें, लेकिन अधिकतर लोग उसको मानते हैं, कोऑपरेटिव ढंग से काम करना। यानी किसान लोग अपने गाँव के मिल कर अपनी ज़मीन को जोतें, एक-दूसरे की सहायता करें और जिसकी जितनी ज़मीन हो उतना उसको हिस्सा उसमें से मिल जाये, उतना हिस्सा उसका मिले और जो मेहनत करें, मज़दूरी करें, उसमें उसका हिस्सा हो। दो भाग हो जाते हैं, दोनों तरह से मिले, और ऐसे लोग भी उसमें होंगे जिन की ज़मीन नहीं है लेकिन उनको हिस्सा मिलता है, क्योंकि वे मेहनत करते हैं। इस ढंग से चलें और मैं आपसे साफ़ कह दूँ कि इसको आप कोई एक बहुत ही [...] तफ़सील से, डीटेल में लिखिए इसको, यह मिले, उसको यह मिले, उसमें कठिनाई पड़ जाती है, इसलिए कि मामला यह पैचीदा है, विचार करके इसको क़ानून में लिखा जाये, और शायद जो क़ानून में आप लिखें, तज़ुर्बे से उसको भी ऊँच-नीच में बदलना पड़े बाद में। लेकिन यह बुनियादी बात, मूल बात यह है कि हम इस तरफ़ जा रहे हैं ज़मीन में कि एक तो मैंने आप से कहा कि हम लोगों को रोज़गार और बढ़ाये ज़मीन के अलावा, रहें वहीं वे, लोग, लेकिन रोज़गार दूसरे हों, उद्योग। लेकिन ज़मीन के बारे में यह कि वे लोग, अपने गाँव के लोग मिल कर सहकारी संघ बना कर कोऑपरेटिव ज़रिये से मिल कर खेती करें, और अपने-अपने हिस्से जो उनका हिस्सा हो, उसमें से मिले जो उसमें पैदा हो। यह ढंग हो और मुझे कोई सन्देह नहीं कि इस ढंग से हमारे देश को चलना होगा। आज आप निश्चय करते हैं, खुशी की बात है, आज नहीं करते तो कल करना होगा, कल नहीं करते तो परसों करना होगा, कोई और चारा नहीं है। और जितनी जल्दी हम इसको करेंगे, उतना ही जल्दी हमें लाभ होगा। अब यह बात ठीक है कि इसका समझाना लोगों को आसान नहीं है। यह एक सन्देह होगा किसान को, क्या हमारी ज़मीन हमसे ले ली जाती है। यह कम होगा, ग़लत बात है, यह नहीं है। ले के कहाँ जायेगा ज़मीन को कौन? उन्हीं के सुपुर्द की जाती है, वो ही [...] बैठ के मिल कर उसका प्रबन्ध करेंगे, लाभ लेंगे, अधिक लाभ लेंगे। जो उसमें होगा। फ़ायदा होगा। और मिल कर काम करने की आदत होगी। यह ज़्यादा ऊँचे दर्जे का समाज का संगठन हमेशा होता है अलग-अलग से। और आजकल की दुनिया में विशेषकर हम चाहते हैं कि कोऑपरेटिव ढंग पैसे, बल्कि अगर आप अपने काँग्रेस के विधान को देखें, कान्स्टिट्यूशन को, तो उसमें लिखा है हमारे पहले आर्टिकल में कि हम कोऑपरेटिव कॉमनवेल्थ, सोशलिस्ट कोऑपरेटिव कॉमनवेल्थ, सोशलिस्ट का शब्द साल-दो साल हुए बढ़ाया था,⁹⁷ लेकिन कोऑपरेटिव का शब्द उसमें पहले से है, क्योंकि यही एक ऊँचे ढंग का समाज संगठन है, इस तरफ़ जाना। अलग-अलग लोग रह के। अब वह ज़माना गया कि हरेक अपने कोने में रह के अपनी फिकर करें और दुनिया की

97. At the Indore session of the Congress in January 1957, "Socialist" was inserted before "Co-operative Commonwealth" in Article 1 of the Congress Constitution. The Party discussed this and other changes at various levels until they were ratified at the Gauhati Congress in January 1958. See SWJN/SS/42/p. 541.

नहीं करें। यह नहीं हो सकता। गाँव को मिल कर रहना है और एक-दूसरे की सहायता करनी है और इस तरह से सहायता हो तो गाँव में ऐसे लोग नहीं कोई होने चाहिएँ जो कि, जिनकी कोई सहायता नहीं हो, भूखे रहते हैं, वह सारे गाँव की जिम्मेदारी हो जायेगी। लेकिन खैर, मोटी बात जो मैं चाहता हूँ आपके सामने यह कि लोगों को, समझना और समझाना है किसानों को, कि यह उनसे कोई ज़मीन को नहीं ले भागता है, लेकिन जैसे उनका एक अधिकार थोड़ा-सा अपनी ज़मीन में कम हो जाता है। क्या अधिकार? कि अपनी ज़मीन को बेच नहीं सकते। उसी के साथ उनका अधिकार औरों की ज़मीन में गाँव की में हो जाता है। यानी मिल कर अधिकार सारे गाँव की ज़मीन पर हो जाता है और उसका हिस्सा उसका, जितनी उनकी ज़मीन है उनको मिलता है, तो एक माने में उनका अधिकार बढ़ जाता है, उनका लाभ बढ़ जाता है और मुझे कोई सन्देह नहीं है कि इससे उनको लाभ होगा और देश को होगा। इसलिए हमें मज़बूती से इस क़दम को उठाना है और उनको समझाना है।

एक भाई कल कह रहे थे, कल कि परसों, कि आप जाइए किसानों से पूछिए वे इसको स्वीकार नहीं करेंगे। यह तो जो आप उनसे कहिए, जैसे समझाइए वैसे ही वे जवाब देंगे। कोई साहब जाके दें, कोई विरोधी वहाँ कहेँ जाके कि देखो तुम्हारी ज़मीन लूटे लेते हैं, ले जाते हैं, यह वह, तो घबरा जायेंगे वे कि कौन ले जाता है, यह तो और बात है, कहने की बात है न। लेकिन अगर आप उनको समझाएँ जैसे कि समझाना चाहिए कि ज़मीन कहीं नहीं जाती है, आपकी है, आपके गाँव भर की है, आपका हिस्सा सारे गाँव की ज़मीन पर हो जाता है, आपको इसका लाभ मिलेगा; हिस्से का, आपकी मेहनत का, फल अलग मिलेगा; हर तरह से आपका लाभ ज़्यादा है, देश का, तो मुझे विश्वास है कि वो स्वीकार करेंगे इसे और यह बात होगी और जहाँ वो करेंगे और देखेंगे लाभ होता है। और भी वो खुश होंगे। एक और बात है कि जब ज़मीन इस तरह से मिल के काम उस पर होता है, तब भी बहुत सारी दो खेतों के बीच में ज़मीन ज़ायी हो जाती है आपको थोड़ी मालूम होती है लेकिन सब मिल के बहुत हो जाती है वह भी खेतों में आ जायेगी। गाँव को उससे भी लाभ होगा कुछ और गाँव के हिस्सेदारों को, किसानों को लाभ होगा उससे वह भी आ गयी ज़मीन। मुझे याद नहीं, लेकिन मैंने कहीं पढ़ा था किसी देश में, शायद चीन में, जब यह ज्वाइंट फ़ार्मिंग की गयी, तो मालूम नहीं तीस-चालीस लाख ज़मीन जो ऐसे ज़ायी हो रही थी एक-एक खेत के बीच में, सब मिला कर तीस-चालीस लाख ज़मीन हो गयी एकड़। हो सकता है, वह अधिक हो, मैं नहीं जानता, लेकिन काफ़ी ज़मीन बिल्कुल ज़ायी होती है। वह भी आ जायेगी, वह भी गाँव वालों को किसानों को मिलती है। तो यह तो ठीक है।

अब एक बात ये संशोधन आये हैं, तरमीमें कि जो अधिक ज़मीन हो, इसमें लिखा था कि वह, पहले इसमें लिखा था कि वह ज़मीन गाँव की हो। हाँ कि, वह पंचायत की गिनी जाये, वेस्ट करे और पहले इतना ही लिखा था, फिर जब आपस में बहस हुई, बातचीत हुई दो-तीन दिन हुए, कमेटी में तो उसको ज़रा बदल दिया गया, और यह कहा गया कि : surplus land should vest in the panchayats and should be managed through co-operatives consisting of landless labourers and small peasants.

अब इस पर कुछ तरीकों में आयी हैं। दो तरह की हैं। एक तो यह है कि उसमें आप इनको, स्मॉल पेजेंट्स को क्यों जोड़ते हैं, खाली लैण्डलेस लेबर रखिए। दूसरे यह कि आप उन्हीं को ज़मीन क्यों नहीं दे देते, बजाय इसके कि पंचायत में वेस्ट करे। अब, और यह बहस पैदा होती है कि इतने रोज़ से हम कहते आते हैं कि हम जिन लोगों के पास ज़मीन नहीं है, उनको ज़मीन देंगे, तो जब ज़मीन मिलती है यह, तो फिर आप उनको क्यों नहीं देते?⁹⁸ माकूल बहस है, यानी समझ में आती है यह, लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप इस पर सोचें। हम लैण्डलेस लेबर को ज़मीन का प्रबन्ध करें, वह अलग बात है और प्रबन्ध करें, लेकिन इसमें गाँव में जो थोड़ी-बहुत निकले उसका क्या ठीक प्रबन्ध होगा। याद रखिए कि हम किधर देख रहे हैं। हम तो चाहते हैं कि सारी गाँव की ज़मीन हल्के-हल्के एक जॉयण्ट प्रॉपर्टी हो, अलग-अलग हिस्से हों, जॉयण्टली मैनेज हो। अब इस समाज, अगर हम उसके छोटे-छोटे टुकड़े कोई दे दें और फिर उसको करें, तो एक अटकाव पड़ जाता है उस बात के करने में, जो हम करना चाहते हैं। यह सब बात है कि यह नया विचार तो नहीं है, लेकिन इस पर पहले इतना गौर नहीं हुआ था, हमारे विचार भी तो बढ़ते जाते हैं देश के इस माने में, और जॉयण्ट कोऑपरेटिव फ़ार्मिंग का चर्चा इधर-उधर होता था, लेकिन काँग्रेस में तो पक्की तौर से पहली बार अब हुआ है। इसके होने से कुछ नज़्शा बदल जाता है। अब इस ज़मीन को जो फ़ालतू ज़मीन निकले, उसको यह तो स्वीकार किया गया इसमें, कि वह पंचायत के पास हो, पंचायत के क़ब्ज़े में, पंचायत में कौन हो? पंचायत में वही हो लैण्डलेस लेबर और स्मॉल पेजेंट और उन्हीं के लिए वह रखी जाये, और उन्हीं के लाभ के लिए वह चलायी जाय।

तो उसमें दो छोटे फ़र्क़ रह गये। एक तो यह कि उसमें छोटे किसानों को शामिल करें, या खाली लैण्डलेस लेबर को। एक तो यह फ़र्क़ रहा, दूसरा यह कहा जाता है, आप में से बाज़ साहबों ने कहा, कि बात तो ठीक है लेकिन कुछ ज़मीन दे देने से उनकी हैसियत बढ़ जायेगी, स्टेटस बढ़ेगा। और यानी एक असली लाभ तो जो कुछ हो, लेकिन एक दिमागी साइकोलॉजिकल लाभ होगा। मैं इसको मानता हूँ कि इस बात पर हमें विचार करना चाहिए, क्योंकि यह सारे सिलसिले जो हैं, हरिजन वगैरह के, यह बदकिस्मती से बहुत; देखें फ़ायदे-नुक़सान के जो सवाल हैं, वे अलग हैं। लेकिन स्टेटस का बहुत काफ़ी सवाल होता है। एक अफ़सर कोई हरिजन है, वह शायद किसी ब्राह्मण से ज़्यादा कमाता होगा, हो सकता है, लेकिन उसकी स्टेटस तो नीची गिनी जायेगी बेचारे की। उसको आप बराबर की तरह से नहीं रखते, बात ठीक है। बराबर की तरह हमें उनको रखना है और स्टेटस का ख़याल रखना है। लेकिन फिर भी मैं आपसे कहूँगा कि इस में जब आप उन्हीं के हाथ में देते हैं कोऑपरेटिव, यानी वह जो फ़ालतू ज़मीन है, [...] वेस्ट करती है पंचायत में, but managed through cooperatives consisting of landless labourers. तो असल में वही लोग जो ज़ाहिरा भी उसके मालिक नज़र आते हैं और उसको

98. Suggested by Narayan Choudhury (West Bengal), Banarasidas Gupta (Punjab), Chand Ram (Punjab), and Prabhu Singh Subedar (Punjab).

चलाते हैं अपने फ़ायदे के लिए। यानी स्टेटस तो आपने उनको काफ़ी बढ़ी दी, उससे अधिक दी, कि एक आधा एकड़, एक एकड़ उनको मिल गयी कहीं, उससे अधिक हुई, कि वे पंच हुए उस ज़मीन के लिए और वे उसके इस माने में मालिक हुए। इस माने में नहीं कि बेच-बाच दें, लेकिन मालिक हुए वे इस माने में कि उसमें अपने लाभ के लिए काम करें। तो स्टेटस तो उनकी काफ़ी बढ़ी हो गयी और होनी चाहिए। और वह भी हुआ कि जो बात आप चाहते हैं। जो क़दम हम उठा रहे हैं जॉयण्ट कल्टीवेशन वग़ैरह के लिए, और बहुत ज़्यादा हम ज़ोर नहीं देते, इण्डिविजुअल बातों को, उसको बढ़ाते नहीं हैं। जो इस वक़्त है, उसको तो हम स्वीकार कर लेते हैं। एक बात, उसमें मुमकिन है शायद, मैं पेश करूँ जो प्रस्तावक हैं इसके, पन्त जी, उनके ग़ौर करने के लिए, कि इसमें आखिर में जो स्मॉल पेज़ेण्ट्स का चर्चा है वह निकाल दिया जाय, ख़ाली लैण्डलेस लेबर का रहे उसमें, तो अगर वे स्वीकार करें तब बात बिल्कुल साफ़ हो जाती है, कि यह लैण्ड, जो फ़ालतू ज़मीन है, वह पंचायतो में वेस्ट (vest) करे और उसके चलाने वाले, उसकी देख-भाल करने वाले, और उससे लाभ उठाने वाले, अपने लिए लैण्डलेस लेबर हो, तो बहुत कुछ जो शिकायतें हुई हैं, बहुत दर्जे मिल जाती हैं, और सिद्धान्त को भी आप क़ायम रखते हैं। तो मैं तो पन्त जी से दरखास्त करूँगा कि इसको वे स्वीकार कर लें, इस बात को, और आप से दरखास्त करूँगा कि इस पर फिर आप और बातें जो आपने पेश की हैं, उस पर आप ज़ोर न दें। क्योंकि बात यह है कि हम, आप, सब लोग दो तरह के लोग हम सब हैं, एक तो किसानों में हम काम करें, कहीं करें, तो रोज़मर्रा की जो दिक्कतें हैं हमारे सामने आती हैं, प्रैक्टिकल सवाल आते हैं, क्या यह विचार करते हैं, वह आते हैं, उनको समझाना। एक तो वह हैं ही, ख़ाली हम हवाई बातें करें, तो हम उनकी सेवा नहीं कर सकते। दूसरी बात यह है कि हमें हवाई बातें भी करनी हैं। हवाई बातों से मेरा मतलब क्या है, बताऊँ। हवाई बातें तो ख़ैर, ग़लत शब्द है, मेरा मतलब कि हम ज़रा दूर भी हमें देखना है कि किस तरफ़ हम जा रहे हैं, उसी रास्ते पर चलें, न कि यह कि हम इस वक़्त एक जम जायें, कुछ कठिनाई देख के, दिक्कतें देख के, और कल उस गड़ढे में से निकलना कठिन, मुश्किल हो जाय। इसलिए हमें देखना है कि कैसा समाज हम बनाना चाहते हैं, अपने देहातों में, साथ अपने गाँवों में, किस ढंग का उनका संगठन किया चाहते हैं, किस क्रिस्म का वह मिल कर काम करें, वह भी ध्यान रखना है, और इस समय क्या हम कर सकते हैं, वह भी करना है, दोनों बातें। मैं समझता हूँ यह जो प्रस्ताव है, यह दोनों बातों की तरफ़ ध्यान देता है।

एक साहब ने एक तरमीम [....] पेश की कि सब क़ायदे-क़ानून जो हैं, वो सब बनाने को कहा है कि इस साल 1959 के अन्त तक हों, अन्त नहीं, मार्च तक हों। अब यह तो आप सोचें, यह तो बात [....] क़ाबू के बाहर है। मैं चाहता हूँ कल हो जायें, हो नहीं सकते अगर आप मामूली तरीक़े जो हमारे क़ानून बनाने के हैं, उसमें आप चलें तो हो नहीं सकता। कहीं कहीं शायद हो जाय इत्तफ़ाक़ से, ढाई महीने के अन्दर सब हो जाये। अक्सर जगहें जो आप जानते हैं, आप में से एम.एल.ए. बहुत हैं, कितनी कठिनाइयाँ होती हैं, पेश करो सिलेक्ट कमेटी वग़ैरह पहली रीडिंग, दूसरी रीडिंग, तीसरी रीडिंग, दूसरा हाउस, अजीब पेंच हैं, उसमें कठिनाइयाँ हैं, जाने

क्या-क्या हैं, वह तो हो नहीं सकती बात कि मार्च तक हो जाये। बल्कि मैं आपको बताऊँ, जब उसमें लिखी गयी तारीख यह 1959 के आखिर तक इस साल की, तो कुछ लोग जो गवर्नमेंट के मेम्बरान हैं, उन्होंने कहा साहब काफ़ी दिक्कतें होंगी उस वक़्त तक करने में। हम कोशिश करेंगे, लेकिन दिक्कत होगी। ख़ैर, उसको तो वक़्त कम कर देने से, वह अपने आप से तो नहीं हो जाता, कुछ-न-कुछ वक़्त उसको देना ही होगा। तो गरज़ कि इस सवाल को मैं चाहता हूँ आप देखें। एक तो जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा, आप प्रैक्टिकल लोग हैं। मुझसे ज़्यादा। मुझ से ज़्यादा इस माने में कि ख़ास कर इस माने में कि खेती वग़ैरह के माने में आपका अपना अभ्यास है, तजुर्बा है। आपको काम करना है। एक तो प्रैक्टिकल साइड आप देखते ही हैं, लेकिन उसी के साथ हमेशा आप अपने सामने रखिए कि हम एक क़दम उठा रहे हैं, नया क़दम, और वह क़दम इस वक़्त इतना बड़ा नज़र न आये, लेकिन असल में वह एक काफ़ी बड़ा है और काफ़ी नयी तरफ़ हम ले जा रहे हैं अपने करोड़ों आदमियों को, और उसमें बहुत लाभ है और फ़ायदा है, और उसी क़दम से आप उसको मिला सकते हैं बाद में, जो समाजवादी ढंग आपने स्वीकार किया है, क्योंकि समाजवाद [....] ख़ाली कुछ बड़े आदमियों को नीचा करने से नहीं हो जाता। समाजवाद तो ढंग है जो आपके करोड़ों आदमियों के रहन-सहन का होगा। किस तरह से काम करते हैं, किस तरह से पैदा करते हैं, क्या उन्हें मिलना है, क्या अलग है, वह सब, तो यह काफ़ी बड़ी बुनियाद उसकी है, जो उसको पक्का करेगी और दरवाज़े खोलेगी तरक्की के। नहीं तो एक बात मुझे अक्सर परेशान करती थी और है। हम कहते हैं कि हम खेती की तरक्की करें। वह करनी चाहिए हमें, खेती की तरक्की, और हो सकती है, लेकिन एक ही तरह से हो सकती है, कि जब हम आजकल के नये तरीक़े कुछ उसमें लायें। [....] वह एक मामूली किसान जिसका [खेत] एक, दो, तीन, चार एकड़ है, वह नहीं ला सकता है। साफ़ बात यह है। हाँ, वह मिल के, गाँव भर के किसान मिलें, तब वो ला सकते हैं। तो ऐसी बात नहीं है। लेकिन अगर कोई तरक्की भी करे एक गाँव वाला इस वक़्त, यह अपनी आमदनी फ़र्ज़ कर लीजिए, तरक्की करके दुगुनी कर ले, मान लिया, दुगुनी भी काफ़ी है। एक आदमी की दुगुनी नहीं, याद रखिए सभों की दुगुनी होगी, कर लें तब भी उसकी हैसियत क्या है? ग़रीब फिर भी है वह, यानी हम लोगों की आमदनी औसत, पर-कैपिटल इनकम इतनी कम है इस देश की, कि दुगुनी होने पर भी वह कम रहती है। तो फिर कैसे काम चले? अगर इसी ढंग से हम चलें और उसको भी हम बँटवारा करते जायें ज़रा सी ज़मीन का। तो और ढंग हमें अख़्तियार करना है। एक तरह तो उद्योग के ढंग आवश्यक हैं, जो मैंने आपसे कहा, और एक-एक ज़मीन पर मिल कर काम करें और कोई ज़रिया नहीं है बढ़ने का। इसलिए मैं आपसे दरखास्त करूँगा, प्रार्थना करूँगा कि आप इस प्रस्ताव को स्वीकार करें, इसको समझ के, कि यह प्रस्ताव है; इस वक़्त की दिक्कतों पर विचार कर के, लेकिन फिर भी एक नयी तरह देख के जिधर हमें जाना ही है, आज-कल-परसों, कभी-न-कभी और जितने दिन तक हम देर करेंगे उसमें जाने में, उतनी ही हमारी आगे तरक्की में देर होगी। यह मान के समझिए कि इस प्रस्ताव को अपने आपसे नहीं हो जाता [जाना] है, और उससे भी नहीं हो जाता [जाना] है कि कि इस साल के अन्दर हमारी ये असेम्बलीज़, प्रदेश की असेम्बलियाँ क़ानून बना दें। क़ानून

तो बना दें, लेकिन क़ानून बना देने से भी नहीं सब हो जाता है जब तक कि आप और हम, हम सब लोग अपन-अपने गाँव में जा के, उनको समझायें, बातचीत करें, बहस करें, हर तरह से कोशिश करें, और तैयार करें ज़मीन को, तब यह होता है। अब भी कोई क़ानून की आवश्यकता है, आप आके अभी से कर सकते हैं, कोऑपरेटिव वग़ैरह बना सकते हैं और हैं ही, कोऑपरेटिव पहले से हैं। अब अधिक बनाने हैं।

हाँ, कुछ लोगों ने कहा था कोऑपरेटिव के बारे में, कि बड़े क़ानून ऐसे हैं कि उनको समय लगता है, कठिनाई होती है, रुकावट होती है। इसका तो मैं भी कुछ चर्चा कर चुका हूँ और शिकायत कर चुका हूँ। मैंने शिकायत की, मुझ से एक साहब ने पूछा कि किस प्रदेश में तुम्हें दिक्कत हुई थी। मैंने, एक बग़ैर सोचे-समझे कह दिया कि पंजाब में, और पंजाब वाले मेरे पीछे पड़ गये। कब हुआ था, कहाँ हुआ था, क्या? तो भाई, मैंने कहा कि हो एक बात है ठीक है, आठ बरस हुए, सात-आठ बरस की बात है, शायद नौ बरस की, एक दिल्ली के पास एक जगह है, कुछ कोऑपरेटिव बन रहे थे, बड़ी कठिनाई हुई थी। मैंने लिखा वह आजकल की गवर्नमेंट से कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं रखता। उस वक़्त जो था उस वक़्त की थी कठिनाई। लेकिन बात एक है कि हमारे क़ायदे-क़ानून कोऑपरेटिव बनाने के अच्छे नहीं हैं।⁹⁹ एक पुराने ज़माने के हैं और उसमें सारा ज़ोर, बहुत सारा, अव्वल तो इतने पेचीदे क़ायदे हैं, और दूसरे यह कि वह कोऑपरेटिव आप जानते हैं हो सकते हैं एक हैसियतदार आदमी के। उसमें आ सकता है जिस के पास कुछ है, वह दे उसमें। यह ग़लत बात है मेरी राय में, उसमें आ सकता है जिस के पास कुछ है वह दे उसमें। यह ग़लत बात है मेरी राय में, जैसे इसमें लिखी हैं रेज़ोल्यूशन कोऑपरेटिव में, लोग होंगे वह नहीं ख़ाली जिनके पास ज़मीन हो, लेकिन जिनके पास कुछ भी नहीं है, वो भी कोऑपरेटिव में आयेंगे, कुछ भी काम करें।

तो यह सब तो बदलना है, यह करना ही है, वह हो रहा है हो भी गया है, किसी क़दर। लेकिन काम तो अभी शुरू हो सकता है, सन 1959 तक का अब क्या इन्तज़ार करें, अभी आप कर सकते हैं। तो इसका तो आप, इस पर आप विचार करें, ग़ौर करें। लेकिन इसकी भी आप देखें इस बड़े नज़्शे में जो हमारे दोनों प्रस्ताव का है और यह जो योजनाएँ हम बना रहे हैं, और बनायेंगे, आपकी मदद से, आपके मशवरे से, ताकि हम ज़ोरों से फिर आगे बढ़ सकें। जय हिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Mr President, sisters and brothers,

Yesterday this session adopted a resolution on planning. This is the second resolution being presented today and I hope it will be adopted. A third one on India's foreign policy and world affairs is to follow. These are three different resolutions. But if you think about it, in one sense, all three are linked together

99. See pp. 426-427.

because they stem from one central idea or policy. We are deliberating on them separately, but in fact they are linked together. It is not possible for us to have one policy for internal and another for external affairs. Therefore, they are linked together to some extent. All right, I do not wish to say anything about foreign policy because another resolution is coming up about that. But the resolution which was adopted yesterday is very closely linked to today's resolution. Yesterday we discussed planning and what the shape of the Third Plan ought to be. We have to prepare ourselves from now onwards and be clear in our minds about the direction that should be given to the country's affairs. We cannot wait for another three years to do this. Today's resolution pertains to a very important aspect of planning. As Mr Pant told you, there are many things in our planning.¹⁰⁰ But the root of planning lies in the question of land and what the agricultural production in the country is, because that is the main wealth of the nation. We want to put up industries so that more and more people may get employment. That is all right. But if you take the entire wealth of the nation into account, the portion that comes out of land is a very big one and the more we increase its production, the wealthier the nation will become and secondly, the people who work on land will benefit enormously. Both these things are essential.

Now there are innumerable difficulties before us. But the problem about land is that the pressure on it has increased a great deal due to unemployment. Therefore, it is essential to provide some other sources of employment to people in their own villages. I do not like the idea of their coming to the cities for employment. If small industries, cottage industries, are started in the villages, their wealth would increase and the pressure on land will decrease. These things have not been mentioned in the resolution. But I am putting this before you because if you think about it, if all the people who are working on land at the moment continue to do so, they might benefit a little if the crops are excellent. But they never become very prosperous unless there are alternative sources of employment and industries are set up in the village. As I have mentioned repeatedly, the average yield per acre of land in other countries is twice, thrice or even four times as much as in India. Leave aside other countries, even in our own country, wherever a special effort has been made, we have managed to double or treble our production. Take wheat, for instance. The average yield per acre of wheat is about ten, twenty maunds or even less. But I know of places where the farmers have produced fifty maunds of wheat per acre of land by looking after the land and using good fertilizers and seeds.¹⁰¹ But just

100. See fn 95 in this section.

101. See fn 96 in this section.

imagine the difference between ten and fifty maunds and this has been done by ordinary farmers who did not have tractors or other big machines, but merely looked after their land very well. So there is no doubt that we can increase production from land if we make the effort and use good seeds and fertilizers; facilities for irrigation and hard work will help a great deal. All this must be done because they are very essential. But at the same time, we must decide on an organisation of land and an agricultural society in which the farmers will benefit most. The conclusion that we come to is that the old way of small land holdings of an acre or two as you find in Uttar Pradesh and other places are no good and progress is extremely difficult because the small farmer lacks the modern facilities for agriculture. Therefore, the question of forming cooperative societies arises in which the individual's title to the land will remain intact, but the capacity of the farmers to increase production goes up by working together. The farmer will earn more and the country will also benefit. So there is no alternative except to form cooperative societies.

On the other hand, we opposed the zamindari system because the zamindars and jagirdars owned hundreds of acres of land and even entire villages because it was very unjust. So the only alternative is cooperative societies in today's world. Some people may be opposed to it but the majority accepts the idea of cooperatives. The farmers should help one another in farming and take their share of the profits. Those who do not own land can be paid wages for their labour. Let me tell you quite frankly that if you want to put it down in detail it may be difficult because the rules will have to be framed and even those may have to be changed or modified as we gain more experience. But the important thing is that we are moving in that direction. We are trying to open new avenues of employment so that the pressure on land may decrease. Then we want that cooperative societies should be formed in villages for purposes of farming and the profits can be shared by the people. I have no doubt about it that this will have to be done. The sooner we decide to do it, the better it will be because it will have to be done some time or the other. There is no other way. It is true that it is not easy to explain these things to the people. The farmers might have a doubt that their land will be taken away. But it is wrong. Their title will remain intact and they will benefit by becoming a member of a cooperative society. It is a higher form of social organisation than individuals farming on their own. We want the cooperative movement to spread, especially in today's world. You will find that the first article of the Congress Constitution talks of a cooperative commonwealth, a socialist cooperative commonwealth. The word "socialist" was added on a couple of years ago,¹⁰² but the word cooperative has always

102. See fn 97 in this section.

been there because it is a higher form of social organisation. The days are gone when every individual looked after his own interests and did not bother about the rest of the world. People must live together and help one another. No one in any village should remain hungry because that will be the responsibility of the entire village. Anyhow, what I want to impress upon the villagers is that nobody is going to run away with their land. Their right to sell their land gets limited. But in a way they get a right to more land or rather, their profits will increase. I have no doubt that the country as well as the farmers will benefit. Therefore, we must take this step firmly.

Somebody was saying the other day that the farmers will never agree to it. This depends on the way it is put to them. If somebody goes and says that their land will be taken away or something else, they will naturally get into a panic. But if it is explained to them that their title will not be violated and in fact they will enjoy a right over the land in the entire village, their share of the profits will increase and the country will benefit enormously, then I am sure they will accept this. So, we have to take this step firmly and explain it to them. Moreover, when the cooperative method is adopted, the land which is now wasted in the boundaries between the various holdings will be brought under cultivation. Though it may not seem very much to you, it adds up to a great deal. Both the farmer and the village will benefit. I do not remember exactly but I read somewhere that it was perhaps in China where joint farming was tried out and more than thirty to forty lakh acres of land which were being wasted between the boundaries were retrieved and brought under cultivation. It may have been more, I do not know. But it is quite true that a great deal of land which is now being wasted will become available to the farmers.

An amendment was suggested that the surplus land should be given to the panchayats. Then after a great deal of debate and discussion, it was decided in the committee to bring in the following amendment: "Surplus land should vest in the Panchayats and should be managed through cooperatives consisting of landless labourers and small peasants"

There have been various suggestions about this also which fall into two categories. One is that small peasants should not be added on and that it should be limited to the landless labourers. Secondly, there is an argument that the land should be given to them directly instead of its being vested in the panchayats. It is argued that when we have been promising land to the landless there should be no more delay in giving it to them.¹⁰³ It is a valid argument and understandable. But I want you to think carefully. There is no doubt about it that we must make some arrangement to provide land to the landless labourer. But you must also

103. See fn 98 in this section.

remember what our goal is. The little bit of surplus land will not make much difference to the landless. We want that gradually the entire land should become the joint property of the village and be managed jointly. By giving a small piece of land to individuals will create an obstacle to this goal. There is nothing new in this idea. But it is only now that it is being seriously considered. The nation's thinking is growing broader. There has been talk of joint cooperative farming here and there. But this is the first time that it has been put on a firm footing in the Congress. So the pattern is gradually changing. It has now been accepted that the surplus land should be under the control of the panchayat and cultivated on behalf of the landless labourers and small peasants.

So, the difference of opinion arises over two matters, that is, whether small farmers should be included or only landless labour; secondly, by giving them land it will certainly benefit them psychologically apart from improving their status. I agree that we should give this some serious thought because unfortunately this entire business of untouchables and what-not involves their status much more than the question of benefit or detriment. A Harijan may perhaps earn much more than a Brahmin but his status is far lower. There is no question of equality. So in order to ensure a greater degree of equality, it is essential to try to improve their status. Yet, I would like to tell you that when the surplus land is given to the cooperatives that is vested in the panchayat but managed through cooperatives consisting of landless labourers, then they are not only obviously seen to be the owners but also use the land for their own benefit. By acquiring half an acre or an acre of land, their status will be greatly enhanced. It does not mean that they can sell it but they can cultivate the land for their own benefit. So we will achieve both our goals, of enhancing the status of the landless Harijans and of going gradually in the direction of joint cultivation. So it would perhaps be better not to lay too much emphasis on individual items. Perhaps, there is one thing that I should suggest for Mr. Pant to consider since he has proposed this resolution that it will be better if the idea of including the small peasants is dropped and the matter is confined only to the landless labourers. If this is accepted, it becomes absolutely clear that the surplus land should be vested in the panchayats and the beneficiaries should be the landless labourers who will cultivate the land for their own benefit. This will take care of the various complaints that we have received and the principle will also be maintained. So I shall request Mr Pant to accept my proposal and also that you should not insist on the other matters that have been proposed. The fact of the matter is that on the one hand, when we are working for the peasants or anyone else, we must face up to the practical difficulties that come in the way and try to explain them to the people. If we talk in the air, there can be no real service. On the other hand, it is also essential for us to look ahead a

little to our future goals. If we choose to remain stagnant just now because there are difficulties, it will become difficult to get out of the rut in the future. Therefore, we must be clear in our minds about the kind of social organisation that we wish to build in the rural areas and also pay attention to what is possible at the moment. I feel that this resolution takes into consideration both aspects of the problem.

One gentleman has proposed an amendment that all laws relating to this issue should be passed by the end of this year or rather by March this year, that is 1959. Now, if you think about it, this is entirely beyond our control. If we are to follow the normal procedure of law making, it is simply not possible to rush things through. It may be possible in some places to do it within a couple of months. But in most cases, as you know, it will be very difficult. It has to be first presented to the Select Committee and then there will have to be a first, second and third reading after which it has to go to the Upper House. So it is simply not possible to do it by March. On the contrary, when it was suggested that the Bill should be passed before the end of the financial year, some of the Government members said that they will try their best but that it may be difficult. So it will be necessary to give them more time. Anyhow, I want you to give this matter serious thought. For one thing, as I told you, you have more practical experience than me in the field of agriculture, etc. and will take care of the practical side of things. But at the same time you must always bear in mind the fact that we are taking a very big step. It may not appear big but it is really quite momentous because we are trying to lead millions of our people in a new direction. It is this which will ultimately lead us towards the socialist pattern of society. Socialism does not mean dragging down the few rich people. Socialism is a way of life, of working and production, and the greatest good of the largest number of people. So this step will lay the strong foundations of socialism and open the door to future progress. One thing has always perturbed me greatly. We say that we want to make progress in agriculture. There is no doubt that we must do so. But that is possible only if we adopt some of the modern techniques of agriculture. An ordinary small peasant cannot do so. That is absolutely clear. If all the peasants in a village get together, they can do it. Even if one individual succeeds in achieving something, and say, doubles production, how much will his status improve? He will remain poor because the per capita income in India is so low that even if it is doubled, it still does not amount to much. We cannot keep distributing the little land that is available. So we must adopt other means. For one thing, we must have more industries so that everyone does not depend on land alone.

Therefore, I request that you should understand this resolution and pass it. We must take into consideration the difficulties that we are likely to face just

now but at the same time look to the future, too. The more delay there is in pursuing our goals, the longer it will take us for progress. You must understand fully well that this resolution by itself will not solve anything, nor will merely enacting laws help. The laws will have to be passed but they will not be effective until you and I and all of us go into every single village and explain things to them, argue with them and try by all possible methods to prepare the ground. Even without any laws, you can go to the villages and immediately start cooperatives.

Some people have been complaining that the cooperative laws are very obstructive and cause tremendous delays. I have already mentioned this. When somebody asked in which state there had been difficulties I unthinkingly mentioned the Punjab. Immediately, the people of the Punjab got after me and began to ask for details. I said that about nine years ago, when some cooperatives were being formed near Delhi, they had to face tremendous difficulties. However it has nothing to do with the present Government. But it is true that our cooperative laws are not very good.¹⁰⁴ They are rather outdated and extremely complicated. Secondly, they permit only landholders to join a cooperative which, in my opinion, is not right. As we have pointed out in this resolution even people who have nothing should come into the cooperatives.

All this needs to be done and some of it has already been done to some extent. But the work should go on. You must look at this resolution in the larger context of the five year plans for which we need your cooperation, help and suggestions in order to progress faster.

Jai Hind!

Translation ends]

22. On Resolution on International Affairs¹⁰⁵

अध्यक्ष महोदय, डेलिगेट भाइयो और बहनो,
जब हमारी, हम विचार करते हैं यह वैदेशिक नीति पर,¹⁰⁶ इण्टरनेशनल अफेयर्स पर, तो आम तौर से सभी लोग, चाहे काँग्रेस में या काँग्रेस के बाहर भी, उसकी प्रशंसा करते हैं। पंचशील वगैरह की तारीफ़ करते हैं। फिर कुछ नुक्ताचीनी, टीका-टिप्पणी होती है तो तीन बातों पर होती हैं।

104. See fn 99 in this section.

105. Speech in the plenary session, Abhyankar Nagar, Nagpur, 11 Jan. 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

106. Jagjivan Ram (Bihar) moved this resolution on international affairs in the plenary session and A. K. Sen (West Bengal) seconded it.

एक तो पाकिस्तान के सम्बन्ध में, दूसरे कभी-कभी गोआ के, तीसरे कॉमनवेल्थ के।¹⁰⁷ खैर, इन तीनों के बारे में लोगों के [की] भावनाएँ और जज़्बात होना समझ में आता है, ज़ाहिर है। लेकिन मैं आपसे कहूँगा कि आप विचार करें कि अगर आप, आम नीति हमारी जो है, फ़ॉरेन पॉलिसी हमारी है, जिसको आप जो कुछ कहें, पंचशील या जो कुछ कहें, उसको आप स्वीकार करते हैं तो फिर उसके नतीजों को भी स्वीकार आप को करना हो जाता है। यह नहीं होता, हो सकता है कि एक जगह हम कहें पंचशील चलेगा, दूसरी जगह हम कहें कि पंचशील की ज़रूरत नहीं वहाँ, हमारा यह अधिकार है और वो है। दो बातें तो नहीं चलतीं। या इधर, या उधर; चुनना पड़ता है। और शिकायत होती है अक्सर। वो हमारे कुछ विरोधी लोग हैं दुनिया में, वो बहुत शिकायत किया करते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान में और काँग्रेस और भारत की सरकार के लोग बड़े ऊँचे बातें कहा करते हैं, ऊँचे सिद्धान्त करने की आदत है उनको, लेकिन अमल जब करते हैं तो उनको भूल जाते हैं, कुछ और किया करते हैं। अब मैं नहीं कहता कि हमारे देश में लोग हर बात जो कहते हैं और चाहते हैं, उस पर अमल कर सकते हैं। कठिनाइयाँ होती हैं, काफ़ी मुश्किलें होती हैं, लेकिन कम-से-कम कोशिश तो करनी चाहिए कि जो हम कहते हैं, उस पर अमल करें, जिस दर्जे हो सके। अगर बिलकुल ही हम उसका विरोध करें उसके खिलाफ़ जायें तो फिर कोई हमारी वक्रांत नहीं रहती, हमारे कहने की।

कुछ-एक बात आप जानते हैं कि कुछ दुनिया में हमारा आदर होता है, कोई हमारी फ़ौज की वजह से नहीं, न कोई पैसे की वजह से, न हम फ़ौजी ताक़त हैं बड़ी, न हम पैसे वाले हैं जो पैसा बाँटें लोगों को। और आम तौर से फ़ौज की शक्ति से या पैसे से ही आदर होता है मुल्कों का। आजकल की दुनिया ऐसी है। फिर भी हमारा आदर कुछ होता है। क्यों होता है? इसलिए कि कुछ-न-कुछ इस-पाँच-सात-आठ-दस बरस में लोगों को हल्के-हल्के विश्वास होने लगा कि किसी उसूल पर हम चलने की कोशिश करते हैं। और अगर हम कोई ग़लती भी करें तो वो किसी के दबाव से डर से नहीं होती, वो हम करते हैं। हमसे खुद हुई। पहले लोग समझते थे कि हम एक लोगों के डर से, हम न इधर उतरते हैं, न उधर उतरते हैं; जो दो फ़ौजें दुनिया में हैं, दो गिरोह हैं, इधर-उधर; कि हम बीच में हैं, इधर से भी डरते हैं, उधर से भी डरते हैं, डर के मारे बैठे हैं यहाँ, नहीं तो खुल्लम-खुल्ला क्यों नहीं हम इधर या उधर हो जाते। अब हल्के-हल्के उनकी समझ में आया है कि हम किसी [किन्हीं] फ़ौजों के बीच में नहीं हैं, हम अपने घर में रहना चाहते हैं शान्ति से और हम सिर्फ़ एक बात नहीं पसन्द करते हैं कि कोई हमें धकेले इधर या उधर। जिधर हम खुद जाना चाहें, हम जायें। उसी के साथ यह भी हम जानते हैं कि आजकल की दुनिया ऐसी हो गयी है कि बिलकुल संन्यास ले कर घर में बैठना भी कठिन है। कोई सम्बन्ध और मुल्कों से होता है। एक उधर संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ, यूनाइटेड नेशन्स, लेकिन अलावा उसके, बहुत ही गठी हुई दुनिया हो गयी है और हर देश दूसरे देश का पड़ोसी हो गया है। जब रात भर में आप एक

107. Prabodh Chandra (Punjab) and Satya Paul Mittal (Punjab) spoke on border violations by Pakistan while Bhanu Pratap Yagnik (Bombay) wanted to solve the Kashmir and Goa questions through an ultimatum to the powers concerned.

कोने से दूसरे कोने में दुनिया में [के] चले जाते हैं हवाई जहाज़ पर तो फिर इसमें फ़ासला नहीं रहते [रहता]। पुराने ज़माने में आप पढ़े जो नीतिदर्शक लोग होते थे, चाणक्य ने अपनी नीति लिखी और यूरोप में भी मेकियावेली ने लिखी और किस-किस ने। उन्होंने कहा जो देश आपके पड़ोसी हैं उनसे एक बरताव करो और जो देश पड़ोसी के उस पार हैं; जो पड़ोसी हैं वो दुश्मन देश हैं और पड़ोस के उस पार हैं वो तुम्हारे मित्र हैं। इस तरह से उन्होंने अपने हिसाब लगाये तब आजकल की दुनिया में यह बात चलती नहीं, क्योंकि सब पड़ोसी हो गये हैं। उनको आप चाहे दुश्मन समझिए, चाहे जो कुछ समझिए, चाहे मित्र समझिए। दुनिया बदल गयी और सारी पुरानी नीति, पुराने ग़ज़ नापने के अब नहीं चलते। इसलिए कि दुनिया बदल गयी। यह सब इण्डस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन से, रफ़्तार से, सफ़र इतना तेज़ हो गया। हर चीज़ चट-पट होती है। हर ख़बर फ़ौरन आती है, रेडियो है, यह है वो है। तो नीति को भी उससे मिलाना है और उसका नतीजा यह निकला इन सब बातों का कि पुरानी बहसें, पुराने ढंग, पुरानी अदावतें, पुरानी दुश्मनी चलती नहीं आजकल। यानी उससे कोई नतीजा नहीं निकलता, नतीजा सिवा नुक़सान के, हानि के। अगर उसको बढ़ाई, लड़ाई तक ले जाइए, तो अब यह सभी को विश्वास होने लगा है कि छोटी लड़ाई आजकल नहीं होती है। अगर लड़ाई हुई छोटी, तो वो बड़ी होगी। अगर बड़ी लड़ाई हुई तो उसमें ऐटम बम वग़ैरह चलेंगे। अगर ऐटम बम चले तो सारी दुनिया का नाश हो जाने का अन्देश है, क्रदम-ब-क्रदम। जब यह बात हो गयी तब ये सब सिलसिले, जो चीज़ें, धमकी के और शान के, नंगी तलवार खींच कर हम हिला रहे हैं सिर पर, हम बड़े बहादुर हैं कौन आता है सामने। यह ज़माने गुज़र गये, यह ज़माने गुज़र गये, इतिहास गुज़र गया, ज़माना गुज़र गया। व्याख्यानों में अक्सर चमक आ जाती है तलवार की, लेकिन और कुछ है नहीं (हँसी)। तो फिर यह बात है तो हमें वैसे ही चलना चाहिए, धोखा क्यों दें अपने को। और अलावा इसके बात के हमारा कोई देश दुर्बल और कमज़ोर नहीं है, मेरा ख़याल है, लेकिन ज़ाहिर है हमारे देश की कोई गिनती बड़े हथियारबन्द देशों में नहीं है। कोई ऐसी हमारे पास न फ़ौज है, न ऐटम बम है, न यह है न वो है। हाँ, हम समझते हैं हम अपनी रक्षा इतमीनान से कर सकते हैं, अगर कोई हमला करे। हम किसी और पर हमला करने वाले हैं नहीं। यह नज़्शे आप सामने रखिए।

फिर आप पाकिस्तान का चर्चा करते हैं। पाकिस्तान का हमारा कुछ एक अजीब रिश्ता है। एक ग़ैर मुल्क हो गया वो, और जो भी उसके पीछे कहानी हो, हमारी रज़ामन्दी से हुई, रज़ामन्दी क्यों दी गयी, वाक़यात की मजबूरी कहिए कि हम परेशान हो गये एक बात से कि किसी तरह हमसे आज़ाद, तो आज़ाद हों, बढ़ें बजाय इसके कि बँधे रहें, न हम बढ़ने पायें न कुछ हो। ख़ैर, एक बात हुई। इसको हमने स्वीकार किया। और उस पर हम क़ायम हैं। क़ायम महज़ इसलिए नहीं कि हमने स्वीकार किया, बल्कि इसलिए कि उसको ख़याल भी करना उलटने का, एक ग़लती है बहुत, यानी अगर ऐसी बात कहीं हो सके तो इतनी हानि हो, इतना बोझ हमारे बढ़ जायें, हमारे सवाल पेचीदा हो जायें जो काफ़ी पेचीदा हैं कि इन्तहा नहीं इसकी। तो यह ग़लत बात है। कोई कहे सिवा इसके चमकती तलवार को हिलाना दिल ख़ुश करे किसी का। समझ से आप इस पर ग़ौर करें तो माने इसके कोई नहीं हैं। हाँ, यह हम चाहते हैं और महज़ चाहते नहीं, बल्कि

इसको मैं आवश्यक समझता हूँ कि किसी-न-किसी ज़माने में हमें मिल कर रहना है। एक-दूसरे से सहयोग करना है। पड़ोसी देश हैं, और कोई चारा नहीं। मूर्खता है कि हर वक़्त लड़ते जायें। अपनी शक्ति नाश करें।

तो यह बात है। अब ऐसी हालत में हमारी नीति पाकिस्तान से क्या होनी चाहिए? हर वक़्त उनको हम धमकी दें या लम्बी-चौड़ी बातें करें कि हम बदला लेंगे, और हम तुम्हें सज़ा देंगे, यह तो कोई समझ की बात नहीं। और इसका कोई नतीजा भी नहीं होता। बल्कि नतीजा इसका उल्टा होता है, क्योंकि यह चीज़ ही एक हथियार हो जाती है। उन लोगों के हाथ में जो हिन्दुस्तान के सबमें ज़्यादा विरोधी पाकिस्तान में हों। मैं नहीं समझता कि आम पाकिस्तान की जनता का कोई खास द्वेष हिन्दुस्तान से है, जैसे कि आम हिन्दुस्तान की जनता को कोई द्वेष पाकिस्तान की जनता से नहीं है। पहले थे कुछ, वो हट गये, ख़त्म हो गये। लेकिन यह सही बात है, अब भी कोई-न-कोई बात हो जाये पाकिस्तान में तो हो सकता है कि, और वो बढ़ा कर बतायी जाये, हो सकता है कि क्रोध चढ़े यहाँ की जनता को, बढ़ता है, ऐसी बातें होती हैं। या कोई बात हिन्दुस्तान में हो और उसकी वहाँ की रिपोर्ट लम्बी-चौड़ी छपे उलट-पलट के या बढ़ा के; उससे क्रोध वहाँ कि जनता को हो जायें। अगर आप पाकिस्तान के अख़बार पढ़ें तो आप महसूस करें, आप देखें कि कैसी वहाँ ख़बरें हिन्दुस्तान के बारे में छपती हैं। अगर कोई और ख़बर न हो वहाँ के लोगों के पास तो मुझे तो पूरी तौर से समझ में आता है कि कितने वो गुस्से हो जाते हैं, क्योंकि एक तस्वीर उलटी-पलटी हर वक़्त उनके सामने रखी जाती है, क्या करें वो बेचारे। लेकिन मैं नहीं समझता कि बुनियादी कोई द्वेष पाकिस्तान के रहने वालों में या हिन्दुस्तान के रहने वालों में अब है। वो हटता जायेगा और यह ठीक है। लेकिन राजनीति में, पॉलिटिक्स में और और बातों में, कुछ पेंच पड़ गये हैं, कुछ हमारे यहाँ, बहुत कुछ पाकिस्तान में, कि उससे निकलना, इन गाँठों को खोलना कठिन हो गया है। खुलेंगी, वो ज़रूर खुलेंगी, लेकिन कठिन हो गया है और कोई चारा नहीं है सिवा इसके कि हम इन्तज़ार करें ऐसे मौक़े का, ऐसी हवा का जब कि वो हल्के-हल्के खुले। और जो हम एक शान दिखायें, धमकी दें तो गाँठ और कसती जाती है, यही होता है दो मुल्कों के बीच में हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान के सवाल नहीं। जितना एक बड़े पैमाने पर सवालों को आप लें आजकल जो बड़े-बड़े सब में बड़े देश हैं, हममें क्या है। बड़ी शक्ति हैं, लेकिन एक-दूसरे से डरते हैं, एक-दूसरे को धमकी देते हैं, कोल्ड वॉर है और जितनी कोल्ड वॉर चलती है, बजाय मसला हल होने के गाँठ और कसती जाती है। मुश्किल हो जाता है खोलना। वो तरीक़ा तो खोलने का है नहीं। इसलिए हमें पाकिस्तान के सिलसिले में, हमारी नीति यही हो सकती है कि हम अपनी रक्षा करें, हम देखें कि कोई बेजा बात नहीं होगी हमारे देश के खिलाफ़। अगर कोई होगी तो हम जवाब देने को और रक्षा करने को पूरे तैयार हैं। यह तो एक बात हुई। यह तो एक पहलू है। दूसरा पहलू यह है कि हम अपनी तरफ़ से कोई बात न करें जिससे पाकिस्तान के लोग भड़कें, जिससे जो ज़रा भी हमारी बुनियादी नीति के खिलाफ़ हो। और हमेशा अपने सामने नज़र रखें कि एक-न-एक दिन आयेगा जब पाकिस्तान और हिन्दुस्तान मिल कर दोनों अलग-अलग, दो देश, आज़ाद देश, मिल कर चल सकेंगे। क्योंकि कुछ भी आप

राजनीति के मैदान में करें बात, यह बात तो हम भूल नहीं सकते कि पाकिस्तान के लोग और हम लोग बहुत ग़ैर नहीं हैं एक-दूसरे से। इसी काँग्रेस में कितने बरसों तक हम लोगों ने साथ मिल कर हमने काम किया और हालाँकि हम कहते हैं इसका बहुत, एक बात कभी दिल और दिमाग़ से अलग नहीं होती कि हमारे अज़ीज़-से-अज़ीज़ आदरणीय नेता और साथी बाज़ जेलों में वहाँ पड़े रहे हैं अब तक।¹⁰⁸ हम ज़िक्र नहीं करते हैं इसका; लोग समझें कि हम भूल गये तो ग़लत बात है। लेकिन जान कर ज़िक्र नहीं करते, हालाँकि हमेशा याद रहता है वो, क्योंकि चर्चा करने से और पेंच न पड़ जायें उनके लिए और औरों के लिए। लेकिन एक काँटा है वह, एक तरह से एक ऐसी चीज़ है, ऐसा सवाल है जो हर वक़्त दिमाग़ में उठता है कि जिन लोगों ने हिन्दुस्तान की आज़ादी के लिए इतना किया, इतनी कुर्बानी की, वही महरूम रह गये उसके फ़ायदे से। बल्कि उनकी जेलों की कहानी, जैसे पहले थी वो बाद में भी जारी रही।

तो गोआ का सवाल है, गोआ के सवाल में भी एक पेंच यही, एक तो ज़ाहिर है गोआ का सवाल, गोआ एक ज़रा-सा, मुट्ठी भर ज़मीन है भारत के कोने में। लेकिन आप जानते हैं कि वो सवाल एक तरह से देखें तो ज़ाहिर है, वो सवाल ही नहीं है वो मेरी समझ में, सवाल कैसे कोई पूछे, एक भारत का हिस्सा है और आज़ाद भारत में उसका मिलना आवश्यक है और यकीनन मिलेगा। लेकिन दूसरे ढंग से आप उसे देखें तो वो एक अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय सवाल हो गया, इण्टरनेशनल सवाल हो गया और जिस ढंग से हम उसमें वहाँ कार्रवाई करें उसका असर हमारे सारे अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय कामों में पड़ता है। यह पेंच हो गया है उसका। तो उसका छोटापन और भारत के बड़ेपन को भी देखें आप, क्योंकि उसके पीछे हज़ारों बातें आ जाती हैं। चुनांचे हमें इस ढंग से वहाँ काम करना है, इस ढंग से हमें सोच-समझ के बढ़ना है जिससे हम सारे अपने काम और नीति को नुक़सान न पहुँचायें। और जगह इसमें ज़रा सब्र की ज़रूरत होती है, अपने को रोक-थाम करने की। बातें वहाँ होती हैं जिससे ख़ोज़ो, निहायत नागवार गुज़रती हैं। गुस्सा भी चढ़ता है, लेकिन अब हम जोश में और गुस्से में आ कर बह जायें और कुछ करें जिससे एक वहाँ वालों को भी तकलीफ़ हो, परेशानी हो, हमारे जो वहाँ के लोग हैं और मसला हल न हो और उसी के साथ दुनिया में यह बात कही जाय कि देखिए, अब तक और लोगों को बड़ी सलाह देने को तैयार हैं कि शान्ति से चलो, यह न करो, वह न करो, लेकिन जहाँ अपना मामला आया तब नहीं अपनी सलाह पर विचार करते हैं। यह पेंच है, है, क्या किया जाये, दुनिया भरी हुई आजकल पेंचों से और गाँठों से। कोशिश हम कम-से-कम कर रहे हैं कि जो सिद्धान्त हमने पंचशील वगैरह का रखा है उस पर चलें। एक साहब ने कहा था पाकिस्तान के बारे में शायद कि वहाँ की जनता से सम्बन्ध रखो, लेकिन वहाँ की गवर्नमेंट से क्या। उसकी क्या, उससे नरमी से क्यों पेश आते हो? तो यह तो ऐसी बात है कि अगर आप विचार करें कि अगर एक देश दूसरे देश की गवर्नमेंट के ऊपर छलाँग मार कर जनता से सम्बन्ध पैदा करता है, यह झगड़े की बात है और आप सोच

108. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, one of the founders of the National Awami Party in July 1957 at Dacca, was arrested with other nationalists on 11 October 1958.

लें अगर कोई देश भी ऐसा भारत में करे तो यह हमें बहुत नागवार गुजरेगा। हम इसको बरदाश्त नहीं करेंगे कि कोई दूसरा देश आ कर हमारी गवर्नमेंट को अलग करके, हमारी जनता से बात करे और जान कर इसलिए कि गवर्नमेंट के खिलाफ़ है। यह बात तो कोई देश बरदाश्त नहीं कर सकता, जो भी कुछ हम हमारे विचार हों किसी गवर्नमेंट के निस्वत, हाँ उस गवर्नमेंट से सम्बन्ध हमारा गवर्नमेंट ही से है, एक गवर्नमेंट का दूसरे से। हाँ, और लोग, है हमारी नीति, ऐसे हो सकती है कि जो वहाँ की जनता भी समझ सके कि हमारी उससे कोई अदावत नहीं, यह दूसरी बात हैं।

तीसरा प्रश्न जो उठता है, यह कॉमनवेल्थ बगैरह का है। उसके बारे में सिर्फ़ दो बातें आपके सामने रखूँगा, कृष्ण मेनन जी ने कल कही थी। एक तो यही कि आप गौर करें कि कुछ वाक्यात ऐसे हैं कि कॉमनवेल्थ का रूप बदलता जाता है। और उसमें अफ्रीका के देश आते जाते हैं, आये हैं और आयेंगे। और इसलिए उसका असर होता है। एक-दूसरे पर, ज़ाहिर है; एक तो यह बात है। तो यह और भी कम समझ की बात होखी, कि हम ऐसे मौक़े पर ऐसी बात करें जिससे एक शक्ति उसमें अच्छाई है या बुराई है। लेकिन कॉमनवेल्थ ठीक रास्ते पर चल रही है मुल्कों को आज़ाद करने के लिए। हमारे क्रदम उठाने से हम इस बात को मदद करेंगे या हानि पहुँचायेंगे। मेरा ख़याल है कि कॉमनवेल्थ में रहने से हमारा, किसी क्रिस्म की हानि हमें नहीं हुई है। और बहुत तरह से लाभ हुआ है। हाँ, भावना किसी की हो कि साहब हम क्यों सम्बन्ध रखें तो दूसरी बात है। लेकिन किस क्रदर दुनिया में इस बात का भी असर हुआ है कि हिन्दुस्तान के लोग कितने, क्या कहूँ आपको मैच्योर हैं, कितने समझदार हैं, कितने दानिशमन्द हैं कि खाली ज़ब्बे में बह नहीं जाते, ज़रा दूर तक देख कर काम करते हैं। ज़रा एकदम से गुस्से में आके कुछ नहीं कर देते, गुस्से में आ कर, अंग्रेज़ों से हमारी लड़ाई थी, जब अंग्रेज़ साम्राज्य था, जाओ अब अंग्रेज़ों के मुल्कों से हम कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं रखेंगे। यह तो एक मामूली बात है, हरेक कर सकता था, इसका न करना ग़ैर-मामूली बात थी और दानिशमन्दी की बात थी, ऐसे मौक़े पर। लेकिन यह एक बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती कि अक्सर लोग इशारा करते हैं, गोआ के कॉमनवेल्थ होने से कोई कहीं इधर-उधर कमी हमारी आज़ादी में हो गयी; यह बात तो बिलकुल ग़लत है। सो, बिलकुल इसमें कोई ज़रा भर भी ठीक नहीं है बात। मैं यहाँ तक भी मानता हूँ हालाँकि वो बात भी सही नहीं होती कि अगर हम एक डोमिनियन रहते, डोमिनियन भी पूरी तरह से आज़ाद मुल्क हैं, लेकिन डोमिनियन रहते तो एक क्रिस्म का साया दूसरे मुल्क का ऊपर रहता है, मैंने माना। लेकिन हम डोमिनियन भी नहीं रहे। हम एक रिपब्लिक हो गये और हर साल या दूसरे साल हम एक उनकी मीटिंग प्रधान मन्त्रियों के चुने जायें या ख़तो-किताबत कुछ हो जाये, एक मामूली रिश्ता जो हर मुल्क में होता है तो यह समझना कि ज़रा भी हमारी आज़ादी में कमी है, यह ग़लत है। अगर कमी होती तब मैं कम-से-कम इस सम्बन्ध को, इस रिश्ते को बिलकुल मंज़ूर नहीं करता ज़रा भर अगर कमी होती है। लेकिन वो नहीं है और इस रिश्ते की वजह से हम कुछ भले कामों में अपनी ताक़त डाल सकते हैं, उधर झुका सकते हैं, तराजू के पल्ले को, और झुकाया है। तो क्यों नहीं हम उससे फ़ायदा उठायें।

दूसरे यह कि जब आजकल की दुनिया में जहाँ कि लोग अलग-अलग खेंचा-तानी करते हैं, टूटती है हर चीज़, जो चीज़ जोड़ती है, उसको तोड़ना अच्छा नहीं। संयुक्त राष्ट्र है, वहाँ हर क्रिस्म के देश हैं और बाज़ देश जिनको होना चाहिए वो नहीं हैं, जैसे चीन। तो अब कई बातें वहाँ हुई हैं जो हमें पसन्द नहीं आयीं। लेकिन संयुक्त राष्ट्र का होना ही हम एक आवश्यक समझते हैं चाहे वो जितना अच्छा होना चाहिए वो नहीं है, लेकिन आजकल की दुनिया में उसका होना एक ज़रूरी बात है। अगर नहीं होता वो तो यक्रीनन दुनिया में कई दफ़े लड़ाई हो गयी होती इस पिछले दस बरस में। तो तराजू पे आप तौलें उससे क्या फ़ायदा है, लाभ है, करें लेकिन एक चीज़ है जैसे कॉमनवेल्थ है जिसमें, जिसके बाज़ मुल्क, मुल्कों के, उनकी नीति को हम बिल्कुल पसन्द नहीं करते, जैसे साउथ अफ़्रीका है, दुनिया जानती है, हमारा कोई उससे कोई रिश्ता भी नहीं है। अब इसका, एक आपको नागवार गुज़रे तो कुछ ठीक है। क्यों हम एक कमरे में बैठें जहाँ साउथ अफ़्रीका के लोग भी बैठें, मैं नहीं उसको मानता। मैं हर एक के साथ बैठने को तैयार हूँ, लेकिन नागवार गुज़र सकता है। तो मैं आपको बताता हूँ कि नागवार दूसरे फ़रीक़ को बहुत ज़्यादा गुज़रता है, क्योंकि उनकी नीति के बिल्कुल खिलाफ़ हैं। वो तो बिल्कुल अलग रहना चाहते हैं न, जो नीति हैं, साऊथ अफ़्रीका की एपार्थाइड की तो उनको मिल कर काम करने में बड़ी चोट अन्दर से लगती है। मैं इस काम को इसलिए नहीं करता कि उनको चोट लगे, लेकिन मैं आपको समझाता हूँ कि इसके दो पहलू हैं और हम रूठ के अलग बैठ जायें तो एक इशारा है, एक जेस्चर है, लेकिन जिस रास्ते पर हम चला चाहते हैं, जो असर पैदा किया चाहते हैं थोड़ा-बहुत दुनिया की बातों पर कुछ असर कम हो जाता है तो क्यों उसको हम छोड़ें। यह बातें ग़ौर करने की हैं। जब हमारी पूरी आज़ादी है और हमें मौक़े मिलते हैं इस ढंग से, अच्छे कामों को बढ़ाने की तरफ़ झुकायें। असल में इस प्रस्ताव को आपको देखना है। एक पूरे नज़्शे में हमारी सारी पॉलिसी अन्दर की बाहर की सब मिला कर; और इस तरह से हम नहीं कर सकते कि हम महज़ ज़ोरों से जज़्बात के आके और गुस्से में आ कर, और एक गुस्सा दिला कर गुस्सा दिखा कर, हम अपनी नीति को बदलें। इतना ही मैं आप से अर्ज़ किया चाहता हूँ।

[Translation begins:

Mr President, Delegates,

Whenever there is a debate on foreign policy or international affairs,¹⁰⁹ generally people in and outside the Congress praise the Panchsheel, etc. At the same time, there are criticisms on three points—about Pakistan, sometimes on Goa and thirdly the Commonwealth.¹¹⁰ Well, it is understandable that feelings should run high over these three issues. But I would like to tell you that if you accept our foreign policy and Panchsheel or whatever you may call it, you will have to

109. See fn 106 in this section.

110. See fn 107 in this section.

accept the consequences too. We cannot use Panchsheel selectively. We have to make a choice. Our enemies often complain that the Government of India and the Congress talk of very high principles and morality but when it comes to practice, they forget them and do something else. Now I do not say that in India we practise everything that we preach. There are often difficulties. But at least an effort should be made to practise whatever we profess as far as it is possible. If we do just the opposite of what we say, our words will have no credibility.

As you know, there is some respect for India in the world today. It is not because we are militarily powerful or possess great wealth. In today's world, these are the things that count. Yet why is India held in respect? It is because over the last seven or eight years, the belief has gradually strengthened among the people that we are trying to adhere to some principles and though we may make mistakes, we do not do anything out of fear or pressure. In the beginning, people used to attribute our policy of non-alignment to fear of the two superpowers and the armed camps, that the world is divided into today. They felt we did not dare to come out openly for or against one of them. Gradually, they are beginning to understand that we do not wish to join any camp and only wish to live in peace and will not allow anybody to push us about. We will do what we want to, of our own free will. At the same time, we also know that it is very difficult to isolate ourselves from the rest of the world. We have to maintain some relations with other countries. There is the United Nations, for instance. But even apart from that, the world has become very closely-knit, with aeroplanes and other modern means of communication, distances no longer have any significance. The principles of foreign policy expounded by political thinkers like Chanakya in India and Machiavelli in Europe, etc., that the neighbouring country is an enemy and those beyond are friends, are no longer relevant today when all the countries of the world have become one another's neighbours, whether you think of them as friends or enemies. The world has changed and the old yardsticks will no longer suffice. Ever since the Industrial Revolution, travel and means of communication have become very fast. We can get news from all over the world instantaneously. So, the foreign policy of a nation has to match these changes. Consequently, the old arguments and bitterness and enmities can no longer serve any purpose and will only cause harm if they are extended to a war. Everyone is beginning to be convinced that there can be no question of a small war any longer in the world. If there is a war it will be a major one with atom bombs and what not. There is a grave danger of the whole world being destroyed. In such circumstances, the time has passed when a country could threaten and brandish a naked sword to challenge others. The flash of swords may be evident in speeches (laughter)

but it is nothing more. So we must act accordingly instead of trying to deceive ourselves. India is by no means weak. But it is obvious that she cannot be counted among the great military powers of the world because we do not have big armies or atom bombs, etc. It is true that we think we are capable of defending ourselves against external aggression. But we do not wish to commit aggression against any country. This is the picture that you must keep before you.

Then you talk of Pakistan. We have a strange relationship with Pakistan. It has now become a foreign country which is a long story in itself. The Partition took place with our consent. Why? You may call it the compulsion of circumstances. We were at the end of our tether and wanted somehow to get our freedom even if that meant a truncated India rather than remaining united under a foreign government with no hope for progress. So we accepted Partition and it has now become a fact. It is wrong even to think of upsetting it, even if such a thing were possible because it would do great damage and lay an enormous burden on us. Our problems which are already complex will become even more complicated. It would be wrong if somebody says this except that brandishing a sword pleases some people. If you think about it carefully, it is absolutely meaningless. We want to live as good neighbours, at some time or the other, and not merely that, I consider it absolutely essential. We must cooperate with each other as neighbouring countries for there is no other way. It will be foolish to fight all the time and waste our energy.

Now what should be our policy towards Pakistan? It would not be wise to talk about revenge and reprisals, for the result would be just the opposite. It becomes a weapon in the hands of those who are opposed to India in Pakistan. I do not think the common people of Pakistan have any particular bitterness towards India just as the masses in India harbour no animosity against the people of Pakistan. Whatever bitterness there was has disappeared. But it is true that even now if something happens in Pakistan or it is exaggerated out of all proportion here, the people's passions might be aroused. Similarly, if some little incident in India is blown up and reported wrongly in the Pakistani newspapers, the people there can be incited. If you read the Pakistani newspapers you will realise the kind of reports that are published in Pakistani newspapers. If there were no other sources of information available to the people, one can well imagine how angry they would become because a wrong picture is constantly presented to them. What would the poor people do? But fundamentally, I do not think there is any bitterness between the people of Pakistan and India and the little bitterness which is there will gradually disappear. However, in politics and other matters, some complications have arisen both in India and in Pakistan and it has become difficult to unravel these knots. They

will certainly be opened. But it has become difficult and there is no alternative to biding our time and waiting for a better opportunity and friendlier atmosphere to prevail. If we try to make a show of strength or use threats, the knot will become even tighter. This would happen not only between India and Pakistan but any two countries. If you will look at these problems from a wider angle, you will find that in spite of their great power, there is great fear of one another among the big nations of the world and they use threats constantly. A cold war is raging and instead of the problems being solved, the knot becomes tighter and more difficult to unravel. Therefore, our policy with regard to Pakistan can only be one of preparedness for self-defence and preservation of our national interests. We must be fully prepared to defend the country against external aggression. The other aspect of it is that we should do nothing which may incite the people of Pakistan, and must always bear in mind the fact that a time is bound to come when India and Pakistan will be able to march in step as two independent neighbouring countries. Whatever we may say in the political arena, we can never lose sight of the fact that the people of Pakistan and India are not wholly alien or strangers to one another. We have all worked together for years in this very Congress and though we talk a great deal about this, one thing that continues to hurt is the fact that one of our most respected and beloved leaders continues to be in a Pakistani jail till now. If people think that we have forgotten it because we do not mention it, they are mistaken. We deliberately refrain from talking about it because it may create complications for him and others. But it is like a thorn in our flesh and it hurts to think that someone who worked so hard for India's freedom and made such great sacrifices has been deprived of it. In fact, his life has continued to be spent in jails as before.¹¹¹

Then there is the problem of Goa. One complication is that Goa, obviously, is a small piece of Indian territory. But as you know if you look at it from one angle, it is not a problem at all. How can there be any question about it that Goa, which is a part of India, has to merge into independent India? But if you look at it from another angle, it has become an international problem and any step that we take will have an impact on other international relations. This is the complication about it. It is a minor problem when you think of India's size. Therefore, we must work in such a way that we may do no harm to any policy. It needs a little patience and restraint. Things happen which it is very difficult to tolerate. We feel angry too, but if we get carried away by anger and passion and do something which creates problems for the citizens of Goa, the problem is not solved. It will give room for the rest of the world to say that we do not follow our own advice to others of following a policy of peace and non-

111. See fn 108 in this section.

violence. This is the problem. What is to be done? The world is full of knotty problems. We are making an effort to follow the principles of Panchsheel. One gentleman had remarked once that we should have relations with the people of Pakistan but not show softness towards the government. This is absurd if you think about it. How can we establish relations with the people of another country directly, over the head of the government? We will not tolerate it if such a thing were to happen in India. We will not tolerate it, if another government establishes contacts directly with the people over the head of our government. No country will tolerate this. No matter what we may think of any other government, we can deal only with the governments. It is possible, however, to follow a policy which appeals to the people of the other country. We have no objection to that.

The third question that comes up is about the Commonwealth, etc. I will tell you just two things which Mr. Krishna Menon had said yesterday. One is that due to certain circumstances, the Commonwealth is changing its complexion. African countries are joining it and more will do so which will have an impact on the others. In such a situation, it is even more foolish to do something which harms a movement which is on the right path and working for the freedom of other countries. I think our interests have not been affected in any way by remaining in the Commonwealth. On the contrary, we have gained some advantages. Now it is a different matter if you question the need to be in the Commonwealth. But to some extent, our being in the Commonwealth has made an impact on the rest of the world about India's maturity and good sense. They feel that we do not get carried away by emotions alone but are far-sighted. We do not act in anger. So when the British left, we did not break off all relations with them. This would have been anybody's reaction ordinarily. Our wisdom lay in not behaving like that. I cannot understand why people should feel that because we are in the Commonwealth, our freedom of action is restricted in any way. There is no truth in this. I will even go so far as to accept that if we had been in the Dominion, the mantle of another country may have been upon us, though that is also not quite true because the dominion countries are fully independent. But we are not in the Dominion. We are a republic and every year or every alternate year, we attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. So we have normal relations as a free and independent country. It is wrong to think that our freedom is affected in any way. If there had been the slightest danger of that, I would never have accepted the relationship. But there is no danger and if we are able to throw our weight on the side of good causes, why should we not take advantage?

Secondly, at a time when people all over the world are pulling in different directions and relations are breaking apart, it is not a good thing to break something that binds. For instance, many countries are represented at the

United Nations, but others, which ought to be in it like China, are not. Now a number of things have happened there which we do not like. But even if it is not perfect, we feel that an organisation like the United Nations is absolutely essential, especially in the kind of world that we are living in today. But for the UN, there is no doubt that there would have been several wars during the last ten years. The pros and cons can be weighed in the balance. Now it is true that some countries like South Africa with whom we have no relations, and whose policies we disapprove of strongly, are in the Commonwealth. I can understand it if you are unable to tolerate that. But I am not prepared to accept it if you say we should not even sit with them in the same room. I can tell you that the racist policy followed by South Africa, apartheid, hurts the soul. If we were to refuse to be a member of the Commonwealth, it will certainly be a gesture. But whatever little impact we wish to make in international affairs will be lost. We must try to throw our weight in the right cause especially as a free country, since we have ample opportunities to do so.

Therefore, you must look at this resolution in the context of our total policy, internal as well as external and not get carried away by anger or passion and give up our policy. This is what I wish to request of you.

Translation ends]

23. Summing Up the Session¹¹²

थोड़ी देर में आपका यह अधिवेशन काँग्रेस का, उसका अन्त होगा और यह जो पिछले एक सप्ताह से यहाँ काम हो रहा था, वह भी भारत के इतिहास के पन्नों में लिखा जायेगा। आप सभी को, जैसे मुझे, बार-बार याद आता था कि इसके पहले वाला नागपुर का अधिवेशन, उसमें क्या हुआ। क्योंकि वह नागपुर का अधिवेशन शायद हमारे सारे काँग्रेस के इतिहास में, सबमें एक माने में, बड़ा हुआ था। उसने सबमें बड़ा फ़र्क़ किया हमारी काँग्रेस के अन्दर और देश में। या कहिए कि उसने एक सिलसिले को चलाया जिसने ये सब किया। यह कहना, मुकाबला करना उस नागपुर के अधिवेशन का और आजकल के अधिवेशन से तो उचित नहीं है। ऐसे मुकाबले तो हम नहीं कर सकते। एक में गाँधी था और एक में छोटे लोग हैं। लेकिन मेरा खयाल है कि काँग्रेस और भारत के इतिहास में यह भी अधिवेशन एक बहुत ऊँचा रहेगा। और इसने कुछ थोड़े-से नये रास्ते दिखाये, कुछ पुराने रास्तों को सीधा किया और कुछ ऐसी बातें हमें बतायीं जिससे हम जा कर सारे देश के हिस्से-हिस्से में यहाँ का सन्देश पहुँचायें। और क्या काम करना है, उस काम

112. Speech at the concluding session, Abhyankar Nagar, Nagpur, 11 Jan. 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

को करें, यह बहस होगी, हमेशा होती रहती है, यह नीति हो या कुछ और नीति हो, वो होती रहेंगी। हों। लेकिन हरेक काँग्रेस वाला जानता है या उसको जानना चाहिए कि हमने तरक्की की और हम बड़े हुए, बड़ी संख्या हुई, बहुत, आपस में शास्त्रार्थ करके नहीं, बल्कि काम करके, जनता से सम्बन्ध रख कर, उसके पास रह के, उससे कुछ सीख कर, ले कर, उसको कुछ दे कर, गरज कि एक हो कर, और अगर कोई बात भी हम बड़ी किया चाहते हैं कि उसी जरिये से हो सकती है। यह सही बात है कि रास्ता भी साफ़ होना चाहिए हमारे मन में, खाली एक जनता से सम्पर्क हो, बग़ैर ये कि किस बात के लिए हो, उसके तो कोई माने नहीं हैं। तो रास्ता तो साफ़ इस काँग्रेस ने किया है आपके लिए, और बाक़ी फिर आपका और हमारा काम हो गया, एक-एक काँग्रेसी का, काँग्रेस कमेटी का और काँग्रेस गवर्नमेंट्स का।

काँग्रेस की गवर्नमेंट्स का मैं कहता हूँ। देखिए आप, बार-बार चर्चा हुआ है इन चार-पाँच दिन कोऑपरेटिव्स का, सहकारी संघ का। वो जड़-बुनियाद हो गयी आपके सारे नीति की, एग्रेरियन पॉलिसी की। और उसी के साथ यह भी लोग जानते हैं कि आजकल के जो क्रायदे हैं, कोऑपरेटिव्स बनाने के जो क़ानून हैं, वो अच्छे नहीं हैं। वो रुकावटें डालते हैं और जब तक वो रुकावटें [दूर] नहीं हों, तो जल्दी काम यह नहीं हो सकता। बड़ी तेज़ी होती है तब भी छः महीने लग जाते हैं शायद, मैंने सुना, कोऑपरेटिव बनने में, उसके रजिस्टर होने में। तो गरज कि जितनी हमारी गवर्नमेंट्स हैं उनको एक बात, पहले भी विचार कर रही हैं, यह नहीं कि नहीं किया है, लेकिन जल्दी-से-जल्दी इन क्रायदे-क़ानूनों को ऐसा बनाना है कि उसमें काम तेज़ी से हो सके। और यह भी उसमें, यह विचार कि कोऑपरेटिव्स में खाली ऐसे लोग आयें जो कि उसमें पैसा लगा सकते हैं, गाँव में, यह भी विचार ठीक नहीं है। हम चाहते हैं, हरेक गाँव वाला आये। तो गरज कि इस पर फ़ौरन ग़ौर करना है हर गवर्नमेंट को, और क़ानून को या क्रायदों को बदलना है।

लेकिन हमें और आपको तो इसके लिए इन्तज़ार नहीं करना चाहिए, क्योंकि जहाँ यह काँग्रेस हुई, बातें तय हुई तो बीच में कोई वक्फ़ा नहीं होना चाहिए, इण्टरवल नहीं होना चाहिए, फ़ौरन इसके पैग़ाम को जनता को पहुँचाना है, समझाना है, बहस करनी है। और ये ढंग हमारा यह रखना है, क्योंकि हमने बड़े काम उठाये, हम नहीं चाहते उन बड़े कामों को एक तंगखयाली से और तंगदिली से करें। हम नहीं चाहते कि हम इसमें बहुत पार्टीबाज़ी भी करें। हमें [हमारी] दावत है हर दल की [को] हिन्दुस्तान में, जो भी कोई हो, कि भारत के बड़े कामों में हमारे साथ चलें। योजना के कामों में, खेती के कामों में, जो हमारे साथ मिल कर चल सकता है, हम चलें। हम तो चाहते हैं कि सारे भारत को लेके बढ़ें। अब इसके माने नहीं हैं कि हरेक आदमी हमसे राज़ी हो जाय, लेकिन हमारी तरफ़ से दीवारें कोई न खड़ी हों। तो ये बातें हुई। और इसलिए यह काँग्रेस जो ख़ात्मे पर आ रही है, आपको और देश को मुबारक हो और नागपुर को ख़ास तौर से मुबारक हो।

अब एक उड़ती हुई ख़बर आप तक शायद पहुँची हो कि हमारे अध्यक्ष, देबर भाई, कुछ इरादा रखते हैं इस पदवी से हटने के लिए। अब मैं ज़ाबिते से तो आपके सामने कुछ पेश कर नहीं

सकता, क्योंकि इसमें कोई ज़ाबिते की पकड़ नहीं आयी है अभी तक। लेकिन यह चर्चा तो कुछ महीनों से है। उनकी तरफ़ से तो, खैर, कई बार यह बात उठी, आज नहीं साल, डेढ़ साल, दो बरस, हर बार उठाते गये हैं वो, लेकिन हमारी प्रार्थना से, दबाव से, वो रहे उस जगह पर। फिर जब कभी हैदराबाद की ए.आई.सी.सी. में एक बात निश्चय की कि ऐसे अफ़सरों को काँग्रेस कमेटियों में, यानी अध्यक्ष हैं, मन्त्री हैं, उनको मुसलसल नहीं रहना चाहिए, बदलना चाहिए, एक-एक टर्म के बाद,¹¹³ तब यह अनुचित हो गया कि जिस बात को, जिस सिद्धान्त को, जिस उसूल को हम चलायें प्रदेश कमेटियों में, ज़िला कमेटियों में, उसको ऑल इण्डिया कमेटी में न चलायें। ठीक बात नहीं थी। सिद्धान्त तो चलने ही चाहिएँ। और हालाँकि हमें कुछ अच्छा नहीं लगता था डेबर भाई का यहाँ से हटना, क्योंकि इत्ते हम आदी हो गये थे उनके अध्यक्ष होने के और बागडोर उनके हाथ में काँग्रेस की रहे, कि यकायक समझ में नहीं आता था और क्या प्रबन्ध किया जाय। लेकिन जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा कि जब एक सिद्धान्त निश्चय हुआ तो उस पे चलना है। और यह भी समझना ग़लत है कि साहब काँग्रेस का काम फिर मज़बूती से नहीं चल सके और गिर जाये। ऐसी काँग्रेस को या देश को समझना कि किसी एक व्यक्ति, एक या दो या तीन आदमियों के बग़ैर देश नहीं चलेगा, यह एक दुर्बलता का विचार है। यह नहीं होना चाहिए हमारे मन में खयाल।

तो हम राज़ी हुए। और जब से यह तयशुदा-सी बात है। उसी समय, डेबर भाई उसी समय हैदराबाद के बाद हटना चाहते थे, फिर उनकी रोक-थाम करनी पड़ी, हाथ पकड़ कर बैठ गये हम कि ज़रा आप नागपुर काँग्रेस तक तो, खैर, रहिए, उसके बाद फिर देखा जायगा। तो यह हो गया और मैं एकदम से, तफ़सील से मैं नहीं कह सकता, लेकिन जहाँ तक मैं समझा हूँ, आपका, डेबरभाई का इस्तीफ़ा इस काँग्रेस के बाद पेश होगा, काँग्रेस में तो पेश होगा नहीं, वो ऐसी कोई मिसालें तो हमारे पास ख़ास हैं नहीं, लेकिन वर्किंग कमेटी के सामने पेश होगा और वो तारीखें मुक़र्रर करेंगे कुछ नये काँग्रेस अध्यक्ष के चुनाव की,¹¹⁴ ज़ाबिते की बातें हैं। यानी आप चाहे ज़ाबिते से न करें, आपको मालूम तो है ही कि होगा, और तारीखें वग़ैरा आपको मालूम कर दी जायेंगी और वैसे ही कार्रवाई होगी जैसे हुआ करती है। और जो भी कोई चुना जायगा वो हमारी सिर-आँखों पर, हमारा अध्यक्ष होगा, हमारा नेता होगा और उसके साथ हम चलेंगे क़दम-ब-क़दम। ये तो हुआ। और ठीक है, इसी तरह से बड़ी संस्थाएँ चलती हैं।

लेकिन ये पाँच वर्ष जो गुज़रे, पिछले पाँच वर्ष, ये हमारे काँग्रेस के इतिहास में ख़ास रहे। याद है आपको, पाँच बरस हुए जब डेबर भाई काँग्रेस के प्रेज़िडेंट चुने गये थे और पहले ही उन्होंने आ कर एक ऐतिहासिक काँग्रेस का अधिवेशन शुरू किया। वह आवड़ी का सेशन था जिसमें

113. It had been decided at the AICC, Hyderabad, 24-26 October 1958, that the Presidents and Secretaries of the Congress Committees should not hold the same office for more than one term.

114. See pp. 267 and 270-287.

हमने निश्चय किया कि समाजवादी पैटर्न, नक्श़ा हमारे समाज का होगा।¹¹⁵ एक बड़ा निश्चय था। यों तो काँग्रेस के विचारों में वह बात बहुत दिनों से थी, लेकिन फिर भी उसका निश्चय किया। वो एक बड़ी बात थी और इसमें मुझे कोई सन्देह नहीं है कि उसके निश्चय करने में, ये ढ़ेबर भाई की वजह से हुआ वहाँ। तो इस तरह से इन्होंने एक ज़ोरों का क्रदम उठाया, काँग्रेस ने उठाया उनकी अध्यक्षता में। उसके बाद पचासों दिक्कतें हमारे सामने आयीं, और बहुत सारे हमारे विरोधी हैं, शिकायत करें, कहें, कुछ हमारे साथी भी, उन पर असर हो जाय कि काँग्रेस का क्या हाल है, बुरा हाल है, काँग्रेस गिरती जाती है, टूटती जाती है, हर वक़्त इसका चर्चा। अजीब हालत है हमारी, कि हम अपने को ही हानि पहुँचाने की कोशिश किया करते हैं। हम से मेरा मतलब किसी खास व्यक्ति से नहीं, लेकिन अक्सर हमारे देश के रहने वालों की कुछ भावना है कि ऐसी बातें करें जिससे देश को हानि हो। काँग्रेस वालों की ऐसी भावना है कि ऐसी बातें करें जिससे काँग्रेस की हानि हो। और कोई बुरी नीयत से नहीं, बुरी नीयत वालों को मैं छोड़ देता हूँ, अच्छी नीयत से करते हैं। समझते हैं कि हम सेवा कर रहे हैं देश की और काँग्रेस की, लेकिन फिर भी इधर-उधर खंजर भोंकते जाते हैं। कठिन समय गुज़रा। कठिन क्यों? क्योंकि काँग्रेस का सम्बन्ध देश से होता है कि अगर देश के सामने कठिनाई आती है तो उसका बोझ काँग्रेस पर पड़ता ही है, उससे अलग नहीं हो सकता। देश की खुशी में हम खुश हैं, देश के रंज में काँग्रेस दुखी होती है। आप और मैं दुखी नहीं होने का सवाल है वो तो हों। संस्था दबती है उस दुख से। तो यह कठिन ज़माना रहा, मुश्किल सवाल आये, पेचीदा सवाल आये दुनिया में भी और देश में भी, तो उसका काँग्रेस को सामना करना पड़ा। और उसी के साथ अन्दर के पेंच हमारे, अन्दर की कठिनाइयाँ, दिक्कतें। जो लोग कुछ काँग्रेस के अन्दर के हाल से वाकिफ़ हैं, इस ज़माने में क्या हुआ और किस दानिशमन्दी से, बुद्धि से हमारे जो बड़े अफ़सर थे, उन्होंने काँग्रेस को सँभाला और ठीक रास्ते पर रखा, वो ये जान सकते हैं क्या-क्या हुआ इस ज़माने में। और मैं कोई फ़िज़ूल तारीफ़ करने के लिए नहीं, लेकिन एक बहुत सच्चाई से और साफ़दिली से आपसे कहा चाहता हूँ कि मैं नहीं जानता कि कोई और शाख़ भी हिन्दुस्तान में इस बड़ी ज़िम्मेदारी को इस शान से, इस नम्रता से उठा सकता था जैसे ढ़ेबर भाई ने उठायी है। अजीब एक जोड़ चीज़ों का मिला उनमें, एक सिद्धान्त के आदमी, एक, क्योंकि वो ग़लत बात से, समझौता करने को तैयार नहीं होते आसानी से। और सच बात यह है कि कुछ-न-कुछ हम सभी लोग समझौते किया करते हैं ग़लत बातों से, लेकिन ढ़ेबर भाई के लिए इन्तहा दर्जे मुश्किल है ग़लत बात से समझौता करना।

दूसरे, एक तो उन चन्द लोगों में जिनके ऊपर गाँधी जी के काम का असर अधिक हुआ, हम सभी पर हुआ थोड़ा बहुत, हम सब उनकी औलाद हैं एक माने में, गाँधी जी के, लेकिन ढ़ेबर भाई पर कुछ अधिक हुआ। तो कुछ वह नक्श़ा भी हर वक़्त सामने रहता था उनके, और उनके ज़रिये से हम सभी के ऊपर। उसी के साथ आजकल की दुनिया और आजकल के सवालों को समझना और यह नहीं कि एक पुरानी दुनिया में पड़े रहना फँसे हुए। वह भी आपने देखा कि

115. See SWJN/SS/ 27/pp. 255-298.

डेबर भाई हर समय थे हर काँग्रेस में, इन पाँच काँग्रेसों में, अवाड़ी से ले कर आज तक, जो कि काँग्रेस को हल्के-हल्के एक तरफ़ बढ़ाने की कोशिश करते रहे, आजकल की दुनिया के सवालनों की समझने की तरफ़। उनके आप जो प्रेज़िडेंशियल एड्रेसों हैं उनको देखिये, किस तरह से उन्होंने, किस दानिशमन्दी से हल्के-हल्के काँग्रेस को एक तरफ़ ले गये हैं। और बीच में खाली सालाना जलसे नहीं हैं जो उन्होंने इन्तज़ाम किया प्रदेश के अध्यक्ष और मन्त्री बुलाये जाते थे दिल्ली में या कहीं, ज़ोनल मीटिंग्स होती थीं, क्या-क्या कि हर समय काँग्रेस जन को, काँग्रेस कार्यकर्ताओं को वो अपना एक इम्प्रेस्ट दें अपने मन का, दिमाग़ का और उनको एक तरफ़ ले जायँ। और यह सब कैसे करें? निहायत धीमी आवाज़ से, नम्रता से, ह्यूमिलिटी से, कोई शेखी नहीं, कोई यानी एक अजीब, जैसा मैंने आपसे कहा, जोड़, एक बहुत ऊँचे दर्जे के आदमी थे और वेहद नम्रता का जिससे किसी को कभी कोई उनका शब्द बुरा न लगे, या कोई तर्ज़ बुरा न लगे।

तो जब ये हुए हमारे अध्यक्ष, हम खुश हुए। जब साल भर बाद, दो बरस बाद मामूली सवाल आया कि भई, काँग्रेस का अध्यक्ष चुनना है तो कोई आश्चर्य की बात नहीं कि हमारी सभों की राय हुई कि नहीं, आप ही चलते जाइये, हम दूसरे को क्यों चुनें, जब एक गाड़ी को हॉकने वाला बहुत अच्छा मिला है आदमी तो हम क्यों उसको अलग करें। तो हमने उनसे प्रार्थना की कि आप रहिए। फिर तीसरा टर्म आया, फिर हमने प्रार्थना की। क्योंकि इसके माने क्या थे, इसलिए कि हमें इतना इत्मीनान था उनके, किस तरह से उन्होंने इस काँग्रेस की गाड़ी को चलाया और किस तरह से, एक माने में कहिए, दूसरी मिसाल दूँ आपको, इस पदयात्रा में, पदयात्रा में इस माने में खाली नहीं कहता कि आप गाँव में जा कर चलें, बल्कि जो यात्रा सारे देश की है, उसमें कैसे उनकी हमेशा फ़िक्र रही, यह नहीं कि वो अकेले कहीं चले जायें या चार आदमियों को ले कर, लेकिन सारी काँग्रेस को, देश को ले कर चलें। तो इन सब बातों को देख कर हम नहीं चाहते थे कि वो हटें इस ओहदे से और इसलिए उनसे बार-बार प्रार्थना की और उनको मजबूर किया कि वो राज़ी हों। ख़ैर।

अब जैसा मैंने आपसे कहा, और बातें हुई और हमारे निश्चय हुए, तो उचित है कि हम इस अच्छी बात को भी इस समय ख़त्म करें और जो उन्होंने बार-बार कहा है कि उनकी अध्यक्षता का जो वो इस्तीफ़ा दें, उसको स्वीकार करें। ये तो मैंने बातें कहीं। और मैं या आप उनका शुक्रिया क्या अदा करें, धन्यवाद क्या कहें? फ़िज़ूल बात है, हम सब लोग साथी हैं, कामरेड्स हैं। वो जानते हैं कि हमारे दिल में कितना प्रेम और आदर उनका है और कितना इस बात का भरोसा है कि चाहे वो काँग्रेस प्रेज़िडेंट रहें या न रहें, वो हमारे आगे हैं और हमें ले चलें। तो कोई ज़ाबिते से हम इसको किसी शक्ल में रखें, प्रस्ताव वगैरा की मैं नहीं जानता कि शायद आवश्यकता न हो। लेकिन मुझे इस बात का इत्मीनान है कि जो बातें मैंने इस समय आपसे कहीं डेबर भाई के निस्वत, उसमें आप सब सहमत हैं और आपकी तरफ़ से मैं यह कह रहा हूँ। ये काफ़ी और डेबर भाई को कहने की ज़रूरत नहीं है, वो तो जानते हैं हमारे दिल में क्या बातें हैं ताकि देश भर जाने कि हमारे दिल में क्या-क्या भावनाएँ हैं।

तो और दो शब्द मैं कहूँ, इस, नागपुर काँग्रेस भी अब इतिहास में जा रही है। यहाँ का जो प्रबन्ध हुआ, इन्तज़ाम हुआ, जो स्वागत समिति की ओर से, उसकी अध्यक्ष¹¹⁶ की ओर से, वह आप सब जानते हैं कितना सुन्दर इन्तज़ाम हुआ, कितना अच्छा हुआ और उसमें जो और बहुत सारी कमेटियाँ हैं, क्या-क्या हैं, सेवा दल के लोग हैं, सेवक हैं, सेविकाएँ हैं चारों तरफ़, वो बहुत अच्छा काम हुआ उनका और इस बारे में भी यह काँग्रेस याद रहेगी। इस सिलसिले में एक और बात, कि हमारी इस काँग्रेस में नागपुर के रहने वालों ने बहुत दिलचस्पी ली। और बहुत सारे लोग आये, शरीक हुए, हिस्सा लिया यहाँ। और जगह जो-जो हुआ वह तो ठीक है लेकिन बावजूद इस बहुत दिलचस्पी के, एक प्रेम और कायदे से सब बातें हुई। तो मैं तो बहुत आभारी हूँ नागपुर की जनता का कि कैसे उन्होंने इस मामले में सहायता की। और कल एक बड़ी सभा में भी मैंने उनसे कहा था, फिर कहता हूँ कि ये एक नागपुर के लिए बड़ी शान की बात हुई है, और नागपुर ने एक मिसाल देश के लिए भी बहुत अच्छी रखी।

जय हिन्द।

मुझसे ग़लती हो गयी। चौहान साहब¹¹⁷ का नाम मैंने लिया ही नहीं अपनी तकरीर में। वो पेंच में मैं पड़ गया कि यह मेरे बाद बोलने वाले हैं, एक तरह से मेरे प्रस्ताव की तारीफ़ करने वाले हैं, तो कहीं ये शरमा न जायँ। लेकिन अब शरमायें या न शरमायें, सच्चाई को छिपाना तो नहीं चाहिए। चुनाँचे, आपको मालूम है कि उनकी गवर्नमेंट की मदद यहाँ के सब कामों में हुई इतनी अच्छाई से।

[Translation begins:

Soon this Session of the Congress will come to an end and with it the work which has been accomplished during the last one week will become part of India's history. All of you must be reminded, just as I am of the last time a Session was held at Nagpur. In a sense, the Nagpur Session was one of the most significant in the entire history of the Congress. It brought about a great change within the Congress and in India. Or rather, it started off a chain of events which led to all these developments. It is not proper to compare that Session with this one. We cannot make such comparisons. One had Gandhi and the other has lesser mortals. But I feel that this Session too will rank very high in the history of India and the Congress. It has shown some new paths and suggested reforms in our old ways. It has given us the guidelines to be able to reach the people all over the country. Debates about the policies to be followed

116. Gopika Bai Kannamwar.

117. Y. B. Chavan, the Chief Minister of Bombay State.

will always go on. But every Congressman knows or should do so that the Congress has become such a huge organisation not by indulging in learned debates but by hard work and contact with the people, by learning something from them and serving them as best as we could. In short we have grown by being united and whatever we wish to do in future can be done only in that way. It is true that we must be clear in our minds. To be in touch with the masses without being clear about our objectives is meaningless. This Congress session has paved the way for this, precisely. Now it is up to the Congressmen, the Congress Committees and the Congress governments.

Let us take the Congress governments. In the last few days, there have been repeated references to cooperatives. It has become the basis of our entire agrarian policy. At the same time, people are aware that the present laws governing the cooperatives are not very favourable. They create obstacles and delays and until they are removed, our work cannot progress very fast. Even when everything goes smoothly, it takes at least six months to register a cooperative I have been told. The Government has been thinking about this problem. But we must bring in laws as quickly as possible to accelerate the pace of work. Moreover the trend of allowing only individuals who can put money into the cooperative is wrong. We want that every villager should join it. In short, every government must immediately think about this problem and change the existing rules and laws.

However, we do not have to wait for that. Now that it has been decided there should be no interregnum. The message should be carried to the people, explained to them. We have taken on great tasks and so we do not want narrow-mindedness in our outlook. We do not want too much partyism either. We invite every party in India to participate in building a new India, in planning, in agriculture and in any field that they care to march in step with us. That does not mean that everyone must agree with us. But there should be no barriers from our side. Anyhow, I felicitate all of you, the whole of India and Nagpur in particular on this Session of the Congress which is coming to an end.

You may have heard a rumour that our President, Dhebar Bhai, has some idea of resigning from his post. I cannot say this to you formally because nothing has been decided. It has been talked about for months and on his side, the matter has been broached for the last year and a half or two. But he stayed on at our request. Then at the Hyderabad session of the AICC, it was decided that the office-bearers of the Congress Committee should hold office for one term.¹¹⁸ So it is unfair not to implement a principle in the All India Congress

118. See fn 113 in this section.

Committee when we are following it at the level of the state and district committees. So though we do not like the idea of Dhebar Bhai leaving the post of the Party President when we have become so accustomed to him and it is difficult to know who can replace him, as I said, we must adhere to a principle once we have decided. It is also wrong to think that one or a group of individuals is indispensable for a nation. It shows weakness. We must not allow ourselves to think that India or the Congress will come to a halt because some individual is not there.

So we agreed and Dhebar Bhai wanted to leave after the Hyderabad Session. But we forced him to stay on till after the Nagpur Congress at least. Now I cannot go into the details. But as far as I have understood the matter. Dhebar Bhai will present his resignation after this Session to the Congress Working Committee which will then announce a date for the election of another president,¹¹⁹ though it has not been officially announced, all of you are aware of what is going to happen. You will be informed about the dates in due course. Whoever is elected President will be our leader and will have our cooperation every inch of the way. This is how a great institution ought to function.

The last five years have been particularly significant for the Congress. You may remember that Dhebar Bhai was elected president five years ago and he presided during the first year itself over a momentous session of the Congress, the Avadi Session in which we decided upon a socialist pattern of society as our goal.¹²⁰ it was a historic decision. The idea had been part of the Congress thinking for a very long time. But now it was formally adopted as a goal. I have no doubt about it that Dhebar Bhai had a major role to play in this decision being taken. In this way, he took the Congress on a bold path of action. Then we faced untold problems and difficulties. The opposition was full of complaints and some of our erstwhile colleagues also began to accuse the Congress of falling upon evil ways. It is strange that we should try to harm ourselves in this way. I am not referring to any particular individual but the general tendency in the country to do and say things which are inimical to us. Even the Congressmen themselves do such things perhaps with good intentions, thinking that they are serving their country and the party. But they only succeed in stabbing them in the back. We have passed through a difficult time. If the nation faces difficulties it is the Congress which bears the burden. It cannot divorce itself from national problems. Our happiness and sorrow are tied up in the nation's well-being or problems. This has been a difficult time for us and complex problems have arisen in the country and in international affairs too which the Congress has

119. See fn 114 in this section.

120. See fn 115 in this section.

had to face. Then there were internal problems within the Congress. Those who are familiar with the internal working of the Congress and the tactfulness and intelligence with which our great office-bearers have managed the situation and kept the organisation on an every level will be aware of all that has been happening during this time. It would not be empty praise when I say with complete honesty and a clean conscience that do not know of any other individual in India who could have discharged his responsibilities with the dignity and humility with which Dhebar Bhai has done. He is an extraordinary amalgam of high principles who has never been able to compromise with wrongdoing. The fact of the matter is that all of us make some compromises. But it is extremely difficult for Dhebar Bhai to do so.

Secondly, he is one of the few individuals who have been influenced most powerfully by Gandhiji's work. All of us have felt that influence and in a sense, we have been moulded by Gandhiji. But it was much more so in Dhebar Bhai's case. He had the Gandhian principles always before him and through him, we were also kept reminded constantly. At the same time, he had a grasp of the modern world and its problems. It is not as though he is bogged down by some outdated traditions and customs. As you must have all noticed, in all the five Congress sessions headed by him from Avadi to this one, Dhebar Bhai has tried to guide the Congress towards a greater understanding of the problems of the world we live in. If you study his presidential addresses, you will see how wisely and tactfully he has tried to do this. Apart from the annual sessions, he has made arrangements to meet the PCC Presidents and Secretaries in Delhi or elsewhere, held zonal meetings and what not, and has generally tried to give the Congress workers a sense of direction. He has done all this with humility without pride, always in soft tones. As I said, he is an extraordinary human being, with the stature of a great human being and complete humility who takes pains not to offend anyone by his words or manner.

Therefore, we were very happy when he became our President. A year or two later, when the question of re-election came up, not surprisingly, all of us felt that he should continue. When we had found a good man to be at the helm of affairs, why should we let him go? So we requested him to stay on. The same thing happened when the third term came up. What it showed was that we had complete faith in his ability to run the Congress. Let me give you another example. He was always seized with the problem of taking the entire country along with him. Knowing all these things, we did not want him to give up his post as Congress President. So we requested him again and again and forced him to stay on.

Anyhow, as I told you, other developments have taken place and it is proper that even a good thing should come to an end and we should accept his

resignation which he has repeatedly talked about. Now it would be meaningless for me or anyone else to thank him for we are all comrades. He knows the love and respect that there is in our hearts for him, and the confidence that whether he is the President of the Congress or not, he will always be our leader and guide us. I do not know whether it is necessary to put all this into a formal resolution. But I am quite sure that you will all agree with me in the things that I have said about Dhebar Bhai. I am saying all this on behalf of all of us. Dhebar Bhai does not need to be told for he is fully aware of what is in our hearts and the whole country knows what we feel about him.

I would like to say just a few words more. This Nagpur Session too will become history. All of you know how good the arrangements have been. The Reception Committee and its president¹²¹ and all the other committees, the sevaks and sevikas of the Seva Dal, have all worked very hard to make this Congress Session a memorable one. The citizens of Nagpur have taken a very keen interest in this session. Many people have come here and participated and inspite of the large crowds and the interest this Session has aroused, everything has been done with discipline and love. So I am very grateful to the people of Nagpur for their help. I said this at a public meeting yesterday and will repeat it once again, that it has added to the stature of Nagpur which has set a good example to the whole country.

Jai Hind!

I have made a mistake. I have not mentioned Mr Chavan¹²² at all in my speech. I was in a dilemma because he is the next speaker and in a sense, will be endorsing my resolution. So I did not wish to embarrass him. But whether he is embarrassed or not, the truth must not be hidden. You are aware that it is due to the help of his government that everything has gone off so smoothly.

Translation ends]

121. See fn 116 in this section.

122. See fn 117 in this section.

24. To Sri Prakasa

Raj Bhavan,
Nagpur

11th January, 1959

My dear Prakasa,¹²³

Our stay in Nagpur is drawing to an end. The Congress is over and tomorrow forenoon we depart for Delhi.

This Congress has been quite remarkable in many ways. I have attended more than forty sessions of the Congress and I do not remember greater enthusiasm shown at any one of them, even in the great Gandhian days of the Congress. I must say that the people of Nagpur went all out to welcome us and overwhelmed us with their affection.¹²⁴

To add to all this we had the great pleasure and contentment of staying with you here. Everything in the way of hospitality was as near perfect as it should be. Even after you left us, the air of home comfort continued. It has been altogether a delightful stay. Thank you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

123. Governor of Bombay State.

124. Nehru also wrote to Khurshed Naoroji, the granddaughter of Dadabhai Naoroji, on 19 January: "The Nagpur Session was certainly a heartening experience in many ways. Having attended more than forty sessions of the Congress, I felt at Nagpur that this was one of the outstanding sessions from the point of view of public enthusiasm and the work which we did."

(ii) Organisational Matters

25. To U. N. Dhebar

January 2, 1959

My dear Dhebar Bhai,¹²⁵

Your letter of today's date about the U.P. Memorandum.¹²⁶ I suggest that the third and last paragraph might be as follows:

"Consultations are always desirable between colleagues, more especially when there is likelihood of a difference of opinion. In particular, such consultations should take place among members of Government. This should be the normal policy. There may however be rare cases where it is not possible or considered necessary to have such a consultation in matters affecting Government where the points of view of his colleagues are known to the Chief Minister and the Chief Minister thinks that a further discussion may not prove profitable. Each such case can only be judged separately in the context of events. The normal rule and practice should however be to have consultations."

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

125. Congress President at this time.

126. On 18 December 1958, Algurai Shastri, Mangla Prasad, Malkhan Singh, Nawal Kishore and Wasi Naqvi had asked Dhebar to inquire from the CPP whether and to what extent the Chief Minister could direct his Ministers to obey him on Congress organisational matters without discussing them with his colleagues. Dhebar had requested Nehru to revise the draft reply.

26. To M. Chenna Reddy¹²⁷

Raj Bhavan, Nagpur

9th January 1959

My dear Chenna Reddy,¹²⁸

I have received your letter of the 6th January and with it a long letter of representation on behalf of a number of Congress MLAs. I have read this.¹²⁹

The point raised in this letter as a question of principle is whether Congressmen have a right to call a meeting of Congressmen in order to discuss various problems confronting the organisation and the Government and freely express opinions thereon. The answer I would give to this query would be that it entirely depends on the circumstances and the manner and purpose of calling such a meeting. I can conceive of Congressmen meeting together to discuss such matters without offending any convention. I can equally conceive this kind of thing being done in a manner and for a purpose which is certainly against the discipline of an organisation.

I have not the details of the meeting you and some people convened, and, in any event, this is a matter which I believe is being considered by the Congress President. But I know that there has been a long-standing conflict going on in Andhra Pradesh between you and some of your colleagues and other Congressmen and, more particularly, the Andhra Pradesh Government. You know that you have written to me at great length on several occasions and the Congress President has, I believe, had correspondence with you on this subject. In these circumstances, it seems to me that the calling of your meeting *prima facie* was opposed to normal discipline of the Congress or any organisation. The proceedings of the meeting were also rather extraordinary.

Thus, apart from what you write about the alleged misdeeds of the Andhra Pradesh Government. I think that you have not acted correctly in this matter.

127. U. N. Dhebar Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

128. Physician and politician; Congress, MLA, Andhra Pradesh at this time.

129. 41 MLAs of Andhra Pradesh had forwarded a memorandum in support of Chenna Reddy, were suspended from the Congress organisation on 15 December 1958. He had convened a meeting of Congressmen and members of the United Congress Legislature Party on 30 November 1958 and passed a resolution highly critical of the Congress organisation and the Government, and released it to the press. It also deplored the growing intolerance of freedom of expression in the Congress organisation.

It does seem to me most unfortunate that this kind of a tug of war should go on in Andhra which can do no good to anybody. I hope that there will be an end to it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

27. To N. Sanjiva Reddy

Raj Bhavan, Nagpur
9 th January 1959

My dear Sanjiva Reddy,¹³⁰

I have received a long representation signed by 41 Congress MLAs. This ostensibly deals with the meeting Chenna Reddy and others held for which he has been called upon to show cause as to why disciplinary action should not be taken against him. I am sending these papers to the Congress President as he is dealing with this matter. I have no doubt that you know of the complaints made.

I have written a brief reply to Chenna Reddy, a copy of which I enclose.

It does seem to me that Chenna Reddy has been acting rather improperly but I think also that you might make an effort not to widen this breach between your Government and a number of Congress MLAs. If 41 such MLAs feel hurt and have a sense of being ignored, this is not good for any party, regardless of any particular fact. Some effort should be made to soothe these people.¹³¹

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

130. Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh.

131. Sanjiva Reddy replied to Nehru on 13 January 1959 that (i) out of 41 MLAs who had signed the memorandum, some later explained themselves to him; (ii) of the 266 MLAs, five ex-Ministers, with a following of about twenty-four, had become a problem to him; (iii) in the interest of the organization, Chenna Reddy must be made to learn some discipline; and (iv) he would discuss these matters with the 41 MLAs.

28. To Govind Das

20th January, 1959

My dear Govind Das Ji,¹³²

I have received a letter from a friend in Bombay about the proposed Padyatra¹³³ in Mathura district.¹³⁴ In this it is stated that the President, Dhebarbhai, Pantji and Sampurnanandji have agreed to take part in this Padyatra under the general direction of somebody there whose name for the moment I forget. This person was supposed to be connected with the Godse trial and, I believe, gave money to Godse. It will obviously be very undesirable for the President, or indeed for any responsible person, to be associated with him directly in the Padyatra.

I am writing to you because on inquiry from the President he told me that it was at your request that he had agreed.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

29. To Babubhai M. Chinai

January 20, 1959

My dear Shri Babubhai,¹³⁵

Thank you for your letter of the 17th January.¹³⁶

You need not have apologised for what you said at Nagpur or elsewhere. I think that it was completely right for you to express your opinions frankly, as everyone should. Opinions may, however, differ even if a certain basic concept

132. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Jabalpur, Madhya Pradesh.

133. The CWC had decided on 6 January 1959 that every mandal committee should organise padyatras from 30 January to 4 February to mobilize support for the minimum programme of agricultural production.

134. Mulraj Kersondas had written to Nehru from Bombay on 17 January 1959 that President Rajendra Prasad, G. B. Pant, Sampurnanand, and U. N. Dhebar had agreed to participate in a padyatra being organized from 12 February by Goswami Dixitji Maharaj of Bombay, a suspect in the Mahatma Gandhi Murder case.

135. Industrialist, Independent, Rajya Sabha MP; President, FICCI, 1957-58.

136. Chinai was concerned that his observations at the Nagpur Congress could be misconstrued as questioning the basic principles of Congress policy. He clarified that he was merely cautioning against the state assuming excessive responsibilities; and, in the case of food policy, he was stressing the need to prepare adequately for any major change.

is accepted. I agree that we have accepted what we call a mixed economy. But having accepted that, different approaches still remain and different views can be expressed. I feel that we have reached a rather critical stage and we have to take firm and clear steps. There has been in recent months a good deal of confusion and it was necessary for the Congress to clarify matters.

I appreciate your writing to me.

I am sorry I cannot see you during the next few days, as they are very busy because of the Science Congress¹³⁷ and the Duke of Edinburgh's visit here.¹³⁸

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

30. To U. N. Dhebar

January 20, 1959

My dear Dhebarbhai,

I enclose a letter from Ranga.¹³⁹ I do not know what to say in reply to him. We have made our position quite clear. But he continues to advocate some more arguments which I do not think are valid.¹⁴⁰

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

137. See pp. 529-533.

138. See pp. 601-604.

139. N. G. Ranga had written on 19 January 1959 that he could not appreciate the rationale of Nehru's "approach to this demand for placing a ceiling more or less simultaneously on the incomes and properties of both peasant proprietors and also professionals, civil servants, and other industrial and commercial classes"; and that for all practical purposes these attempts would result "in placing a ceiling on incomes of our peasant proprietors alone."

140. Dhebar replied on 23/24 January that Ranga was writing to Nehru with "his eye upon the future Andhra legislation"; he perhaps expected the liberty to "ventilate his views" which were "fundamentally different views on the question of Ceilings and Cooperative Farming"; and would later "fall in line".

31. To J. C. Moitra

January 20, 1959

Dear Shri Moitra,¹⁴¹

Thank you for your letter of the 19th January. It is rather difficult for me to deal with this matter in a letter. I might tell you, however, that I know nothing about the possibility of Indira's election to the Congress. In fact, at no time was her name mentioned to my knowledge. The first time I heard of it was at the concluding stage of the Congress just a day before it ended. I reacted against it and, as for Indira, she stoutly refused to agree.

Thereafter all kinds of pressures were brought to bear upon her, chiefly by people from South India as well as other places, and we discussed this matter. There were pros and cons. We tried to think of it in objective terms as far as possible keeping the personal element out of it. For me and for Indira, on personal grounds, this was a very difficult proposal as it was likely to upset our lives. Nevertheless, I could see certain advantages also from the point of view of the organisation. Therefore, I did not press my viewpoint at all and in fact I had hardly anything to do with it. Ultimately, a large number of other friends and colleagues came to this decision and I did not think it right to veto it.¹⁴²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

141. An advocate of Calcutta.

142. On 11 January 1959 at Nagpur, the CWC appointed Sadiq Ali, General Secretary of the AICC, Returning Officer for the election of the Congress President. The time-table was: nominations 1 February 1959; voting 22 February; and results 1 March 1959.

32. To Govind Ballabh Pant

January 22, 1959

My dear Pantji,

Thank you for your letter of the 20th January about the proposed Padyatra. Since I wrote to you, Mulraj sent me another letter enclosing a printed notice which apparently Govind Das had issued. I have written to Govind Das on this subject. I quite agree with you that none of us should associate ourselves with the function which is being organised by the gentleman from Bombay.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

33. To Sri Prakasa

January 22, 1959

My dear Prakasa,

Thank you for your letter of January 16th.

In this you refer to the rowdyism we had at the Cultural Show at Nagpur.¹⁴³ I think that the reports in the papers were rather exaggerated. There was not any deliberate rowdyism. The real mistake made was by the organisers in trying to have a function on this enormous scale, especially a function in which film stars were performing. About 100,000 people sat in that open pandal and thousands were outside wanting to come in. In the pandal, as usual, there was a good deal of space left near the stage, partly for guests and partly presumably for security reasons. It is never desirable to leave this large space, because people want to occupy it, more particularly when there is a constant pressure from behind. On the whole, I think people behaved well and nobody is to blame except those who conceived the idea of having such a huge show.

I have received your letter of January 17th about the Rafi Ahmed Kidwai Memorial Fund. Thank you for it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

143. On 11 Jan. 1959.

34. To N. Sanjiva Reddy

January 29, 1959

My dear Sanjiva Reddy,
Your letter of the 28th January.

I am disturbed also at these wild charges being made.¹⁴⁴ It has become quite a fashion for people to do so. I have often thought of how such charges can be met. I think that it would be a good thing for you to ask a High Court judge to enquire into this matter if they produce any specific charges. Not to do anything would necessarily lead to people thinking that there is some truth in the charges.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

35. To Puli Ramaswamy

January 29, 1959

Dear Shri Ramaswamy,¹⁴⁵

I have received your letter of the 27th January.¹⁴⁶ I do not remember receiving your telegram to which you refer. Probably it came and was referred to the A.I.C.C. office for enquiry.

I am sorry to learn of the attack on your son. I do not know any other facts. I am enquiring into them. In any event, a fast can hardly be considered helpful on such an occasion.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

144. A meeting of 41 MLAs at Vijaywada on 24 January 1959 referred to their memorandum to Nehru, decided to quit the Congress Party, and adopted a resolution which said: "the administration has become corroded with all the vices of nepotism, favouritism, corruption and interference in all its branches of activities." On 13 February at Vijayawada, Chenna Reddy and his supporters formed "The Democratic Party".

145. (1902-1968); Congressman from Andhra Pradesh; Member, Provisional Parliament, 1950-52; Lok Sabha MP, 1952-62.

146. Ramaswamy had complained about the assault on him, his wife and his son by Basti Congress Executive members on 18 January 1959 in Bansilalpet, Secunderabad, and his subsequent fast for action against the offenders. He claimed that the assault, four days before the bye-election in Bansilalpet constituency in Secunderabad, was intended to influence the election.

36. To Mahavir Tyagi¹⁴⁷

फरवरी 1, 1959

प्रिय महावीर,¹⁴⁸

तुम्हारा 31 जनवरी का खत मुझे आज मिला।¹⁴⁹ उसको मैंने गौर से पढ़ा। अपनी निस्वत तो, ज़ाहिर है, मेरे लिए मुश्किल है कोई माकूल राय रखना। कोई भी अपनी निस्वत ठीक राय नहीं दे सकता। ज़ाहिर है, कि अगर मुझ में खूबियाँ हैं, तो कमज़ोरियाँ भी हैं, और शायद इस उमर में उनसे बरी न हो सकूँ। हो सकता है कि मैं लोगों की बातों से धोके में पड़ जाता हूँ और लोग खुली बात मुझ से नहीं करते। लेकिन शायद तुम्हारा यह कहना सही न हो कि मेरे पास दरबारी लोग आते हैं या रहते हैं। मेरे यहाँ कभी भी दरबार नहीं लगा, और न मैं इस ढंग को पसन्द करता हूँ।

तुमने जो इन्दिरा के बारे में लिखा है, उन पहलुओं पर मैंने काफ़ी गौर किया है। मुझे तो खयाल भी नहीं था कि उसका नाम काँग्रेस की अध्यक्षता के लिए पेश होगा। नागपुर काँग्रेस के आखिरी दिन मैंने कुछ लोगों से सुना कि उसके नाम का चर्चा है, कुछ लोग दक्षिण के प्रदेशों से नाम पेश कर रहे हैं। उस रोज़ शाम को यह बात मेरे सामने पेश हुई। मुझसे अलग नहीं, बल्कि एक कमेटी में कही गयी। जिसमें कुछ हमारे नेता अलग-अलग सूबों के मौजूद थे। मैं शुरू में खामोश रहा और सुनता रहा। फिर मैंने अपनी राय दी, जिसमें मैंने सब पहलुओं को सामने रखा और यह भी कहा कि यह न इन्दु के लिए और न मेरे लिए मुनासिब या इन्साफ़ की बात होगी कि उसका नाम पेश हो। इसके साथ मैंने यह भी कहा कि उसके चुने जाने से कुछ फ़ायदे भी नज़र आते हैं, खासकर नागपुर काँग्रेस के फ़ैसलों के बाद जबकि कुछ नयी हवा की ज़रूरत है। मैंने मुनासिब न समझा कि मैं इस मामले में कोई दखल दूँ। मैं जानता था कि इन्दिरा इससे परेशान होगी।

फिर कुछ लोग इन्दिरा के पास गये। मैंने बाद में सुना कि उसने ज़ोरों से इनकार किया। बहस हुई, उस पर काफ़ी दबाव डाला गया। तब उसने कहा कि अगर आप सब लोग इतना ज़ोर डालते हैं मुझ पर, तो मेरे लिए मुश्किल हो जाता है इनकार करना, हालाँकि यह मेरे लिए बड़ी मुसीबत होगी। लोग उठ आये। कोई एक-आध घण्टे के बाद फिर वह परेशान हो कर उनके पास गयी और कहा कि मेरी तबीयत इसको क़बूल नहीं करती। फिर मुख्तलिफ़ तरफ़ से दबाव पड़े, और आखिर में वह राज़ी हो गयी। मैंने मुनासिब न समझा दखल देना।¹⁵⁰

147. Mahavir Tyagi Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

148. Congress. Lok Sabha MP from Dehradun, UP (now Uttarakhand).

149. For Mahavir Tyagi's letter, see Appendix 3.

150. Indira Gandhi was declared elected Congress President on 2 February 1959. S. Nijalingappa of Mysore and Kumbha Ram Arya of Rajasthan were also nominated but both withdrew. Arya's nomination papers were also not valid.

जो बातें तुमने लिखी हैं, वह ज़ाहिर हैं। लेकिन मेरा यह भी खयाल है कि बहुत तरह से उसका इस वक़्त कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष बनना मुफ़ीद भी हो सकता है। ख़तरे भी ज़ाहिर हैं। जहाँ तक मुमकिन है, मैंने इस सवाल को कोशिश की सोचने की अपने रिश्ते वगैरा को भूल कर।

तुमने लिखा है कि मेरी वजह से संसदीय पार्टी दबी रहती है और दिल खोल कर बोल नहीं सकती। इसकी निस्वत मैं क्या करूँ? मैं चाहता हूँ कि वह दिल खोल कर बोले और मैं भी दिल खोल कर बोलूँ। हमारे सामने जो इस वक़्त सवाल हैं, उन पर सफ़ाई से बातें होनी चाहिएँ। और मैंने कोशिश की है कि हमारे साथी मेम्बरान अपनी राय दिया करें। तो क्या मुझे हक़ नहीं है कि मैं भी अपनी राय दूँ उसी सफ़ाई से?

हमारे सामने मुश्किल सवाल हैं। लेकिन मेरी राय में हिन्दुस्तान का भविष्य अच्छा है। मैं उससे घबराता नहीं।

तुम्हारा
जवाहरलाल नेहरू

[Translation begins:

February 1, 1959

Dear Mainavir,¹⁵¹

I received your letter of 31 January today.¹⁵² I read it very carefully. It is obvious that it would be difficult to express any sensible opinion about myself. Nobody can be objective about oneself. It is obvious that if I have some good points, then there are weaknesses too, and perhaps I shall not be rid of them in my lifetime. It is possible that I get taken in by people and often people do not speak to me openly. But perhaps it may not be right for you to say that I am surrounded by courtiers. I have never had a court and nor do I like such ways.

I have given much serious thought to the issues you have raised about Indira. I had no idea that her name was to be proposed for the Congress Presidency. On the last day of the Nagpur Congress I did hear that her name was being mentioned and that it was being proposed by some members from the South Indian states. It was put to me that evening, not to me personally but it was said in a Committee, where leaders from various states were present. I kept quiet initially and listened to others. Then I expressed my views and outlined all the aspects. I even said that this will be neither good for Indu nor fair to me for her name to be proposed. I also said that one can perceive some advantages in her being elected, especially after the decision taken at the Nagpur Congress

151. See fn 148 in this section.

152. See fn 149 in this section.

when a breath of fresh air is needed. I did not feel that I should interfere in this matter. I knew that that would upset Indira.

Then some people went to Indira. I heard later that she refused categorically. There was an argument; much pressure was put on her. Then she said that since everyone was putting it so forcefully, it was difficult for her to refuse even though it would create problems for her. People went away. Then after an hour or so, she went to them in some perturbation and told them that she could not accept the proposal. Then again various kinds of pressures were put on her and ultimately she agreed. I did not think it proper to interfere.¹⁵³

Whatever you have referred to is pretty obvious. But I also feel that in many ways, for her to become the Congress President could prove beneficial too. The dangers are obvious too. As far as possible I have tried to think about this issue forgetting my personal relationship with her.

You have written that the Congress Parliamentary Party feels suppressed because of me and does not speak its mind openly. What can I say about that? I want them to speak openly and I also wish to express my views. I want everyone to speak freely about the issues which are before us at the moment. I have often tried to elicit the opinions of our comrades and members. Do I not have the right to express my views openly too?

We are faced with difficult challenges. But in my opinion, the future of India looks good. I am not scared.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Translation ends]

37. On U. N. Dhebar and Indira Gandhi¹⁵⁴

साथियो,

हमारा दस्तूर है कि हर सेशन के पहले पार्टी की मीटिंग हो और कुछ एक ये ग़लत क़ायदा-सा हो गया है कि उस मीटिंग में मैं कुछ देर तक बोलूँ, बल्कि ज़्यादातर वक़्त ले लूँ और जो कुछ मुल्क के सामने वाक़यात हुए हैं पिछले ज़माने में, जबसे पार्लियामेंट उठी थी, उसका कुछ चर्चा करूँ और और सवालों का भी। ग़लत इसलिए मैं कहता हूँ कि उससे सारा वक़्त मेरे ही

153. See fn 150 in this section.

154. Speech to the CPP, New Delhi, 8 Feb. 1959. Tape No. M-40/c, NMML.

कहने-सुनने में ले लिया जाता है। औरों को मौका नहीं मिलता। कुछ रोज़ हुए मेरे पास एक मेम्बर का खत आया था जिसमें उन्होंने मेरी तबज्जो दिलायी थी, इस बात की, कि मैं एक-एक इत्ता दबाव डाला करता हूँ और मेम्बरों पर कि उनको मौका नहीं मिलता और कुछ वो झिझकते हैं कहने से कुछ, जो उनके दिल में होता है।¹⁵⁵ तो हो सकता है ये बात, इस बात में कुछ सेहत हो, मैं नहीं जानता, क्योंकि अपनी निस्वत इन बातों को समझना और जज करना कठिन होता है। ज़ाहिर है कि जब मेरे मन में, दिमाग़ में, विचार हों तो मेरी इच्छा होती है कि मैं अपने साथियों को बताऊँ, सामने रखूँ उनके, और हो सकता है कि इससे कुछ वक़्त भी ज़्यादा मैं ले लूँ और कुछ मौक़े कम हों और कुछ ये भी असर बाज़ों पे हो कि अब जो मैंने कहा उसके निन्दा में, या उसकी टीका में कुछ कहना उचित नहीं है। ती-ये-बात सही नहीं है, ये सही नहीं है, ये मेरी ग़लती है, मैं मानता हूँ, क्योंकि कम-से-कम मेरी राय ये रही है कि हमारे पार्टी के अन्दर हमें, जो-जो हमारे बातें दिल में हों, वो कहनी चाहिएँ। हाँ। पार्टी के बाहर में रोक-थाम होनी चाहिए, सही बात है, क्योंकि पार्टी के बाहर चाहे पार्लियामेंट में चाहे और जगह, अगर काँग्रेस के लोग, हमारी पार्टी के लोग एक-दूसरे के खिलाफ़ बातें कहें या अलग-अलग बातें कहें जो एक-दूसरे से नहीं मिलतीं तो उससे ज़ाहिर है, जनता में भ्रम पैदा होता है। क्या है, क्या नहीं है। तो वहाँ तो हमें डिसिप्लिन दिखाना ही है। तो इसलिए मेरा इरादा है कि आज मैं इसके बारे में कुछ ख़ास नहीं कहूँगा — हालाँकि कहने को बहुत बातें हैं, क्योंकि नागपुर काँग्रेस का इजलास हुआ और वहाँ कुछ फ़ैसले हुए जो आप जानते हैं और जो मेरी राय में अहमियत रखते हैं। और अहमियत के अलावा वो फ़ैसले ऐसे हैं जिनको हमें पूरी तौर से समझना है और पूरी तौर से उन पर काम करना है। नहीं तो वो बेकार हो जाते हैं और फ़ैसलों के बेकार होने के साथ हम भी बेकार हो जाते हैं, क्योंकि हमारी इज़्जत क्या, या हमारी संस्था की, अगर वो धूमधाम से फ़ैसले करें और उसपे अमल न करें, या न कर सकें। ये भी आप जानते हैं कि इन फ़ैसलों के ऊपर कुछ बहस हुई है, काँग्रेस के बाहर के लोगों में, समाचार-पत्रों में और कुछ काँग्रेस वालों में भी। ये, इस बात को मैं अच्छा समझता हूँ, ये बहस होना, अच्छा समझता हूँ, क्योंकि इससे लोगों का ध्यान ज़्यादा जाता है, जब बहस होती है किसी बात पर। नहीं तो एक बात करो और ठण्डी हो जाती है — लोग ध्यान नहीं देते। तो मैं बहस का बिलकुल विरोधी नहीं हूँ, कुछ हो। ज़ाहिर है, अगर बहस हो तो एक तरफ़ की बहस थोड़ी होती है, कोई टीका-टिप्पणी करे तो उसका जवाब भी दिया जाता है। और जब जवाब दिया जाता है तो शिकायत होती है, तुम जवाब देते हो। ये तो बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती है कि हमारे फ़ैसलों के ऊपर हमले हों और हम उनकी निस्वत कुछ न कहें।

ख़ैर, तो कहना, इस बारे में और इस वक़्त देश में और क्या बड़ी बातें हैं, बड़ी-छोटी आपके सामने बहुत हैं, उन पर कुछ न कहने की गुंजाइश है, मेरे लिए और आपके लिए। और एक बड़ा सवाल उठा है और उठता ही जाता है। वो हमारे प्लैनिंग का है। थर्ड फ़्राइव इयर प्लैन का है। और उसमें आप जानते हैं कि ऑल इण्डिया काँग्रेस कमेटी ने, टेबरभाई ने एक कमेटी बनायी

155. See the preceding item and Appendix 3.

थी, या ए.आई.सी.सी. ने बनायी थी, जिसमें काँग्रेस के लोग तो हैं ही और कुछ और भी लोग जिनको कि गिना जाय, एक्सपर्ट्स वगैरा, उनको भी शामिल किया है। वो भी काम कर रही है और ज़ोरों से और करेगी। तो मैं तो चाहता हूँ कि इन सवालों पर हमारी पार्टी में भी विचार हुआ करें और ताकि सारी पार्टी वाकिफ़ रहे, जाने, कि क्या हो रहा है और उस पे, उसकी भी राय हमें मिल सके। क्योंकि हमने बार-बार कहा है कि इस प्लेनिंग में हम शरीक किया चाहते हैं सबों को, सब समझ के चले, ये नहीं है कि कोई आखिरी वक्त पर एक फ़रमान निकले चाहे पार्लियामेंट से क्यों न निकले, वो ठीक नहीं है। लोगों को समझना है। इसीलिए आप जानते हैं कि एक पार्लियामेंट में जो और दल हैं, उनके भी लोगों को मैंने बुलाया है, एक-एक साहब उनके हैं और एक कमेटी बनी है, ज़ाविते की नहीं है, लेकिन एक है जिनका कुछ शुरू हुआ है और अब इस सेशन में यक्रीनन उसकी बैठक कभी-कभी होगी। और हम उनको कागज़ वगैरा देते हैं। तो ये सब बातें हमारी पार्टी को करनी हैं अलावा जो रोज़मर्रा का काम है पार्लियामेंट में, वो भी। और मैं चाहता हूँ कि इत्मीनान से हम लोगों को मौक़ा मिले उस पे बहस करने का, बातें करने का, सलाह-मशवरा करने का, और ज़्यादातर वक्त मैं ही न ले लूँ, बताने में। चुनांचे, इन बातों की निस्वत इस वक्त मैं कुछ और नहीं कहा चाहता। आप कहें कुछ जिस मज़मून पे आप चाहें जो आपके दिल में कोई बात हो, उसको निकालें, शिकायत हो वो बतायें। मैं आपसे ये वादा नहीं कर सकता कि मैं कोई ग़लती नहीं करूँगा, ये तो मेरे क़ाबू के बाहर बात है, या मैं कोई बदतमीज़ी नहीं करूँगा, ये भी क़ाबू के बाहर बात है, कभी-कभी हो जाती है। लेकिन एक मैं आपसे ज़रूर कोशिश करूँगा वादा करने की कि आपसे दिल खोल के बातें करूँगा। (... अच्छा ठहरिये ... नहीं, नहीं ... ज़रा ठहरिये, ज़रा आप ठहरिये। अच्छा आप ठहर जाइये।) वक्त से बातें होती हैं। तो ये बात मैं साफ़ किया चाहता था। क्योंकि मुझे उस बात पे यक्रीन है कि जिस ढंग की पब्लिक लाइफ़ हमारी है, ख़ासकर गाँधी जी के ज़माने से है और कुछ हम लड़खड़ाते हुए उस रास्ते पे चलने की कोशिश करते हैं कभी, उसमें हमारे दिलो-दिमाग़ की सफ़ाई होनी चाहिए। पब्लिक के सामने सीक्रेसी, अक्सर बहस गाँधीजी के ज़माने में होती थी सीक्रेट काम की, दूसरे क्रिस्म की बात थी वो। और आप जानते हैं कि गाँधी जी की राय थी कि सीक्रेसी से फ़ायदा नहीं होता है। इसके माने मेरे ये नहीं हैं कि हर बात बाज़ार में जाके चिल्लाये कोई। ज़ाहिर है, ऐसी बातें होती हैं जो नहीं कही जातीं औरों से। लेकिन आपस में या पब्लिक के सामने जो हमारे बड़े सवाल हैं, रखने हैं, तब वो समझते हैं। सीक्रेसी का अजीब नतीजा होता है कि जिनको बात मालूम होनी चाहिए, उनको नहीं होती है, और जिनको नहीं मालूम होनी चाहिए, उनको मालूम हो जाती है। तो ये ढंग हमारा आपस में तो कम-से-कम रहना चाहे, चाहिए।

अब, क्योंकि आप में से बाज़ लोग शायद हिन्दी नहीं समझते, मैं इसको दोहरा देता हूँ अंग्रेज़ी में ताकि कोई धोखा न हो। फिर दूसरी बात को हम लेंगे।

[Translation begins:

Friends,

It has been our practice to hold a party meeting before the start of each Parliamentary session and a somewhat wrong tradition has been established that I give a long speech on that occasion or, in fact, I should take up almost all the time in discussing the affairs of the nation since Parliament met last. I say it is a wrong practice because most of the time is taken up by my speech. Others don't get an opportunity at all. A few days ago I received a letter from a member accusing me of exerting such pressure that other members do not get a chance to speak and often they hesitate to speak frankly about what is in their minds.¹⁵⁶ This may be true, I don't know, because it is difficult to understand and judge such things about oneself. Obviously, when some thoughts come to me I like to put them before my colleagues and perhaps I take up a lot of time and the others do not get an opportunity to speak. Also, perhaps, members may not think it proper to criticise what I have said. This is not right, I know it is wrong, my fault, I know, because I feel that within the Party, we should express ourselves frankly. Of course, outside in Parliament or elsewhere, if the Congress members speak against one another or say different things, then obviously, people are confused. So, outside the Party we have to show discipline. Therefore, my intention is not to say much today, though there is much to say because we have had a Congress Session in Nagpur and in my opinion some of the decisions taken there are of great importance. And apart from that, those decisions have to be fully understood and implemented properly. Otherwise they will be useless. It would be detrimental to our stature also. What is the use of passing grand resolutions, if we are unable to implement them? You are aware that there has been a lot of public debate over the Congress decisions in the press etc. I feel that such discussions and debates are good and should be welcomed because they focus the attention of the people on these issues. Otherwise, people don't take much interest. So, I am not at all opposed to debates. Obviously, if there is a debate, it cannot be one-sided. If there is any criticism, we can defend ourselves. But when we do not, we are criticised for that. I cannot understand how we are expected to keep quiet when our policies are criticised.

Anyhow, there are many things confronting us and we can discuss them. And the biggest question which is always before us is of planning, the Third Five Year Plan. Dhebar Bhai has formed a Committee on behalf of the AICC in

156. See fn 155 in this section.

which some Congress members and a few experts are also included. That Committee is considering this matter. So I want that we should discuss these matters so that the Party is aware of what is happening and we can get the opinions of the members. We have repeatedly said that we want to include everyone in this planning process so that everyone understands what it is all about. The Plan should not be an edict issued by the Parliament. People should be made aware of it. That is why as you know, I have included one member each from all the parties in Parliament to form a Committee which will start its sittings this session. We pass on all the data relating to the Plan to them.

So, these are some of the things our Party has to do apart from the routine business in Parliament. And I want that we should have the maximum possible time to have discussions, debates and consultations. I should not take up most of the time. I don't want to say anything more about this. You can discuss whatever subject you like frankly and come forward if you have any complaints. I cannot promise that I won't make any mistakes, that is obviously beyond me. Nor can I promise that I will never misbehave, that is also beyond me, I do tend to misbehave sometimes. But one thing I can promise and that is that I will always be frank with you. (Interruption). Yes, please wait, no, no, wait, wait, all in good time. I want to make this quite clear. Our public life is such, especially from Gandhiji's time and we are trying to follow in that tradition that we should show complete integrity of the mind and heart. As you know, Gandhiji was never in favour of secrecy. By that I don't mean that we should go and shout about everything from the rooftops. Obviously, there are many things which cannot be discussed publicly. But all our big projects and problems have to be put before the public so that they are aware of developments in the country. One strange result of undue secrecy is that people who should know about something don't get to hear of it and those who should not be told come to know. We must therefore have as little secrecy as possible among us.

Since many people don't understand Hindi, I would like to repeat what I have just said in English so that there is no misunderstanding. We can then take up other matters.

Translation ends]

[Nehru continues in English; this is not a translation.]

It has been our custom, comrades, for us to meet just before a session of Parliament and usually I speak and review the events of the past periods since Parliament rose and draw attention to certain matter, naturally giving you the picture I have in mind. Some two or three weeks ago I received a letter from a

member of our party in which resentment was expressed at the way I, sort of, prevented by my attitude or by my pressures other members expressing their views, their real views. That may of course be so to some extent or not, I cannot say, but certainly I can say that it is not my intention or my desire to do that, because I think a party which is oppressed in this way and does not discuss matters frankly and fully, does not perform its functions properly.

Therefore, I feel that this idea should be removed as far as it can be removed and we should in our party discuss matters quite frankly. Outside the party, naturally certain restraints have to be observed, in Parliament certain restraints have to be observed, otherwise we do not function as a disciplined party and the cause we have at heart suffers. And I do not mind you can rest assured, it is not for me to assure you about myself but you can rest assured that I do not mind any type of criticism about what I may say or what I may think from the party, I do not mind it from others, too. But naturally as sometimes it happens, others criticise our work or me in connection with my public work. I think that I should reply to them in public when others do so. After all it is your duty and my duty to defend our policies, not to remain silent on their attack, not to be passive and on the defensive, but to go forward with a measure of confidence and, tell the people such message as we may have to give them so I have to reply. When I reply to others, I am not talking about the party people, others, outside the Congress, complain that I do not tolerate criticism. I invite criticism as strong as anybody likes, I do not mind but with all respect may I say that I too have a right to rely to criticism just as you have a right to criticism, I do not see why, we in the Congress, should, in spite of being very humble, should bow our heads to outside criticism and not reply. That is an absurd position to take up. However, my point was that in our party we should have this and therefore I want to give more and more time to members of the party to express themselves and to discuss important subjects and it is not my intention today to give a review of the situation and all that although several important events have taken place, leave out the outside world, much has been happening but the most important thing for us, Congressmen, has been the Nagpur Session and the resolutions that were passed there.

Now, those of you who attended the Nagpur Session will know from personal experience, what a great success that Session was, from the point of view, both of the public and of the work done there, and the two resolutions that were passed, are resolutions of not only of intrinsic importance but they are called to work and it is absolutely necessary that we should take that call we should understand that fully in all its implications and take it to the people. Because what has been done by the set of circumstances is a forward step, I would call it, I would not say anything big but it is a definite forward step for

the Congress, a step which is completely in line with Congress thinking and Congress policy. It has been accepted as such and the very criticism that has been offered indicates that people realise that something has happened, something new has happened which they do not like. Therefore, it is necessary to discuss that matter, the Congress resolutions here in the party as to how we can give effect to them, what we can do about them. So I do not propose to say more on these subjects today. If there is time today, I shall invite you to give your own opinions.

Now, I have said this, before I proceed to say something more about matters which are in all of your minds I should like to put before you a resolution of condolence. Some members have passed away: Shri Thakurdas Malhotra, sitting Member of the Lok Sabha from Jammu and Kashmir State passed away on the 2nd January at Kathua. Also Shri Somnath Dave,¹⁵⁷ sitting Member of Rajya Sabha from Bombay passed away on the 5th January. And not a member but nevertheless a person who certainly I and many of you respected and who did good service was our honorary auditor, Shri Vaidyanath Aiyar,¹⁵⁸ he was a man who very quietly, without fuss, was always at the service of good causes and I think we should express our condolence at his sudden death.¹⁵⁹ So I request you to stand up.

I hope that the Secretary will send, inform the families concerned.

[Nehru continues in Hindi.]

अब, आप देखते हैं कि देबर भाई और इन्दिरा जी यहाँ बैठी हैं, और आप में से अक्सर मेम्बर अभी काँग्रेस के दफ्तर में भी होंगे और वहाँ भी आपने एक हिस्सा लिया जो कुछ वहाँ हुआ इस सिलसिले में काँग्रेस के अध्यक्षता के सिलसिले में।¹⁶⁰ तो, पहली बात तो ये कि आप सभीों के,

157. Somnath P. Dave (1908-1959); Congressman from Gujarat; connected with trade union movement from 1930s; secretary, Textile Labour Association, Ahmedabad, National Bank Employees Federation, and Gujarat Provincial Branch. INTUC; General Secretary, National Textile Workers' Federation; Member, Bombay Legislative Assembly, and Working Committee, INTUC; Rajya Sabha MP, 1952-59.

158. S. Vaidyanath Aiyar (1901-1959); founded the firm Messrs. S. Vaidyanath Aiyar & Co., Chartered Accountants, 1934; member of the Council of the Institute of Chartered Accountants of India, 1952-59, and its President from 1957 until his death in 1959; member of the Finance Committee of the Planning Commission and Adviser (Accounts) to the Bharat Sewak Samaj.

159. On 5 Feb. 1959.

160. Indira Gandhi was elected Congress President unanimously on 2 February and assumed office on 8 February 1959.

अपनी तरफ़ से, मैं दोनों का स्वागत करता हूँ यहाँ। इस पिछले चन्द बरस में, हमें देबर भाई के काम का, हमारी पार्टी को भी, हमें व्यक्तिगत रूप से भी, और और तरह से जो उन्होंने काँग्रेस के अध्यक्ष होने की हैसियत से काम किया, उसका काफ़ी तजुर्बा है सभी को। आप में से, अक्सर लोगों से, मुझे ज़्यादा है, ज़ाहिर है कुछ ज़्यादा मिलना-जुलना रहता था, सलाह-मशवरे होते थे। और मैं समझता हूँ कि ये एक हमारे काँग्रेस के लिए और हमारे देश के लिए बड़े उनकी खुशनसीबी थी, भाग्य थे कि ऐसे कठिन समय पर देबर भाई जैसा आदमी हमारा लीडर रहा। मैं ज़्यादा नहीं कहा चाहता इस बारे में, लेकिन इत्ता मैं कहता हूँ कि जो मैंने कहा, वो ज़ाबिते की बात नहीं है कि ज़ाबिते से हम शुक्रिया अदा कर दें, ये मैं एक बिलकुल अपने दिल से कहता हूँ और मुझे इसका पूरा यक़ीन है कि जिस ख़ूबसूरती से, योग्यता से और एक लगन से इस बड़े कठिन काम को उठया, मैं नहीं जानता कि हमारे देश में कौन इसको कर सकता था इस ढंग से। और इसके, एक और बात इसको दिखाती है कि हमारे लिए कठिन हो गया, इस बात पे राज़ी होना कि वो काँग्रेस के प्रेज़िडेंटशिप से अलग हों। एक उनका टर्म ख़त्म हुआ तो दूसरे फिर उन्हें चुना। और बहुतों की इच्छा थी और मेरी भी थी कि वो और भी रहते तो अच्छा है। लेकिन और बातें हुई और ये सोचा गया कि अच्छा है, अच्छी मिसाल है सारे देश के लिए, हमारे प्रदेश काँग्रेस कमेटियों के लिए और और जित्ती काँग्रेस कमेटियाँ हैं कि हम एक अच्छी बात को भी देर तक न करें। क्योंकि एक मिसाल ग़लत हो जाती है चाहे वो अच्छी हो। इसलिए हम एक मजबूरी से और कुछ झिझक कर हम राज़ी हुए कि देबर भाई, जो कि हमसे बार-बार कहते थे अपने इस्तीफ़े का, हम मान लें कि वो अलग हों। अजीब, बाज़ अख़बार कभी-कभी खोज में रहते हैं कि क्या पर्दे के पीछे क्या हुआ करता है, क्या है, किसमें लड़ाई है, किसमें झगड़ा है, मेल की बातों की खोज में बहुत कम रहते हैं, लड़ाई-झगड़े की बातों में और मैंने देखा और मुझे हँसी भी आई और आश्चर्य भी हुआ ये कहीं कि देबर भाई में और मुझ में कुछ अनबन हो गयी; वो मुझसे नाराज़ हो गये, उन्होंने मुझे डाँट के चिट्ठियाँ लिखीं और ये भी एक वजह है कि देबर भाई अलग होते हैं। देबर भाई, यक़ीनन मैंने बहुत बातें ऐसी की होंगी जिससे देबर भाई नाराज़ हुए होंगे, मैं अक्सर किया करता हूँ, लाचार हूँ मैं, वो तो कोई बात नहीं है, बड़ी बात तो मैं नहीं मानूँगा, वो छोटी-मोटी बातें मैं कर बैठा होऊँ। लेकिन इस ज़माने में, चार बरस वो रहे, देबर भाई का, उन सबों का जो वर्किंग कमेटी में हैं और मेरा जो एक रिश्ता और नाता रहा, वो इत्ते करीब का, एक इसे मुहब्बत का, जो करीब-से-करीब हो सकता है और मैंने कम-से-कम उनके काम से और लगन से बहुत बातें सीखीं। जिससे मुझे फ़ायदा हुआ। कुछ मुझमें जो रूखापन था, कुछ नरम हुआ उनको देख के, तो, ख़ैर, तो देबर भाई, हम राज़ी हुए कि वो काँग्रेस की प्रेज़िडेंटशिप से अलग हों, लेकिन उस वक़्त भी यही समझ के और उनसे वादा ले के कि सारी उनकी जो कुछ उनमें ताक़त है इस काम में लगेगी और इस बोझ को उठाने की। और मैं आपसे कहता हूँ, और मैं ये भी एक बिलकुल सच्ची बात कहता हूँ कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर के बोझ बहुत होते हैं, बहुत जिम्मेदारियाँ हैं, कोई शक नहीं और उसका मुकाबला करना किसी और बात से, ओहदे से, कठिन है। तो मुकाबला तो मैं नहीं करता, लेकिन ये मैं ज़रूर कहने को तैयार हूँ कि जो

इत्ती बड़ी संस्था जैसे काँग्रेस है, उसका अध्यक्ष हो, एक-दूसरे ढंग से, उसके बोझे कोई प्राइम मिनिस्टर से कम नहीं हैं और बाज़ बातों में ज़्यादा पेचीदा हैं, ज़्यादा मुश्किल हैं। तो जिस खूबी से ये बोझे उठाये, जिस शान से, और जो सबमें बड़ी बात है, दिखाने की नहीं है, कि वो कोई ऐसे हमारे अध्यक्ष नहीं रहे कि मामूली दफ़्तर का काम करें, सर्कुलर निकाल दें, और ज़ाबिते पूरा करें और रूटीन का काम करें। हर वक़्त उनको खोज रही कि इस बदलते हुए ज़माने में किस तरह से काँग्रेस भी उसके साथ-साथ क़दम बढ़ाये, क़दम मिला के चले। उनकी हर वक़्त ये कोशिश रही कि वे काँग्रेस में जो लाखों-करोड़ों आदमी हैं, उनको एक तरफ़ कैसे दिखायें, कैसे ले जायें। आप देखिए, इन चार बरस में, बार-बार आप देखें, जो-जो बातें हुई, किस तरह से हमारी आर्गेनाइज़ेशन, हमारी संस्था ज़्यादा चुस्त और चालाक हो, आप जानते हैं, हम सब जानते हैं कि और वो हमारी संस्था में, हमारे आर्गेनाइज़ेशन में काफ़ी खराबियाँ हैं, आ गयी हैं, कभी हमने, डेबर भाई ने छिपाया नहीं, हमने, किसी ने छिपाया नहीं इस बात को, और उनका मुक़ाबला करने की कोशिश की, लेकिन ये भी मैं आपसे कह दूँ और बिलकुल सोलह आने ईमानदारी से, खराबियाँ हैं, हमारे मुल्क में भी खराबियाँ हैं, हममें हैं, आप में हैं, सब में हैं, लेकिन इस वक़्त भी बावजूद इन सब बातों के जो हमारी संस्था में और हमारे काँग्रेस के, काँग्रेस जन हैं, सारे देश में फैले हुए हैं, इस संस्था में जित्ता आपको अब भी भण्डार मिलेगा, काम करने वालों का और त्यागी पुरुषों का, किसी और संस्था में आपको नहीं मिलेगा। और एक जानदार संस्था है, ग़लतियाँ भी हैं, सब कुछ हों, और ज़ोरों से उसने मुक़ाबला किया जो कमज़ोरियाँ आ गयीं थीं, ग़लत आदमी हैं, सब बातें हैं, ये बड़ी संस्था में होते हैं। क्योंकि जब वो एक जान नहीं रहे और मुक़ाबला करने की ताक़त न रहे, खराबियों का मुक़ाबला, तो फिर संस्था हल्के-हल्के मुरझा जाती है। तो दिखाने की होती है, फिर आपके ज़ाबिते के काम से नहीं चलती। और एक ज़माना ऐसा आया ये, जो आता है हमेशा, एक संस्था की ज़िन्दगी में, कि बहुत कठिनाइयाँ आने लगीं हमारे सामने, असल कठिनाई बाहर की नहीं होती, किसी दूसरी संस्था से नहीं होती जैसे कोई देश गिरता नहीं है, आम तौर से बाहर के हमले से। हिन्दुस्तान कभी नहीं गिरा बाहर के हमले से, अन्दर की कमज़ोरी से गिरा, बाहर के हमले से नहीं। इसी तरह से संस्थाएँ अन्दर अपनी कमज़ोरी से गिरती हैं। हम कहें कि उस दल ने ये किया और हम उस दल को हरा दें, और क्या करें, घबराहट हो, मुझे कभी इस बात की घबराहट नहीं हुई। अगर फ़िक्र हुई तो काँग्रेस के अन्दर क्या हो रहा है। न कि ये कि सोशलिस्ट और कम्युनिस्ट और क्या नाम, जनसंघ ये जो हैं, वो क्या कर लेंगे हमारा। अगर हम बेकार हो गये तो जो चाहे हमारे ऊपर बैठ जाय आके, मुझे हमेशा फ़िक्र रही इस बात की। और आप देखिये डेबर भाई ने इत्ते ज़माने में, चार बरस में, हर वक़्त उनका ध्यान इस तरफ़ रहा। कित्ते हम काँग्रेस प्रदेश कमेटी के मन्त्रियों को बुलायें, सभापतियों को बुलायें, सलाह हो, मशवरा हो, दौरे करें, क़ायदे-क़ानून भी हमने काँग्रेस के बदले। फिर बड़ी बात जो उन्होंने उठायी — मण्डल कमेटियों की, जो कि बहुत मैं एक ज़बरदस्त बात समझता हूँ, उन्हीं के सोचने से ये हमने कमेटी बनायी, ए.आई.सी.सी. ऐग्रीकल्चरल कमेटी और लैण्ड रिफ़ॉर्म्स पर जिसके सिफ़ारिशों को नागपुर काँग्रेस ने स्वीकार किया — प्लैनिंग की भी, सब बातें उन्हीं के दिमाग़ से निकलीं जो

हर वक़्त खोजते थे क्या-क्या करें। तो ज़ाबिते की बात तो नहीं है, ज़ाबिते की बातें मैं आपसे नहीं कह रहा हूँ, लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ हमारी पार्टी को, क्योंकि हम आज पहली दफ़े मिले हैं, उसके अलग होने के बाद, एक अपनी किताबों में ये बातें लिखनी चाहिएँ, हमारी इज़्जत, क़दर, मुहब्बत जो हमारे नेता हैं डेवर भाई, उनके लिए और हमारी आशा कि हमारे नेता रहेंगे और हमें आगे रास्ता दिखायेंगे।

अब ये बड़ी मुश्किल है कि मैं हर बात अंग्रेज़ी में और हिन्दी, सब में कहूँ। — लेकिन फिर भी दो शब्द मैं कह दूँ। — ख़ैर, इस सिलसिले में मैं कहूँ, जो हमारी नयी प्रेज़िडेंट कॉंग्रेस की हुई हैं, इन्दिराजी। ज़ाहिर है कि मेरे लिए बहुत मुश्किल है, ऐसे शख्स को, जो मेरे इते क़रीब हो, उसको मैं बहुत दूर से देख सकूँ। जो ज़्यादा क़रीब होती है चीज़ तो दूर नहीं दिखती। और कोई ऐसी राय क़ायम करूँ जिसको आप तराजू में रख के कहें कि इन्साफ़ की राय है। उसमें, क़रीब से जानने में, फ़ायदे भी होते हैं, नुक़सान भी होते हैं। तो मुश्किल है। और इसलिए जब से ये सवाल उठा, यकायक उठा, मेरे लिए बिलकुल ही, और शायद औरों के लिए भी, एकदम से उठा यानी उठने के चौबीस घण्टे भी नहीं मिले, उस पर विचार कर सकें कुछ, मुझे कम-से-कम। तो मैं पेंच में पड़ा, और तरह-तरह के खयाल मेरे दिल में आये, दिमाग़ में आये, इधर-उधर, और आख़िर में मैं इस नतीजे पे पहुँचा कि मुझे इस मामले में कोई दखल नहीं देना चाहिए, इधर या उधर। ये बचने की नीयत से नहीं, कि मैं बच जाऊँ, अपने को बचा लूँ कोई फ़ैसला करने से, लेकिन वो वाक़यात ऐसे उठे, ऐसे कि मेरा खुद दिमाग़ साफ़ नहीं था। और मैंने जहाँ तक सोचा, पहली बात तो ये थी और बड़ी बात कि मैं इसको समझता था एक ज़बरदस्त उसकी इज़्जत तो थी, इससे ज़्यादा इज़्जत क्या हो सकती हैं, कॉंग्रेस के लिए। कॉंग्रेस जन के लिए कि ऐसा ओहदा किया ख़दिया, जाय, उसी के साथ मैंने सोचा कि एक ज़बरदस्त ये एक 'सेण्टेंस' है, सज़ा है, जिसका मुक़ाबला मैं पीनल सर्वोट्यूड कहूँ वो ज़िन्दगी भर के लिए तो नहीं, लेकिन बहरसूरत है। और आसानी से मेरी तबियत इस बात को पसन्द नहीं करती थी। और भी वजूहात थे, क्योंकि आम तौर से ये उचित नहीं है, मेरी राय में कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर और कॉंग्रेस के प्रेज़िडेंट के ओहदों में इत्ता क़रीब का रिश्ता हो। ये बातें थीं, मोटी थीं। दूसरी तरफ़ से कुछ खयाल ज़रूर मेरा ये था और औरों का भी था और ये कोई इन्दिराजी के सिलसिले में नहीं, व्यक्तिगत बात नहीं, बल्कि ये कि नागपुर कॉंग्रेस ने एक नयी हवा पैदा की है मुल्क में, एक नयी रोशनी हुई, नया जोश हुआ। अगर इसमें फिर हम बिलकुल एक पुराने ढंग रखें तो शायद वो नया जोश, पूरा फ़ायदा उससे न उठ सके। खयाल था। तो कोई ऐसी बात करनी जिससे लोगों के दिलों पर कुछ एक धक्का पहुँचे, बुरी नीयत से धक्का नहीं, बुरी या अच्छी, धक्का पहुँचे कि महज़ एक पुरानी गाड़ी, ख़ाली, नहीं है कुछ, उसमें और भी एक शक्ति लगी है, एकाध मोहर लगी, इंजिन लगी पहियों में, मैं उसको इसी तरह से देखता था, काम की नीयत से तो एक बात थी, लेकिन हवा की नीयत से, मुल्क में क्या असर लोगों पे हो। नौजवानों पर, औरों पर। असर से कोई काम नहीं होता है, असर के पीछे काम होता चलता है, लेकिन असर भी एक चीज़ होती है, इसमें कोई शक़ नहीं, हवा होती है मुल्कों की। तो इस सिलसिले से मुझे कुछ ये बात, इन्दिरा जी का होना, इसमें कुछ

माकूलियत भी नज़र आयी, जहाँ तक मैं जज कर सकता था, उनके और अपने रिश्ते को भूल कर। बहरसूरत, मैंने सोचा कि मैं अलग रहूँ इससे, और एक चटपट हमारे जो बुजुर्ग इधर-उधर बैठे हैं, और और लोगों ने मिल कर चटपट इसका कुछ फ़ैसला किया और बमुश्किल तमाम आप जानते हैं, उनको राज़ी कर सके। ये, वो एक बात हुई। सिलसिला ख़त्म हो गया, बहस की बात नहीं है। वाक़यात था, मैंने आपसे कहा। अब ये मेरा आपसे कहना, ये फ़िज़ूल-सी बात है, है ही, कि इन्दिरा मेरी लड़की है और मुझे उससे मुहब्बत है। लेकिन मुहब्बत के अलावा कुछ दिल में गुर्रर भी है, कुछ उसका, उसकी तबियत का, उसके काम करने की शक्ति का, और सबमें बड़ी बात, उसकी सच्चाई का, जो कि उसने, मुझसे क्या ली, मैं नहीं जानता, अपनी माँ से कुछ ली है। और अगर वो सच्चे दिल से काम करेगी, जैसा कि मुझे उम्मीद है और जो कुछ कमज़ोरियाँ हों, तो कमज़ोरियाँ ढँक जाती हैं और एक मौक़ा मिलता है आगे बढ़ने का। तो, ख़ैर, इत्ता मैंने कहा तो मैं अंग्रेज़ी में भी दो शब्द कह दूँ।

[Translation begins :

As you see, Dhebar Bhai and Indiraji are here and many of you may have been present at the A.I.C.C. office and taken part in the proceedings there relating to the matter of the Presidency.¹⁶¹ So first of all, I would like to welcome both of them on behalf of all of us. We are well aware of Dhebar Bhai's work as Congress President. Many of you must have been in constant touch with him, as I have been. And I think that it has indeed been fortunate for our country that we have had him as our leader at a time of great difficulties. I don't want to say very much on the subject but I would like to point out one thing and that is that whatever I have said is not out of formality. We are not thanking him merely out of a sense of formality. I have said all this with absolute sincerity and it is my belief that perhaps very few people in this country could have shouldered such a great responsibility so ably and with such dedication as Dhebar Bhai has done. And this makes it more difficult for us to agree that to let him resign from the Congress Presidency. He completed one term and was re-elected, and it was the wish of many of us that he should continue for some more time. But other things happened and it was decided that perhaps it would be a good example to set before the nation, before the PCCs etc. to show that we don't prolong even a good thing unduly. That becomes a bad precedent. So reluctantly, we have agreed to Dhebar Bhai's repeated request to resign from the Presidentship. But I am amazed at the newspaper reports to the effect that there have been differences of opinion between Dhebar Bhai and me, that he was annoyed with me, that he had written letters rebuking me and that this was

161. See fn 160 in this section.

the reason why he does not want to continue as President, etc., etc. Often newspapers are interested in ferreting out information about what is happening behind the scenes, who is fighting with whom, they are less interested in knowing who is friendly to whom. It is true that I may have said many things which could have annoyed Dhebar Bhai. I won't say they were of any great importance but that is my habit and I am helpless. But in the last four years when he has been the President, I, and other members of the Working Committee, have had a very a close relationship of affection and respect with Dhebar Bhai. I have learnt a great deal too from his dedication and method of working and benefitted from it. My rough ways have softened a little by having been in close touch with him.

Anyhow, so we agreed to accept Dhebar Bhai's resignation from the Congress Presidency, but on the condition that he would continue to support and guide us in fulfilling our heavy responsibilities. I would say that a Prime Minister carries a very heavy responsibility, and there is no doubt that it is a great burden. It would be difficult to compare that post with any other. So I won't make any comparison but I am prepared to say that being the President of such a large organisation like the Congress is no less a burden than being a Prime Minister and in fact in some ways it is perhaps more difficult, more complicated. He carried this heavy responsibility with skill and what is more important is that he was no ordinary President doing routine office work, issuing circulars, etc. His was a constant effort to find out ways by which the Congress could march in step with the changing times. You see, in the last four years repeatedly the organisation has shown itself to be alert and active. It is true that our organisation suffers from a number of defects; we have never tried to conceal them or gloss over them, but have always made an effort to correct them. However, I would like to say that with all our faults and shortcomings, you will be hard put to it to find as many dedicated, sincere workers in any organisation other than the Congress. It is a living organisation, even though there may be weaknesses. The wrong type of people get in, all that is no doubt there, but that is true of all big organisations. We have tried very hard to combat our weaknesses for unless we have the will and the strength to do so, our organisation will fade away. It becomes a showpiece and doesn't really achieve anything. And then, there came a time, as it does in the life of any organisation, when we had to face great difficulties. The real difficulties that confront an organisation are never from outside, or another organisation, just as no country can really fall merely because of foreign invasions. India never fell merely because of foreign invasions. She fell time and again due to internal weakness. Similarly an organisation gets weakened because of its internal weakness. We may panic and say this or that party is opposing us, we must defeat them, or

do something. But I have never felt that panic. If I feel worried, it is only about what is happening within the Congress. I am not worried about the Socialists and Communists and Jan Sangh or anyone else. What can they do to us? But if we are weak, anybody can defeat us and that I do worry about. You will see that Dhebar Bhai also had this constantly in mind over the last four years. He repeatedly called the Presidents and Secretaries of the PCCs. for consultations, changed some of our rules, etc. Then again, it was Dhebar Bhai who thought of mandal committees. It was at his suggestion that an Agricultural Committee of the AICC for land reforms was formed whose recommendations were accepted by the Nagpur Session. All these things were the products of his brain, his was an unceasing quest. So all this is not mere formality, but as we have met for the first time after his resignation, I feel that our Party should record our respect and affection for Dhebar Bhai who has been our leader and it is our hope that he will continue to lead and guide us.

Now it is very difficult for me to repeat everything in Hindi and English. But I will say a few words. Anyhow, in this connection, I would like to mention that our new President is Indiraji and obviously it is difficult for me to see her objectively, when she is so close to me. The closer a thing is, the more difficult it is to view it objectively. I don't think I can express an opinion which is likely to be entirely unbiased. So, there are advantages as well as disadvantages in seeing something at very close quarters. So, when this question came up rather suddenly, I did not even have 24 hours to consider it. I was in a dilemma and all sorts of thoughts came into my mind and ultimately I reached the conclusion that I should not interfere in this matter at all, one way or the other. This was not due to any desire to escape from having to take a decision. The matter was such that my mind was not at all clear. My first thought was what a great honour it would be and certainly for a member of the Congress, there is nothing more prestigious than being its President. But on the other hand, I felt it would be a punishment too, a sentence of penal servitude, perhaps not for life but nevertheless it would be so. And then I was not able to accept this easily because normally it is not proper that there should be such a close relationship between the Prime Minister and the Congress President. There were many reasons for this. These were broadly the difficulties. On the other hand, it was felt by a number of us that to take full advantage of the new atmosphere of enthusiasm created in the country by the Nagpur Session what was required was new blood. There was nothing personal about this, it was just a thought. I looked at it from the point of view of what effect it would have on the minds of the people. I did not want them to feel disappointed that the Congress continues to be an old and dispirited vehicle. I wanted them to feel that it had acquired a new stamp, a new wave of strength. I agree that no work can get

done merely by creating an atmosphere. It has to be followed up by real, hard work. But there is no doubt that a lot depends on the prevailing atmosphere in a country. So as far as I could judge this matter, forgetting our relationship, I felt that there was some logic in Indiraji becoming the President. So, I decided to keep out of it and our elders present here took a quick decision and were able to persuade her with some difficulty. Anyhow, that is over and done with. There is nothing more to be said. It is not necessary for me to say that Indira is my daughter and I love her. But apart from love there is pride in my heart, about her capacity to work and her honesty which — I don't know, what she has inherited from me, she has inherited from her mother. And if she works honestly, as I hope she will, her weaknesses can be overcome and she will have an opportunity of making good progress. Well, after saying all this I should also say a few words in English.

Translation ends]

[Nehru continues in English; this is not a translation]

First of all, I should like here, because we meet in party for the first time, for us to record our very deep appreciation of the great work and the great leadership that Dhebar Bhai has given us during his term of office. Those of us, you and us, who have come in contact with him and his work, know how well he has applied himself with amazing devotion and a spirit of dedication to this great work. He has of course done so with ability, but ability there is plenty of, but what I would like to lay stress is, the complete sense of dedication which he has shown in this great office and that is a quality which in the great days of the Congress has always been noted in this great leader and so it has been our good fortune and at this time of difficulty in our, in the country and in our organisation to have such a leader, great and yet humble and simple, completely dedicated to the Congress and to the country and our people. For me, and I say so in all honesty, that I have improved, I hope, by contact by close contact with Dhebar Bhai and some of my rough edges, I hope, have been worn away not all I am afraid, many remain still. Of course, his leaving the Presidentship is not leaving the Congress or leaving us or leaving anybody and it was indeed because of this that we brought ourselves to agree to his resignation which he had pressed again and again and the mere fact that we found it difficult to agree to it shows the value we have attached to his remaining the head of our great organisation.

So ultimately, we agreed on the understanding that he will continue even though not as President, he will continue to shoulder many of the burdens that

that office carried. He has agreed more particularly to continue to be the Chairman of that Committee on planning which is very important and so many other things. So we have him with us fully I am sure, you know that during his term of office he was always searching how to strengthen the organisation, it is not merely a question of doing routine work, and all of repeated conferences we had with Congressmen from other places, Pradesh Committees, Presidents Secretaries and all that and so many other ways of discussions, zonal conferences and all that, he meant to put life into it. It was his idea to have these mandal committees and change, which I think is going to do a great deal, has done, and will do much good to our organisation. And then finally it is he who has been pressing hard for these land reforms and it was under his pressure and inspiration that that committee on agricultural committee was formed and this resolution was passed in the Congress at Nagpur, and now it is a good thing that he is still fully in charge and responsible for this planning committee's work as well as other things. So I suggest to you that we record our deep appreciation, affection for Dhebar Bhai, our leader.

As for the new President, it is obviously rather difficult for me to say much. Although we should try to think of these matters apart from personal relationships. I was much confused and a little embarrassed when this question arose of Indiraji's election. Fortunately, the period of confusion and embarrassment was not long because some decisions were arrived at by my colleagues rather quickly, so there the matter ended. But it was embarrassing for me because quite frankly I saw, there were advantages and disadvantages and ultimately I decided, well, not to throw my weight about this way or that way and there it is. Well, the question may be discussed in future but really does not arise what has been done. And in the balance I think that from the larger point of view even though I say it, it is a good decision that has been taken. Although I have felt, as I just said in Hindi, that it is almost what might be called a sentence of penal servitude, and no one likes that type of sentence to be passed on one dear to him and I am anxious about that but then one has to face these personal difficulties and sorrows, and one should not attach too much importance to it. I do hope that small as it may be her coming into in the Presidentship of the Congress, it will be looked upon by the people of India and will create the impression in their minds of a new atmosphere in which we work, just as the Nagpur Congress resolution has produced that atmosphere, a further impression to that effect, and that the doors of the Congress are open for all young people, young men and women, who come who wish to serve the country keeping the ideals of the Congress in view and more specially that the women of India will have a feeling that they too count a great deal in India which they do, of course, and that the future India, the burden, not only the

burden will be borne by them but whatever is achieved they will equally share and so, on your behalf, I welcome the new President of the Congress.

I have been proud of her as a daughter, I am proud of her as a comrade, and I am proud of her as our leader.

Now it is up to you to decide whether we should discuss any matter, ... (not today). All right.

We shall not discuss any matter today but I shall request Dhebar Bhai to say a few words and bless us....

38. To Partap Singh Kairon

February 16, 1959

My dear Partap Singh,

Some time ago, as you know, there was a meeting somewhere in the Punjab, at which the Maharaja of Patiala, Professor Ranga and others spoke criticising strongly joint cooperative cultivation of land.¹⁶² I gather that another meeting is likely to be held in Bhatinda with the same purpose in the next week or two.¹⁶³

This raises an important question in so far as Congressmen are concerned. I do not mind their holding any opinion within reason, but active opposition to a declared policy of the Congress is not normally accepted as right. We ourselves will have to think about this question in so far as Professor Ranga and perhaps some others here are concerned. I am merely writing to you now to find out what the position is. Are any of the members of your Congress Party in the Punjab Legislature actively associating themselves with this? I do not want you

162. *The Tribune* reported on 1 February 1959 that the Maharaja Yadavendra Singh of Patiala inaugurated the two-day Punjab State Farmers' Convention at Doraha in Punjab on 31 January and warned that expropriation spawned ideas akin to communism. He objected to such low ceilings and compensation and recommended instead a ceiling of 250 to 300 acres as in Egypt. He claimed that there were serious mistakes in planning and he cautioned against disruptive forces which sought to create factions like big landowners, small landowners, the landless, and Harijans among agriculturists. N. G. Ranga, presiding, protested that the agrarian policy announced by the Congress at Nagpur required "a fresh mandate from the masses", denounced the "Nagpur approach" to the land problem as "contrary to the fundamental concepts of democratic socialism", warned that joint farming threatened "the economic independence and freedom from bossism" of peasants, and complained that ceilings on land alone, but not on non-agricultural earnings was discriminatory.

163. Punjab Dehati Janta Party held a two-day rural conference at Bhatinda on 28 February and 1 March.

to take any particular step just at present. But if there are any such members, I think you should tell them privately that this is not proper and goes against the accepted rules of Party and Congress discipline.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

39. To N. G. Ranga¹⁶⁴

February 16, 1959

My dear Ranga,

I have just received your letter of the 16th February.¹⁶⁵ I shall place your resignation from the Secretaryship of the Party before the Executive Committee.

I am sorry that you should take up the attitude you are doing in this matter. I can understand your viewpoint, but we have to abide by the decisions of the Congress. In any event, the present programme is Service Cooperatives with which, I presume, you agree.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

40. To Ram Subhag Singh

February 18, 1959

My dear Ram Subhag,¹⁶⁶

The Tribune newspaper from Ambala contains an item to the effect that some of our Congress MPs have joined the Punjab Dehati Janta Party which was

164. File No. 32(5)/59-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. This letter was also published in a booklet, *Why Ranga Resigns?* (Nidubrolu, Andhra Pradesh: The Indian Peasants Institute, June 1959).

165. Ranga had written: "In continuation of my earlier letter of the 19th January (see p. 266), I am hereby offering my resignation from the Secretaryship of our Party in Parliament so as to avoid causing any embarrassment to you by any speech I may have to make in Parliament on the question of your national campaign in favour of Joint and Cooperative Farming, in preference to or to the neglect of the claims of self-employed Peasants and their Family Farm Economy."

166. MP and Secretary, Congress Party in Parliament.

formed recently at a rural Conference held at Doraha under the Presidentship of Professor N.G. Ranga.¹⁶⁷ The main purpose of this party appears to be to oppose the Nagpur resolutions on land reforms and cooperative farming. Among the names mentioned are Jathedar Udham Singh Nagoke¹⁶⁸ and Sardar Darshan Singh Pheruman¹⁶⁹ who are both Congress MPs. I think you should speak to them about this matter and tell them that I am surprised to learn of this as it is opposed to all principles of Congress and party discipline.¹⁷⁰ I should like to know the facts.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

41. Implement Congress Policies¹⁷¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: This subject as Dr Variava¹⁷² has raised is important, it is not particularly easy to deal with, that is to my, it is so connected with economic conditions and all that, and great city attracts. You have no rules to stop people from coming in, come by train, by road or whatever it is by bus, but one thing if I may suggest is that the so called beggars' home, should never be called beggars' home, that is point number one, it is a very bad word to use just as there should be no orphanages, it is a bad word for the children there to be called orphans all the time and to call a person a beggar, and a beggar you cannot get anything out of [...] ever afterwards. But a place where people who are begging, are taken, should obviously be a place where they are asked to do

167. *The Tribune* reported on 17 February that a five-member governing body of the Punjab Dehati Janta Party was formed on 14 February in Patiala which included Jathedar Udham Singh Nagoke and Sardar Darshan Singh Pheruman. The Doraha conference decided to form this party to resist Congress land policy. N. G. Ranga was to be president.

168. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Punjab.

169. (1892-1969); worked for kisan uplift, removal of untouchability, educational uplift of masses and Gurdwara management reforms; imprisoned during freedom struggle, General Secretary, Shiromani Akali Dal, 1924, and its President, 1928; Member, Working Committee, Punjab State Congress; Rajya Sabha MP, 1952-56 and 1958-64.

170. On the same day, Nehru wrote to Partap Singh Kairon: "I think we should warn members of Congress party against any activity of the kind indicated in the press cutting. To become members of a party opposed to Congress policy and resolutions is clearly a breach of discipline. I propose to speak to the MPs concerned."

171. Speech to the CPP, New Delhi, 24 Feb. 1959. Tape No. M- 41 (i), NMML.

172. Dr Dara Hormusji Variava (1897-1960); Rajya Sabha MP from Bombay, 1952-1960.

some kind of work, not necessarily very complicated work, but some kind of work. The idea is to benefit them and [im]prove them and benefit society. Now, I rather doubt, I am not talking about Delhi, I do not know about it, but many of these beggars' homes are totally inadequate. There is no thought-out programme, nothing, just you push a man in and feed him and rather inadequately, there is no attempt at improvement, no attempt at organized approach to the problem. Perhaps that might be given some thought too. As for lepers, it is all very well for our friend to say that why should not he touch and why should not he embrace you, but, that is highly improper. [...] It is up to him to take the risk of contagion, if you like, but, we as a body cannot [...]. It is a different matter. You see Mahatmaji quite rightly, and saints and others faced this; anybody, who wants to do it, can do it, but you have to pass rules to prevent disease [...] just like you [...] ought to keep a man who is suffering from small pox so it should not contaminate others. It is not a question of any contempt for the man but just to protect society from something that is bad.....

[Nehru continues in Hindi]

कोई : माननीय नेता जी, नागपुर के अन्दर जो हम प्रस्ताव पास करके आये, एक तरह से हम ये मान के आये कि जो काँग्रेस के लिए एक ध्येय है, और उसके कार्यरूप करने के लिए अभी तक कुछ न हो, सोचा भी न जाय, तो कई एक चीज़ में तो 1959 की हद हमने मुक्रर की, तब तो कोई आठ-नौ, नौ महीना, साढ़े नौ महीना बाक़ी है, और सर्विस कोऑपरेटिव के लिए हमने तीन साल हद मुक्रर की। उसके लिए भी अब थोड़ा ही, दो साल नौ महीना समझिए।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू : रणवीर सिंहजी¹⁷³ ने जो बातें की हैं, क़रीब-क़रीब सभी ऐसी हैं, ग़ौरतलब हैं, लेकिन इत्ती सारी बातें उन्होंने कहीं कि मिल गयीं वो बहुत सारी। मगर एक-एक को पकड़ के हम उस पे बातचीत करते, या करें आइन्दा तो ज़्यादा अच्छा हो। बाज़ में मिली हुई बाज़ अलग हैं। ... जी हाँ। यही तो मैं कहता हूँ। कोऑपरेशन को लेना है, उसी मज़मून पे बात एक रोज़ हो यहाँ, और कोऑपरेशन के मिनिस्टर¹⁷⁴ हों और हों तो अच्छा है। आज तो पता नहीं था उनको कि होगी, इसलिए कोई आ नहीं सका। लेकिन अगर आप इजाज़त दें तो इस बारे में मैं कुछ बातें कहूँ जिनको मैं ज़रा बुनियादी समझता हूँ। आपने देखा कि जब से नागपुर के रेज़ोल्यूशन हुए, तो उन पर हमला हुआ। कुछ लोग काँग्रेस के बाहर, उन लोगों ने काफ़ी हमला किया, जो हमारे बड़े-बड़े अख़बार समझे जाते हैं, उन्होंने क़रीब-क़रीब सब मुखातिफ़त की, और कुछ काँग्रेस

173. Chaudhari Ranbir Singh, Lok Sabha MP from Rohtak, Punjab.

174. S. K. Dey, Union Minister of State for Community Development and Cooperation.

वालों ने भी की। ये बात, इसके माने हम ये समझते हैं, ये कोई व्यक्तिगत रूप की बात नहीं है कि कोई उसके हक में है, कोई खिलाफ है, उसके माने समझने हैं हमें, क्या माने हैं उसके। इसके, माने ये हैं, जो बात हमने की नागपुर में, उसको आप गौर से देखें। तो कोई लम्बी-चौड़ी बात नहीं है। यानी जो हम कहते आते हैं, आज नहीं बरसों से, करीब-करीब वो ही है, आप कहिए ज़रा-सा बालिशत भर आगे बढ़ गये। तो बात क्या है, इत्ता बाज़ लोगों में बाज़ गिरोहों में मुखालिफ़त क्यों की। क्योंकि वो मुखालिफ़त जो है उसको आप देखें, वो इस बात की नहीं जो हमने की, इस रेज़ोल्यूशन की, वो मुखालिफ़त है बुनियादी तौर से आपका जो लक्ष्य है, सोशलिस्ट से, उससे मुखालिफ़त है। ये बात समझने की है। अब तक उनका खयाल था कि गोल बात है, लोग अपने दिल खुश करने को कह देते हैं, तो खामोश रहे। अब उन्होंने देखा कि उसको कुछ अमली जामा पहनाया जा रहा है तब उनका खतरा आया, खतरे का मौक़ा, और इसकी-इसकी मुखालिफ़त करनी है। मैं खुद शुरू में ज़रा हैरान हुआ, इसलिए नहीं कि कुछ लोग उसके हक़ में हों, या न हों, वो तो ... लेकिन वो गुस्से की मुखालिफ़त थी। वो मुखालिफ़त थी जब असल में किसी वेस्टेड इण्टरेस्ट को आप पकड़ते हैं तो वो उससे रीऐक्ट करता है एक गुस्से से। जैसे, मसानी साहब ने स्पीच दी,¹⁷⁵ मसानी साहब कोई बहुत लोगों के नुमाइन्दे नहीं हैं, ये और बात है। लेकिन उनकी स्पीच का तर्ज़ जो था वो एक बिल्कुल हू-ब-हू वो चीज़ है, अब एक गहरा वेस्टेड इण्टरेस्ट समझता है कि मुझे कोई नुक़सान पहुँचाने वाला है। और फिर आँख बन्द करके, सिर झुका के, आगे बढ़ता है तो ये गौर करने की बात है, क्योंकि हमारी काँग्रेस में एक शुरू से ये तर्ज़ रहा चीज़ों को एक ढंग से देखने का, नेशनलिस्ट ऑर्गेनाइज़ेशन हमारी, हम ये आपस के अन्दरूनी बातों में जिसको क्लास स्ट्रगल्स कहते हैं, उसमें न हम पड़ते थे, न उनको बढ़ाने की कोशिश करते थे। हाँ, मानते थे कि हैं, और एक आम तौर से हमदर्दी हम देते थे जो लोग दबे हैं उनको। हमने ज़मींदारों, बड़े-बड़े ज़मींदारों वगैरा का सवाल उठाया और वो इत्ते रोज़ से उठा हुआ था हमारे यहाँ, बरसों से उठा था कि लोग आदी थे और दुनिया आदी थी उस बात की, जो कोई नयी बात नहीं थी। तो अब जो हमने क्रदम उठाया कम-से-कम रेज़ोल्यूशन से, वो क्रदम जो हमने पहले रेज़ोल्यूशन पास किये हैं, उससे कोई ज़्यादा नहीं था, कोई खास नहीं था। अगर एक बात कही, आपने, हमने ज़्यादा कही तो सिर्फ़ ये कि बाद में हमारा लक्ष्य होना चाहिए जॉयण्ट फ़ार्मिंग का, यही एक नयी बात है। वो भी नयी नहीं है, लेकिन हमने ज़ाबिते से नहीं कहा था। और सब बातें हमारी कही हुई हैं रेज़ोल्यूशन में। तो एकदम से चौंक उठना लोगों का। ये हमें समझना है। यानी हमें इस पे पर्दा नहीं डालना है कि भई, उनकी ये राय है, हमारी ये राय है। राय तो है, लेकिन आपको सामना करना पड़ता है, एक क्लैश, एक क्लैश का, कित्ता ही छोटा क्लैश हो, और वो एक क्लास इण्टरेस्ट का क्लैश है। ये समझनी है बात। वो चाहे, जो हो, चाहे बड़े ज़मींदार-छोटे ज़मींदार का, या हो छोटे ज़मींदार-टेनेण्ट का, या हो एक आदमी, एक फ़ार्मर जो कि खुशहाल फ़ार्मर है, ग़रीब फ़ार्मर, जो कुछ हो, वो सब क्लैशज़ होते हैं। तो हमारा

175. See pp. 78-79.

तरीका तो क्लैशज को, ज़ाहिर है, अवॉएड करना है। हम क्लास कॉन्फ़्लिक्ट बढ़ाते नहीं। लेकिन उसी के साथ हमें पहचानना है, नहीं तो हम कभी समझेंगे ही नहीं किसी सवाल को, हमें पहचानना है कि चीज़ क्या है। और जब कभी काँग्रेस, एक क्रदम असली, ज़बानी नहीं, एक क्रदम असली बढ़ाने की कोशिश करेगी, तो उसको इसका सामना करना पड़ेगा। गोल बातें नहीं हैं। जो हो सकती हैं एक नेशनलिस्ट स्ट्रगल के ज़माने में, आ जाता है, क्योंकि आख़िर में है ही नहीं क्लैशज, ख़ाली हमारा तरीका है उनको हटाने का, दूसरी तरह से वाक़यात पैदा करने का, समझाने का, गाली देने का नहीं है। लेकिन वाक़ये को समझना है। और, एक तो ये पहलू आपको सामने रखना है, क्योंकि ये एक ज़बरदस्त इम्तहान काँग्रेस का हो गया है, ये रेज़ोल्यूशन पास करके, मेरी राय है, आप जानते हैं, कि रेज़ोल्यूशन मुनासिब थे, सही थे, ज़रूरी थे, बल्कि और भी पहले करते तो हम अच्छा था। लेकिन अलावा उसके मेरी राय कुछ हो। इस क्रदम को उठाने के बाद, अगर इसको कामयाब आप नहीं कर सकते तो काँग्रेस के लिए बहुत बुरा है। काँग्रेस ठण्डी हो जायेगी। फिर ज़ाहिर हो जायेगा कि हम कोई इस ढंग का क्रदम नहीं उठा सकते। जो मुखालिफ़ ग़िरोह है या व्यक्ति हैं, उसको दबा नहीं सकते हैं। इसलिए बड़ी अहमियत रखता है। ये बात नहीं रही कि आप एक बात कर दी, कहीं कामयाबी हो, कहीं न हो, हल्के-हल्के देखें क्या होता है, थोड़े दिन बाद आ के कहें कि भई, ये तो फली नहीं बात, कुछ और सोचें। ये काँग्रेस के रहने और न रहने का सवाल है। उस क्रिस्म का सवाल है, क्योंकि एक दफ़े आप इस बात को नहीं कर सके और आप दब गये तो मुखालिफ़ लोग हैं, तो यक़ीन मानिए फिर आप पनप नहीं सकते। फिर आप सिसकते [खिसकते] जायँ, दस बरस, बीस बरस, ये और बात है, पनप नहीं सकते, उस बात में जिससे आप देश को बढ़ा सकें या देश में जोश दिला सकें। अगर इसमें कुछ लोग मुखालिफ़ हैं, जो भी वजह से, उसी के साथ इन रेज़ोल्यूशनस में वो बातें जिसमें यह नब्बे फ़ीसदी लोग आपकी तरफ़ होने चाहिएँ, पिच्वानबे फ़ीसदी होने चाहिएँ, शायद ज़्यादा इससे भी। तो फिर आप क्या कर रहे हैं उस पिच्वानबे फ़ीसदी तक पहुँचने का। हम, मुझे अफ़सोस होता है कहते हुए, हम सब शामिल हैं, मैं और आप सब की एक तरफ़ से आवाज़ उठती जाती है मुखालिफ़त की, अख़बार रोज़ कुछ-न-कुछ लिखते हैं और वो अख़बार अपने को एक कमोबेश कहते हैं हम काँग्रेस के साथी हैं, जिससे और भी ग़लतफ़हमी हो। काँग्रेस के कुछ लोग नुक्ताचीनी करते हैं और वाक़ी लोग ख़ामोश हैं। अजीब हालत है। यानी इस ढंग से कोई क्रदम उठाये जाते हैं बड़े? रेज़ोल्यूशन के बाद। कि हम बैठे हैं, देखें क्या होता है। दूसरी तरफ़ से आप देखें, जो रणवीर सिंह जी ने कहा, वो सब कहते हैं और भी कहा है कि हमारी कोऑपरेटिव्स के लॉज़ रुकावट डालते हैं। हर एक मानता है और ख़ैर, कमेटियाँ तो उसमें बनी हैं, अब भी बनी हैं और हो रहा है, स्टेट्स को भेजा गया है, एक मसविदा। वो मसविदा भी कोई बहुत अच्छा नहीं है, ख़ैर, उसको बदलें देख के, तो रहा है। लेकिन एक और पहलू है, मैं किसी की बुराई नहीं करता हूँ कि जिन लोगों को इस काम को करना है, उनको भरोसा नहीं है इसमें। कहीं-कहीं हो सकता जो मिनिस्टर इन्वार्ज हैं, उन्हीं को इसमें बहुत ज़्यादा जोश नहीं है। वो मुखालिफ़त नहीं करते, लेकिन जोश नहीं है। ये ऐसी चीज़ नहीं है। ये ऐसी चीज़ नहीं है कि ये एक रूटीन कदम से

हो जाय। एक नया क़दम उठता है एक नये जोश से, नये एन्थ्यूजियैज्म से, नयी कोशिश से, नये गुल-शोर से उठता है। वो तो मुझे कहीं नहीं आता। दूसरे लीजिए, हमारे जिते कोऑपरेटिव कर्क अफ़सरान हैं, रजिस्ट्रार ऑफ़ कोऑपरेटिवज़ वगैरा, वो माक़ूल आदमी हैं, लेकिन उनका दिमाग़ उधर नहीं झुका है। न पहले झुका, न अब झुका है। कहा जाता है अक्सर कि भई, सलाह ले लो रजिस्ट्रार ऑफ़ कोऑपरेटिवज़ से, वो सलाह लीजिए आप, लेकिन बग़ैर सलाह लिये आप कह सकते हैं कि उनकी राय क्या है। वो राय हमेशा मुखालिफ़ है ऐसी बात की। क्योंकि उसकी सारी ट्रेनिंग ऐसी हुई है, कुसूर क्या। तो अब, एक सारा आपने स्ट्रक्चर बनाया जिसमें लोग इसमें बहुत भरोसा नहीं करते। हाँ, ज़्यादा-से-ज़्यादा ईमानदारी से आपका हुक़्म मान के अपने काग़ज़, पर्चे निकालते जायेंगे इसके। लेकिन कोई नया काम, जिसमें मुखालिफ़त होती है, इस ढंग से नहीं होता है। ये बुनियादी बात है कि इसको आपको समझना है कि ये कोई मामूली रेज़ोल्यूशन नहीं है। ये एक दूसरा क़दम, जब से, दूसरा कहिए, तीसरा कहिए, जब से इण्डिपेंडेंस हुई, पहला हमारा क़दम इस सिलसिले में, ज़मींदारी प्रथा को अलग करने का था। वो उसके लिए हम दस-बीस बरस से कह रहे थे काँग्रेस में, तो लोग तैयार थे, हरेक का दिमाग़ तैयार था, चाहे पसन्द हो या न पसन्द हो। बहुतों को नुक़सान हुआ हमारे साथियों को, ज़मींदार थे, लेकिन एक मंज़ूरशुदा बात थी। एक छोटी-मोटी बातों पे बहस हुई। ख़ैर, वो हो गया। और दूसरी बात, दूसरा क़दम हमने उठया, लेकिन वो ख़याली क़दम, जो आवड़ी में, उसका अच्छा असर आप मानते हैं हिन्दुस्तान में हुआ। और भी बातें हमने कीं, मैं नहीं कहता हममें नहीं ख़की, थीं, मैं बड़ी-बड़ी बातें बता रहा हूँ। इसके बाद तीसरा हमने बड़ा क़दम उठया है, बहुत बड़ा नहीं है ये, मैं फिर आपसे कहता हूँ, यानी जो हमने पहले कहा है, उससे ज़्यादा नहीं है, लेकिन उसको ज़रा साफ़ किया। अब आवड़ी के बाद आपने देखा, जो उसका जोश आवड़ी से पैदा हुआ था, हल्के-हल्के कुछ ठण्डा होता गया और कुछ बस एक लोग समझें कि कभी-कभी ये वोट लेने को या जो कुछ करने को, कोई रेज़ोल्यूशन पास कर देते हैं और उसमें कोई ख़ास बात नहीं है। अब जो ये आया एक क़दम, अमली क़दम, अगर ये रेज़ोल्यूशन की शक़ल में रह गया और अमल इस पे नहीं किया गया, तो बहुत नुक़सान होगा और फिर असल में जो एक काँग्रेस में अन्दर में एक क़शमक़श है, हर संस्था में होती है, एक आगे बढ़ने वाले और कुछ पीछे रखने वाले, वो जो है, तो एक माने में तय हो जायेगी। यानी पीछे हटने वाले उसको रोक सकते हैं। ये बाहर के लोगों को छोड़िए। पहला सवाल तो होता है कि हमारे अन्दर क्या है। इस मसले पे क्या राय है, क्या करने को तैयार हैं, और दिखाने को तैयार हैं या औरों के दामन के पीछे छुप के रहने को तैयार हैं और लोग एतराज़ करें, हम चुप हैं, करने दो औरों को, उनसे फ़ायदा उठायें। अगर काँग्रेस का ये हाल है कि दिमाग़ साफ़ नहीं और कोई जोश नहीं नये क़दमों पर तो ज़ाहिर है, काँग्रेस कमज़ोर होगी। आप पढ़ते हैं और देखते हैं और सुनते हैं कि कहीं असल अलग-अलग प्रदेशों में काँग्रेस पार्टी में झगड़े हैं, क़शमक़श है, खेंचा-तानी है, कहीं किसी ने इस्तीफ़ा दे दिया, कहीं कुछ। ख़ैर, ये ग़ौरतलब बातें हैं। लेकिन जहाँ-जहाँ ये हुआ है, जहाँ तक मुझे इल्म है, किसी उसूली बात से ख़ास नहीं हुआ। व्यक्तिगत रूप से हुआ। शिकायतें, इस क्रिस्म की बातें और सारा एक ध्यान जाता है पब्लिक

का भी और उनका भी, ये अच्छी बात नहीं है। किसी को छोड़ना है तो उसूली बात पे छोड़े, राय अलग है, छोड़े उस पे, पब्लिक के सामने आये। उस पुराने ज़माने में हमारी काँग्रेस को लोगों ने छोड़ा था, वो एक लिबरल पार्टी हो गयी, काँग्रेस कमज़ोर तो नहीं हुई उसके छोड़ने से, क्योंकि काँग्रेस का एक सिद्धान्त था, एक जड़ थी जिस पे वो क़ायम रही। जो अलग हुए वो आइसोलेट हो गये। लेकिन अब दूसरा रंग है। वो रंग ये है कि हम किसी, किसी माकूल बात पे नहीं हम, कमोबेश हममें वो होता है, व्यक्तिगत रूप से पार्टियाँ चलती हैं, और नहीं चलती हैं। और ऐसी हालत में हमेशा आप देखेंगे कि जो लोग रोकना चाहते हैं आगे बढ़ने से, उनकी जीत होती है।

तो मैंने आपके सामने ये चन्द पहलू रखे, क्योंकि बहुत ज़रूरी पहलू हैं और मैं बहुत ज़्यादा कुछ तो पब्लिक में भी कहूँ — मैं बहुत ज़्यादा इस बात पे, इस ढंग से ग़ौर नहीं दिया चाहता पब्लिक में। ख़ैर, देखा जायेगा कैसे वाक़यात होते हैं। लेकिन ये बुनियादी बात है। और तो एक किसी क़दर ज़रूरी है। जो तफ़सील की बातें हैं, वो उठती हैं और जो रणबीर सिंहजी ने कहीं, ग़ौरतलब हैं। एक बात मैं कहूँ कि आपने कहा कि मैंने तो वही कहा है कि साठ आदमियों से ज़्यादा कोपरेटिव में न हों। ये तो मैंने ... ऐं, रिगार्डिंग डेनमार्क, डेनमार्क का मैंने कहा हो, मुमकिन है कि डेनमार्क में, लेकिन ... (हाँ भैया) तो मैंने ये तो नहीं कहा कि यहाँ साठ हों। मैंने आपसे कहा था कि डेनमार्क में शायद कोई क़ायदा है, क़ानून है, किसी-न-किसी वजह से कहा था कि साठ से ज़्यादा न हों, उससे मतलब नहीं है। मेरे दिमाग़ में कोई नम्बर नहीं है। सिर्फ़ एक उसूल था कि वो एक ऐसा गिरोह हो जो कि जिसमें किसी क़दर एक-दूसरे को जानने का एलिमेंट हो। इसलिए हमने कहा विलेज, और विलेज छोटा हो बड़ा हो मैं नहीं जानता, मैं एकदम से जवाब नहीं दे सकता कि जो रणबीर सिंह जी का गाँव है आठ हज़ार आदमियों का, कित्ते का, सात हज़ार का, कि उसमें क्या किया जाये। एक हों, दो हों। इसमें बहुत रिजिडिटी की ज़रूरत नहीं है। तो उस पे ग़ौर हो सकता है। लेकिन आम तौर से एक बेहतर ये हो कि कुछ आबादी के लिहाज़ से कहा जाय। किस आबादी में हो, वो भी रिजिडिटी नहीं। मैं नहीं जानता, क्या कहा जाय उसके लिए, हज़ार की आबादी, दो हज़ार की, ज़ाहिर है 20-25 की तो नहीं, कुछ-न-कुछ मैंने सुना था, किसी ने कहा था डेढ़ हज़ार की — हाँ, दो हज़ार, जो कुछ हो, मतलब ये है कि उसमें फ़ार्मर एक भीड़ में खो न जाय। ऐसे मौक़े पर एक-दूसरे को पहचानते नहीं स्ट्रेंजर्स हैं और ऐसे मौक़े पर या तो कुछ ऐसे लोग, जो कि धक्का दे कर आगे बढ़ने का उनमें मादूदा होता है, और कोई ख़ूबी चाहे न हो वो आगे आ जाते हैं और क़ब्ज़ा कर लेते हैं, धक्का देके हरेक को। वो रह जाता है चुप। या वो ऑफ़िशियल्स के क़ब्ज़े में आ जाती है, वो दोनों बातें चाहता नहीं जहाँ तक बन पड़े। तो इस माने में छोटी होनी चाहिए, उसमें एक इण्टिमेसी होनी चाहिए। और क्या साइज़ हो मैं यकायक नहीं कह सकता। ख़ैर, कहूँ कि इसके माने ये भी नहीं हैं कि जो इस वक़्त बनी हैं, कुछ बड़ी भी, उसको हम तोड़ना शुरू करें। तोड़-फोड़ नहीं। हाँ, कहीं मुनासिब समझा जाय चेंज किया जाय। लेकिन मुझे ये बात नागवार गुज़री कि बहुत सारे पुराने, एक मेरे सामने एक मिसाल आयी जो मद्रास की तरफ़ की। एक कोऑपरेटिव सोसायटी ने मुझे भी शायद लिखा था, उसकी जुबली होने वाली थी। पचास बरस हो गये, छोटी थी — अच्छी थी। जुबली

मनायी। छै महीने बाद में सुनता हूँ उसे तोड़ के एक बड़े में शामिल कर दिया, तो मुझे बहुत नागवार गुज़रा कि एक पचास बरस से चलती आती थी, भाकूल थी, जुबली मना रहे थे। अब नयी पॉलिसी चली कि छोटा न रखो, बड़े रखो और बिचारी, पचास बरस की को छोड़ के एक बड़ी का हिस्सा हो गयी। ये पॉलिसी मुझे ग़लत मालूम होती थी। सो, ये फिर मैं आपसे कहूँगा कि जो, ये एक खास मसला है, कोआपरेशन का, इसको अच्छा हो कि हम उसके हर पहलू पे ग़ौर करें मिल कर। और भी लोग हों यहाँ, जो हम इस तरह से कर रहे हैं। लेकिन इस बड़ी बात को आप समझिए।

[Translation begins:

Some one: Respected Leaders, when we passed the Nagpur Resolution, we believed that it would be a goal for the Congress and we have to act upon it. We have fixed the end of 1959 as the target date for many things. So, only eight, nine, nine months, nine and a half months remain. We had fixed the time limit for service cooperatives at three years and for that too, only two years and nine months remain.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Whatever Ranbir Singhji¹⁷⁶ has said is almost all worthy of note. But he has said many things and it would be better to take each one up separately for discussion. (Interruption) yes, that. We should devote one full day to cooperation and it would be better if the Minister for Cooperation¹⁷⁷ could be present. He couldn't be present today because he did not know this would come up. But with your permission I would like to tell you a few things about it which I consider basic. You are aware that ever since the Nagpur Resolution was passed, it has been attacked, outside Congress and from within too. Practically, all our leading newspapers have opposed it and some Congressmen too. But this is not a matter of personal prejudices. So we have to understand what it is all about. We have to consider carefully what was discussed at Nagpur. It is not a very large matter. It is something we have talked about for years. Then why are people so opposed to it? You will see that people are not really opposed to the Nagpur Resolution. They are opposed basically to the word socialism. We have to understand this. So long as people thought it was all merely talk they kept quiet. As soon as they felt that it was going to be put into actual practice, they sensed danger and started opposing it.

176. See fn 173 in this section.

177. See fn 174 in this section.

I myself was amazed in the beginning not because of the opposition, but the anger that it engendered. The opposition was the reaction of a vested interest. Take Mr. Masani's speech for instance,¹⁷⁸ not that he is an ambassador of the people. The theme of the speech was definitely that of a vested interest which senses danger to itself and then blindly attacks.

We have to take note of the fact that the Congress has always taken a broader view, being a nationalist organisation and we have always discouraged class struggles, in internal matters. We are aware that they exist and have generally sympathised with the depressed classes. We have raised our voice against zamindari, jagirdari, etc. for years and people had got accustomed to our doing so. It was nothing new. So this Resolution does not differ very much from what we have always said. The only new thing that has been introduced is that we would like to keep joint farming as a goal. That is also not really new but we had not made a point of it before. Everything else in the Resolution is what we have always said. So we have to understand why people are suddenly startled. We cannot brush their opinion aside. What we have to face is a clash and however small it may be, it is a clash of class-interests it is between a big zamindar and a small one or between a rich peasant and a tenant. It is obvious that our method has always been to avoid clashes. But at the same time we must understand what it is all about because we would have to face it when the Congress wants to take a real step forward. There is nothing complicated about this. Our method has always been to avert clashes and to produce a different kind of atmosphere, not of abusing one another.

But we must understand the problem. You must also bear this in mind that if the Congress, having passed this Resolution, rightly so, and perhaps it should have been done earlier, does not succeed in implementing it, it will be very bad for the Congress. Congress will become lifeless and it will become obvious that we are incapable of taking such a step. The opposition groups will become stronger. It is very important for us to succeed. We cannot let this matter slide and hope for the best or say after a few months that as we have not succeeded in this, we should look for something else. This is a matter of life and death for the Congress, because if you fail this time, the opposition will get the better of you and you can never raise your head again. You may drag on for another ten or twenty years but you cannot flourish nor can you lead the country towards progress. Even if some people are against us in this, for whatever reason, we should carry at least ninety percent or ninety-five percent of the population with us. So what are we going to do to reach that ninety-five percent? I am

178. See fn 175 in this section.

ashamed to say that we are all silent while the opposition and the newspapers are vociferously against us. To make matters worse, some of them profess to be supporters of the Congress. It is strange that some people are criticising us bitterly and we are silent. We have passed the Resolution and now we are sitting and waiting to see what happens.

Secondly, as Ranbir Singhji just said, people are saying that the new cooperative laws are obstructive. We have asked the States to examine them afresh and that is being done. But the more serious matter is that the people who have to implement all this do not believe in it wholeheartedly. I don't want to criticise anybody, but it is possible that even ministers in charge don't show proper enthusiasm. This is not a matter that can be tackled by a routine step. A new step has to be taken with enthusiasm and effort. I can't see that anywhere.

Take our officials dealing with cooperatives, Registrars of Cooperatives, etc. They may be very competent but they have not lent their minds to this task. It is often felt that the advice of the Registrar of Cooperatives should be sought but I can tell you beforehand what their advice would be. It will always be against the scheme, for their training has been such. They are not to blame. We have built up a structure in which the people involved are not convinced themselves. They are willing at the most to do the paperwork honestly. But nothing can be achieved in this way. You have to understand the basic point that this is no ordinary resolution. Since Independence, this is the second or third important step we are taking. The first was the abolition of zamindari. We had been talking about it for ten to fifteen years and so the people were mentally prepared for it whether they liked it or not. Many people suffered tremendous losses but it was accepted, though there may have been arguments about minor details. The second step was taken at Avadi which had a good effect all over the country. We have done other things, of course, big and small. But I am only talking of big things. Now this is the third big step, it is not bigger than our other steps, but one that clarifies our previous stand. Now, you have seen that after Avadi, enthusiasm began to wane and people began to feel that we pass these resolutions once in a while to get votes and then do nothing about them.

Therefore, if this new step stops with the Resolution and we fail to implement it, it will do a lot of harm and the tussle between the progressives and the conservatives, which is common in any organisation, will be definitely settled in favour of the latter, leave alone the outsiders. We have to see what is happening within the organisation, what our views on this question are and whether we are prepared to face it with strength or we would prefer to seek refuge in silence. If that is the situation, and there is no clarity of thinking or enthusiasm for progressive steps, it is obvious that Congress will get weakened. You read and hear of inner party wranglings in some of the states, tension, people

resigning, etc., etc. Anyhow, these have to be taken into consideration. But as far as I know, these petty wranglings have not taken place on matters of principle. It has been on personal grounds, complaints, etc., and the attention of the public is drawn towards all this, which is not good. If anyone wants to leave, let them do so on matters of principle provided their views are different and let them go to the people again. In the old days some people had left the Congress, and there was the Liberal Party. The Congress was not weakened by that because the Congress stood firm on its principle. Those who left became isolated. But now circumstances are different. Parties no longer function on principles, but on personal bases. And you will see that in these circumstances those who want to prevent any steps towards progress always win.

So, I have put some of these problems before you though I don't like to stress them too much in public. Anyhow, we will see what happens. But these are basic questions have to be considered as Ranbir Singhji rightly pointed out. I would like to mention one thing and that is, there should not be more than sixty people in a cooperative. (Interruption) What? Regarding Denmark? It is possible that in Denmark, but, I did not..... Yes, my friend, I may have said that perhaps in Denmark there is a law that there should not be more than sixty. But I don't have any particular number in mind. The only principle should be that the group should be small enough for the members to be well acquainted with one another. So, 1 said village should be the unit — big or small — with a population of about 8000 or 7000, as Ranbir Singhji mentioned. There need not be any rigidity about this. So we can consider that. But in general, it would be better if a limit regarding population is observed, but not rigidly. I don't know what would be ideal — one or two thousand but it is obvious it cannot be twenty or twenty-five thousand. I had heard that one thousand five hundred is....yes, or two thousand. What I mean is that the cooperative should not be so large that the individual farmer is lost, because then the more experienced ones push themselves forward and try to dominate the whole thing and the timid ones are crowded out. Or, officials tend to take charge of everything. But, I don't want both these things to happen, as far as possible. Therefore, cooperatives should be small so that a certain amount of intimacy is possible among the members. What the size should be, I cannot say offhand, nor do I mean that if bigger ones exist, we should start breaking them up. Wherever it is considered necessary, changes have to be made. But I can't put up with the sort of thing that happened in Madras. I got a letter from a cooperative society there, a small one, saying they were going to celebrate their golden jubilee — they had completed fifty years. So they celebrated their jubilee. Six months later I heard that it had been broken up and combined with a bigger one. I did not like this, that an organisation which had been in existence for fifty years,

should have been sacrificed to the new principle of bigger cooperatives. This policy seems very wrong to me. Therefore, I would say that we consider this matter of cooperation from all possible angles and try to understand it fully.

Translation ends]

[Nehru continues in English; this is not a translation]

I will Just say a few words in English, that we are facing today not some kind of, well, some policy which you may have or not have, but may have taken a step after several years which at any rate in our resolutions is a more or less precise step, about this land reform etc. It is inherent in what we have been saying all this time. It is not really new and yet it has created such a lot, I won't say a lot of opposition but some people have shouted a lot, newspapers have shouted a lot, and now those newspapers presume, presume to say or presume to appear as if they are Congress newspapers which of course they are not. You see how vested interests react when they are touched. It is all very well so long as that does not happen and it is a test of an organisation when this kind of thing happens as to where it is on this side or that side or nowhere, just sitting in between and looking on. Now the Congress has got a reputation of rather looking on than forcing the pace in the last few years, I mean, in economic matters.

So when we take a step, however, small and it or uses this kind of opposition, this is very significant and the question arises how you are going to face it and meet it, because if you do not meet it, you are in a sense done for, others, those who can at least say they can meet it, well get the ear of the public and you have no solution left in your hands, whatever solution you offer you cannot get through. Therefore it is a very vital matter for you to think and act upon and unfortunately there has hardly been any real reply to the criticisms made; I mean to say not in Parliament and elsewhere I am talking about outside propaganda, agitation, what we are busy about is, some local troubles, local conflicts among Congressmen, sometimes against some Pradesh ministries, sometimes this, that is how we are spending our time. I am really astonished at this fact that these basic obvious facts are not appreciated. For, this is a times of trial for the Congress more than anything else, now you face this problem, because otherwise you will lose those smaller vested interests that may oppose you, and you lose all the others too because you have not done it, you lose both ways. It should be neither here nor there. A conservative party at least has conservative elements with it. A party which pretends to be progressive if that tends to become conservative it does not gain the conservative elements it

loses all the others, falling between two stools. This point I should like you to bear in mind, and then keeping in mind we can discuss the details.

[Nehru continues in Hindi]

जो काँग्रेस की नुक्ताचीनी आम है, उसका नहीं मैं ज़िक्र कर रहा हूँ — वो तो अलग है। मैं खाली इस बात पे कह रहा था। मैं समझा, आपने जो ये फ़रमाया है, मैं समझा नहीं कि कौन-सी ग़लतफ़हमी उन्होंने दूर की उससे। ये बता दीजिए। किस बात की ग़लतफ़हमी थी मुझे जो ...

महावीर त्यागी : वो ऐसा था कि आपने कोई [...] आगे क़दम बढ़ा दिया जिसकी वजह से लोग मुखालफ़त करते, मेरा अर्ज़ करने का मंशा ये है कि हमारी शिकायत ये है कि इस बरस में इतने दिन हुकूमत करने के बाद सोशलाइज़ेशन की तरफ़ तो कोई क़दम नहीं उठा पाये हम; ऐसा कोई अमली क़दम। ये कोऑपरेटिव जो है, ये अमली क़दम नहीं है। ये तो मामूली चीज़ है। तो कोई बड़ी चीज़ उठाओ, मेरा मतलब, तक्राज़ा ये कहने का है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: ये तो माकूल बात त्यागी जी ने कही। मैं उसमें गया नहीं था, मैं तो एक बात आपको बता रहा था, मैं एक, जिसको कहते हैं, एक साइण्टिफ़िक अनैलिसिस कर रहा था सोशलिज़्म क्या चीज़ है, क्या नहीं, उस पे भी हम एक रोज़ बातचीत कर लें तो अच्छा है, क्योंकि मेरी राय में अभी त्यागी जी समझे नहीं कि सोशलिज़्म क्या है। मैं अपनी नाक़िस राय कह रहा हूँ। लेकिन वो दूसरी बात है। वो एक साइण्टिफ़िक चीज़ है। जो एक महज़, यहाँ तक मैं कहता हूँ महज़ ग़रीबों को फ़ायदा पहुँचाना नहीं है सोशलिज़्म, जो उसमें मिला हो, हो जाय, और बात है। सोशलिज़्म की नज़र अगर आप देखा चाहते हैं तो उसको एक ही तरह से आप देख सकते हैं कि हमारा फ़र्स्ट और सेकेंड और जो कर्मिंग थर्ड इयर प्लैन क्या करता है, किधर जाता है। वो टेस्ट है उसका असल। लेकिन ज़ाहिर है, मैंने ... क्या ... ये तो है, ये तो है, इस मामले में, इस साइंस के ऊपर हम आपस में बातचीत कर लें, बहस कर लें, क्योंकि अगर आप सोशलिज़्म जल्दी लाना चाहते हैं तो पहले माने ये हैं कि बोझा ज़्यादा डालिए हर क्लास पर। ये पहले माने हैं। इससे आप बच नहीं सकते हैं। और इसीलिए ये कहा जाता है कि कोअर्शन वग़ैरा करना पड़ता है। जो इस वक़्त, आप चाहे रूस का इतिहास पढ़िए, चाहे आज के चाइना का, आपको ताज़्जुब होगा कि आप इत्ते पढ़ते हैं कि चीन में इत्ती तरक्की हुई है, और हुई है, इसमें कोई शक़ नहीं। इस वक़्त चीन में फ़ूड रैशन और हर चीज़ का रैशन कम कर दिया गया है, ग़ौर कीजिएगा। बावजूद इससे कि इत्ता प्रोडक्शन हुआ है उनका राइस, उनके बयान से, राइस का रैशन, हर चीज़ वहाँ रैशनड है और हर चीज़ को कम कर दिया गया है। क्यों? ये मैं नहीं जानता। क्योंकि वो सारी ताक़त बढ़ने में लगा रहे हैं। वो नहीं, अब लोगों को किस तरह से खुश रखें वो दूसरा सवाल है। मैं इसमें नहीं जाता। लेकिन जो बुनियादी तौर से जो त्यागी जी ने कहा वो ठीक है, मैं उसके लॉजिक को नहीं मानता, लेकिन बुनियादी तौर से ठीक है। लेकिन मैं आपसे यही कहा [कह]

रहा था न कि मैं ऐनेलाइज़ सारे पीरियड को तो नहीं कर रहा हूँ, मेरा खयाल ये है कि हम सोशलिज़्म के लिए एक माने में ये ज्यादा ज़रूरी है कि हम स्टील प्लान्ट्स बनायें, बनिस्वत कुछ और करें। उनका क्या किया। वो कैपिटलिज़्म में भी दे सकते थे, ये नहीं। यानी सोशलिज़्म और कैपिटलिज़्म दोनों में बहुत सारी कॉमन बातें हैं। खैर, लेकिन इस वक़्त एक क़दम बड़ा या छोटा हुआ, जिससे लोगों ने, वो लोग एतराज़ कर रहे हैं इस पर उनको इस बात की फ़िक्र तो नहीं है कि हमने सोशलिज़्म पिछले बरसों में नहीं किया, इस बात ये तो नहीं था, वो तो नहीं चाहते सोशलिज़्म। मैं तो उनका कह रहा हूँ न। तो मैं कह रहा हूँ क्यों? ये वजह क्या है, क्यों वो जाग उठे और क्यों इत्ता तहलका मचा रहे हैं और कोई और आम क़दम उठायें इस ढंग का तो और तहलका मचायेंगे। इसलिए आपको समझना है इस बात को कि एक क्लास कॉन्फ़्लिक्ट को आप फ़ेस करते हैं और उसको आपको फ़ेस करना है। बदतमीज़ी से नहीं, लेकिन फ़ेस करना है ये समझो कि क्लास कॉन्फ़्लिक्ट है इस तरह से फ़ेस करना है और लोगों के पास जा के समझाना है। बाक़ी जो त्यागी जी ने कहा माक़ूल बातें हैं, उन पे हम ग़ौर करें।

जी.बी. पन्त : तो ये एक तजवीज़ त्यागी जी की रही।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू : कुछ झलक तो इसमें आ ही गयी। ... हाँ।

जी. बी. पन्त : क्यों भाई ... क्या ... अच्छी बात है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू : ज़ाहिर-सी बात है, आप सब मुत्तफ़िक्क हो के मंज़ूर करेंगे उसमें कोई दो राय तो हो नहीं सकती। बल्कि यों कहिए त्यागी जी का प्रस्ताव ये है कि जो तरीक़ा हमने पहले कहा था, जिस पे अमल नहीं किया है, उस पे अमल किया जाय। तो कैसे समझें, ये आयें ये कैसा होना चाहिए। माना कि अमल नहीं किया, अमल होना चाहिए उस पे, बहुत ठीक बात है, अमल होना चाहिए ...

[Translation begins :

I am not talking about the general criticism levelled against the Congress, that is different. I am only talking about this matter. I thought, and even you said that, I could not understand what was the misconception which he tried to remove.

Mahavir Tyagi: My contention is that after so many years in power, we have not been able to take any positive action towards socialisation (sic). This cooperatives business is not really a big thing. What I mean to say is that let us take up something big.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Tyagiji has said something very relevant. I had not gone into it. I was merely doing what is called a scientific analysis of socialism. We must talk more about this because it is apparent that Tyagiji has not understood what socialism is. I am giving my personal opinion. But it [socialism] is a scientific thing. It is not merely upliftment of the poor though that is also part of it. If you want to have socialism you must see where the First, Second and the forthcoming Third Five Year Plans are taking us. That is the real test. But it is obvious ... what ... yes, yes, that of course is true. We should certainly discuss all this if you want to put more burden on all the classes. That is the first thing. You cannot escape it and therefore it is felt that coercion has to be used. If you read the history of the Soviet Union or China, you will be amazed that China has made such progress. There is no doubt about that. Food rationing, etc., is being tightened in China despite the fact that their rice production has been very good. Everything is being rationed. Why? I don't know but perhaps it is because they want to harness their entire resources towards progress. It is a different matter that people may not be happy. I won't go into that. But basically what Tyagiji said is right, even though I may not accept the logic of what he says. I am not analysing the whole thing. But I feel that it is much more important for socialism to build steel plants than anything else. Of course, even under capitalism it can be done. I mean to say there is a great deal in common between socialism and capitalism. Anyhow, when we want to take this small step, there is a great deal of opposition. They are not bothered that we have not been able to successfully bring in socialism over the last so many years — they don't want socialism. What is the reason for this sudden awakening and uproar? You have to understand that we are facing a class conflict. We have to face it not with belligerence but by trying to explain to people about our position. For the rest, what Tyagiji has said is very pertinent and we must consider them.

GB. Pant: So this is Tyagiji's suggestion.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes. There is a glimpse of it.

GB. Pant: Yes? Alright.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is obvious that you must accept only after understanding the matter fully. In fact, what Tyagiji has said is that we should implement whatever we have been professing all these years. I agree we have not implemented them and they ought to be implemented. That is right.

Translation ends]

42. To Ram Subhag Singh

February 25, 1959

My dear Ram Subhag,

I have received the attached circular letter. It would be a good thing to have a meeting of MPs of the Congress Party, as suggested. I rather doubt if it would be advisable for me to attend it. The INTUC is often said to be completely under the thumb of Government. It is not right to encourage this idea. Of course, there should be close association between the Congress and the INTUC.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

43. To General Secretary, AICC¹⁷⁹

It is difficult for me to give any definite opinion. I do not know either of the candidates suggested. My information is confined to the paper that has been sent to me from the AICC office. Normally I would prefer anyone recommended by the Mandal Committees. In the present case, however, there is a statement by the Chief Minister to the effect that Shri Yadav¹⁸⁰ apparently was in the confidence of the Communist candidate. If this is true, then it is a serious matter.

2. Further, the candidate who was defeated in the last election, Shri Rameshwar Prasad Shastri, took the initiative in getting the election set aside

179. Note, 27 Feb. 1959.

180. Ram Lakhan Singh Yadav(1920-2006); MLA, Bihar, 1952-91, and Minister for Public Health, Engineering, Home Guards, Land Revenue, Land Reforms, Rehabilitation and Relief; joined Janata Dal, 1991; MP, Lok Sabha from Arrah, Bihar, 1991-96.

and he succeeded. In such cases, the normal practice is to allow such a person to stand again. This is by no means a firm practice, but it does incline one slightly in his favour.¹⁸¹

3. In the balance, I am inclined to think that the candidate recommended by Shri S. K. Sinha¹⁸² and apparently by the P.E.C., namely Shri Rameshwar Prasad Shastri, might be preferred. But, as I have said above, this is not a very firm opinion.

44. To Ram Subhag Singh

February 28, 1959

My dear Ram Subhag,

I have three notes from you. One deals with Professor Ranga. I am sorry I have not been able to see him. I shall do so when he returns to Delhi. It is clear, however, that his resignation from the Secretaryship should be accepted. You might place this matter again before the Executive Committee. In fact, I doubt if it is possible for him to continue even as a member of the Party.

Your second letter is about the INTUC and the Congress. It will be a good thing to have a discussion about this. When I return from Lucknow we shall fix a date. Nandaji¹⁸³ should, of course, be invited then.

181. This paragraph and the previous one seem to refer to two disputes: (i) One was within the Patna District Congress Committee and the Bihar Pradesh Congress Committee. According to reports in the *Searchlight*, Ram Lakhan Singh Yadav was elected President of the Patna District Congress Committee on 7 November 1958. This was challenged, and the Executive Committee of the Bihar Pradesh Congress Committee set it aside in January 1959 after invalidating the participation of fourteen members. Yadav then appealed to the AICC, which, on 18 March 1959, reinstated him as President of the Patna District Congress Committee. (ii) The other related to an election to the State Legislature from the Maner constituency in 1957. Bhagwan Singh of the CPI defeated Rameshwar Prasad Shastri of the Congress. Rameshwar Prasad Shastri challenged the result: he lost his case in the Election Tribunal, Patna on 30 November 1957, won it in the Patna High Court on 8 January 1959, but lost it in the Supreme Court on 14 April 1959.

182. Chief Minister of Bihar.

183. Gulzarilal Nanda, Union Minister of Labour, Employment and Planning.

Your third letter is about some one's evidence in the Dalmia case.¹⁸⁴ You might ask Jagjivan Ramji¹⁸⁵ if he knows anything about this.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(b) Social Groups

(i) Refugees

45. To M. J. Desai¹⁸⁶

I spoke to you about this matter today.¹⁸⁷ I agree with the Minister of Rehabilitation¹⁸⁸ that there can be no question of new refugee camps being established for any of these people or of the old camps being continued for their sake. But I do not agree with him about giving rehabilitation grants of Rs 2000/- per family. I do not think that we should raise the question of rehabilitation at all. If once it is known that we shall give such grants, then that will be an invitation for people to come over and we shall have to face a very big problem involving large-scale expense. We must keep in mind that this will not be limited to this particular area and other areas may be concerned.

184. The case against Ram Krishna Dalmia and eight others for conspiracy to commit a breach of trust of the funds of the Bharat Insurance Company, was being argued in the court of the Special Judge H. R. Khanna.

185. Union Minister of Railways.

186. Note to CS, 4 Jan. 1959. File No. 4 (33)-Pak-II/56, pp. 57-58/Note, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

187. On 31 December 1958, M. J. Desai warned of 862 persons possibly entering India from East Pakistan with the Bagge Award coming into force on 15 January 1959. The Rehabilitation Ministry opposed opening refugee camps for them as all such camps were to be closed in West Bengal by the end of July 1959; further, since they would be agriculturalists, it would be nearly impossible to find cultivable land for them. So the Ministry suggested granting them Rs 2000 each instead as was done with Kohati displaced persons from the NWFP, and as might have to be done for the migrants from the Cooch-Bihar enclaves when that exchange should occur.

188. Mehr Chand Khanna was Union Minister of State for Rehabilitation and Minority Affairs.

Many of these people may not, and I hope will not, leave their homes. If any do, as you have pointed out, it will not be a hurried evacuation. Any person who will come will bring his goods and chattels with him. There is no reason why he should lose any of his property there, moveable or immovable. Their case will thus be very different from the case of others.

I am therefore quite clear that we must give no hint of rehabilitation grants, much less of camps. But, at the same time, we must bear in mind that we may have to help special cases.

46. To Sampurnanand

January 4, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,¹⁸⁹

Shah Nawaz Khan¹⁹⁰ came to me some time ago and spoke to me about the Subhashgarh Refugee Colony, near Hardwar.¹⁹¹ I asked my PPS¹⁹² to visit this Colony and report to me. He went there with Shah Nawaz Khan, and they have presented me with a report, a copy of which I enclose for your consideration.

These people are a fine lot of men and women. They are ex-soldiers, they are sturdy and not the kind that go about begging for favours. I think they deserve every sympathy and help. I hope that you will be good enough to look into this matter. Such people are an asset to any community.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

189. Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

190. Ex-INA soldier, and Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Meerut, UP.

191. The Subhashgarh Refugee Colony was established near Hardwar in the early 1950s for the families of soldiers who lost their homes in Pakistan.

192. K. Ram.

47. To Jyoti Basu

Raj Bhavan

Nagpur

January 8, 1959

Dear Jyoti Basu,¹⁹³

I have received the letter dated 4th January sent by you and Bhupesh Gupta¹⁹⁴ to me.

The point you have raised in your letter has been discussed many times and given the most careful consideration. You know that all of us are anxious to do all we can for the refugees and displaced persons. But I quite fail to understand how the attitude you have taken up can be justified from any point of view. Government has the responsibility for rehabilitating the refugees. In order to discharge this responsibility, they have endeavoured to do so and succeeded in a considerable number of cases. They have also spent large sums of money in rehabilitating some of them outside Bengal, just as large numbers of refugees from Western Pakistan have been rehabilitated in other parts of India. For this purpose we have started on a very big scheme in the Dandakaranya area.¹⁹⁵ We would not have spent crores of rupees on such a scheme unless it was worthwhile. Obviously, it is far cheaper to rehabilitate them in Bengal itself if this was possible. In fact, the Dandakaranya scheme is attracting so many people from other provinces that it would be quite easy to fill it up with these people, but we have, for the present, reserved it for the displaced persons in Bengal.

The idea of giving a dole has always been repugnant to me. It is bad for the self-respect of the individual concerned and makes him progressively less self-reliant and more helpless. The large expenditure that the state incurs leads to no permanent result. Obviously such a system should not be continued from the point of view both of the refugees and the Government. I cannot understand how anyone can insist on continuing a dole when adequate facilities for rehabilitation are offered. I do not know of any country where such a proposition has been made. Therefore, it follows that when opportunities for rehabilitation are available, the camps and the dole should stop. If any people are still not willing to take advantage of the opportunities for rehabilitation that are offered, then necessarily the dole will stop and the camps will be closed. I do not know how this can be called coercion. It is open to them to go or not to go. For

193. CPI, MLA of the West Bengal.

194. CPI, Rajya Sabha MP from West Bengal.

195. See p. 13 fn 41.

Government to take up any other attitude is to agree to a permanent dole system and to give up the idea of rehabilitation.

I am surprised and distressed that in a matter which is so obvious, the UCRC—I do not know what these initials stand for—has decided on some kind of a struggle.¹⁹⁶ That, I would call, an attempt at coercion.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

48. To K. Ram¹⁹⁷

The attached paper reminded me suddenly of the existence of the United Council for Relief and Welfare. I had quite forgotten about it. Indeed the organisation has done practically nothing to remind us of its existence, and even its annual meeting has not been held since 1957.

2. Mrs. Durgabai Deshmukh¹⁹⁸ has been more or less in charge of it, and she will probably discuss it with me on the 2nd February afternoon when she is going to see me.

3. As far as I can see, this organisation has outlived its usefulness and should now be wound up. You might send for Shri B.N. Banerjee¹⁹⁹ and have a talk with him and find out any further information that may be necessary.

4. I think a final meeting of the Council will have to be held before we wind it up.

196. The United Central Refugee Council started civil disobedience in Calcutta on 7 January 1959 demanding the rehabilitation of East Bengal refugees within West Bengal first. According to a report in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of 8 January, 108 satyagrahis, including two Opposition MLAs, six children and five women, courted arrest. Hemant Basu, MLA and the President of the UCRC, warned the State Government not to force the refugees to go to Dandakarnya.

197. Note to PPS, 31 Jan. 1959.

198. Chairman, Central Social Welfare Board.

199. Secretary, UCRW.

49. To Mehr Chand Khanna

February 19, 1959

My dear Mehr Chand,

Your letter of February 18th, with which you have sent a long list of political sufferers who are receiving monthly grants from the West Bengal Government. I presume these people stand in need of this grant, which is normally a small one. It will be rather difficult suddenly to put an end to it.

But, in view of what you say, I imagine that the Home Ministry should be the appropriate Ministry in future to deal with this, apart from the Bengal Government itself.

It would be desirable, however, to have these lists carefully examined and some kind of screening to take place. Those who survive the screening should then be considered from the point of view of the liability of the Rehabilitation Ministry, according to its rules. The remainder would then have to be dealt with separately, and the Home Ministry might give thought to this matter in consultation with the West Bengal Government.

I am forwarding your letter to the Home Minister.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(ii) Scheduled Castes & Tribes**50. To Govind Ballabh Pant**

January 22, 1959

My dear Pantji,

I enclose a letter from Rattan Lal Balmiki of the Municipal Workers' Sangh. I do not know what to do with this matter. The previous arrangements about the Community Hall were entirely unsatisfactory and the Harijans there, for whom it was built, had nothing to do with it. I objected to this and suggested that some organisation working for the Harijans might take it up.²⁰⁰ The

200. For Nehru's earlier note of 22 Jan. 1958, see SWJN/SS/41/pp. 330-331.

Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, of course, should not do so. I do not quite know what has been decided, but, from the letter attached, it appears that Sushila Nayar would be put in charge.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

51. Meeting with Tribal Chiefs²⁰¹

PAK FIRING ON BORDER AREA GOVT. WATCHING SITUATION NEHRU'S ASSURANCE TO TRIBAL CHIEFS

New Delhi
Jan. 27

Prime Minister Nehru is understood to have told tribal chiefs who called on him here today that the Government of India was alive to the situation created by firing by Pakistanis in the border area and that the matter was receiving Government's attention.

Mr. Larsingh Khyriem, Deputy Minister of Assam,²⁰² who accompanied the tribal chiefs, had drawn the Prime Minister's attention to firing by Pakistanis on the border and had urged the Centre's intervention to solve the problem.

Mr. Nehru said that Government was anxious to help in restoring peace in the border areas and that the matter was receiving their attention.

Mr. Lelmawia representing the Mizo tribe from Assam, suggested that the Central Government should take steps for opening more technical schools and other educational institutions in the hill areas.

Tribal leaders from Manipur and Tripura said that territorial councils in these areas should be invested with more powers. Tribal representatives from the Kargil area of Kashmir and from the Andaman and Nicobar Islands explained to the Prime Minister some of the difficulties of the people in their respective areas, Mr. Nehru assured them that these would be looked into by Government.

Among those who called on Mr. Nehru was 14-years old Chengepa who represents the Jarawa tribe in the Nicobars.

The tribal chieftains, who are in the Capital in connection with the Republic Day celebrations, witnessed an NCC rally this morning.

201. Report from *The Hindu*, 28 Jan. 1959.

202. Deputy Minister of Agriculture, Cottage and Village Industries in the Assam Government.

52. To K. Ram ²⁰³

This is the note which the Harijans or Sweepers' Delegation from Gurgaon gave me this evening.²⁰⁴ I understand that you have telephoned to them.

2. I do not know the facts, of course, and it is highly likely that the people who came to see me gave me an exaggerated account. But I do not like the look of it, and I have an impression that the Deputy Commissioner and others in Gurgaon have not given a fair deal to these people. They are simple folk who can be easily upset and led away in the wrong direction. It is no good trying to be very rigid about them. However, I want to pursue this matter and know what has happened and why all this trouble has arisen there. Please keep me informed.²⁰⁵

203. Note to PPS, 12 Feb. 1959.

204. This refers to a sweepers' strike in Gurgaon.

205. Nehru wrote to K. Ram again on 14 February: "Please send for Shri Ram Rakha, Ratan Lal and any other people connected with this agitation who might be available and tell them in detail what the Deputy Commissioner has written. Tell them further in view of what he has written I cannot interfere in the criminal case. So far as allegations of beating or torture are concerned, they should certainly be enquired into and they should give particulars and evidence to this effect. There is no question of any officer being suspended or transferred at this stage."

(c) Language

53. To Govind Ballabh Pant²⁰⁶

30th January, 1959

My dear Pantji,

I have read Frank Anthony's²⁰⁷ minute of dissent²⁰⁸ and I am returning it to you. There is no doubt that some of the phrases he has used in it are highly objectionable. I shall be seeing you about this later.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

54. Message for the Sanskrit Vishva Parishad²⁰⁹

I send my good wishes to the Sixth Session of the Sanskrit Vishva Parishad which is being held at Puri early in April under the distinguished Presidentship of our Rashtrapati.

206. File No. 52 (13)/58-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

207. Nominated MP, Lok Sabha.

208. The Committee of Parliament on the Official Language of the Indian Union, was constituted in September 1957 under G. B. Pant to review the report of the B. G. Kher Official Language Commission of 1955. The Pant Committee recommended on 8 February 1959 that English be replaced by Hindi after 1965 with English continuing as the subsidiary official language only. Of the six minutes of dissent, five were in favour of a quicker move to Hindi. Purushottam Das Tandon and Seth Govind Das wanted a separate Hindi Ministry; Pandit Thakurdas Bhargava thought it safer to have just a Hindi Board within the Home Ministry; Raghu Vira and Prafulla Chandra Bhanj Deo demanded restrictions on English and a rapid shift to Hindi; and Harish Chandra Sharma argued for an immediate switch to Hindi and other regional languages. Frank Anthony pointed out that English was an Indian language as the mother tongue of the Anglo-Indian community, objected to treating Hindi and other regional languages as "national" rather than "official", and warned of the danger of regarding the languages of Adivasis as "sub-national." He denounced the "new Hindi" as "Hindi imperialism;" and, owing to the "increasing intolerance and aggression of the Hindi protagonists," it negated secular democracy and tended to "the inevitable disintegration of the country and the ultimate destruction of the minority languages."

209. New Delhi, 2 Feb. 1959. File No. 9/2/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

Sanskrit has been a perennial source of inspiration in India and I think that we should preserve and encourage it even in the modern age in India. In doing so, however, we must remember that it has to fit in with modern urges and modern conditions. It cannot live in an ivory tower unconnected with the world as it is today.

(d) Representative Institutions

55. To Govind Ballabh Pant

Bangalore

February 4, 1959

My dear Pantji,

During my visit here at Bangalore, I remembered that the Governor-Maharaja will be going on leave fairly soon.²¹⁰ I think he intends going about the second week of March and is likely to be away for about two months. Some temporary arrangement will have to be made during his absence, and we might give thought to it immediately.

I spoke to the Chief Minister, Jatti, on the subject. At first, he said that there are no particular problems here and it need not be necessary to appoint a temporary Governor. I pointed out to him that this would not be proper for a period of two months. He then said that any good person can be appointed provided that person did not start interfering with a good situation. I asked him if it would be desirable to appoint the present Chief Justice. Jatti said the Chief Justice was a good man and knew his law, but he knew little about public affairs or about men. He did not think, therefore, that he would be very suitable.²¹¹

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

210. The Governor and Maharaja of Mysore, Jayachamaraja Wodeyar.

211. President Rajendra Prasad concurred, also arguing that the work of the judiciary should not be interrupted; instead somebody else with experience of high public office could be appointed.

56. To Rajendra Prasad²¹²

February 5, 1959

My dear Mr. President,

I have already sent you the draft for the President's address to Parliament.²¹³

There are one or two minor corrections that have to be made in it. On page 8 of the draft, paragraph 26, the penultimate sentence at present is: "The Employees' State Insurance Scheme is being extended to cover an additional nearly fourteen lakhs of workers". This should be changed to:

"The Employees' State Insurance Scheme, which already covers nearly fourteen lakhs of workers, is being further extended".

On page 9, paragraph 30, the draft says:

"A tripartite agreement to which Nepal, Sikkim and India are parties for the construction of 900 miles of road, was signed in January last year". Instead of "Sikkim", it should be "the United States of America". That is, the sentence should run thus:

"A tripartite agreement to which Nepal, the United States of America and India are parties....."

I think I may have to add a sentence to paragraph 23 dealing with the Atomic Energy Commission. Three or four days ago, for the first time some uranium was produced. I am waiting for accurate information about it. If I get it in time, I shall submit it to you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

I have received your letter of the 5th Feb. I hope to be able to see you tomorrow about suggestions you have made.²¹⁴

J. Nehru

212. File No. 5(2)/59, p. 3, President's Secretariat.

213. President Rajendra Prasad addressed the joint session of Parliament on 9 February 1959.

214. The President approved the draft in general, but suggested some changes: (i) greater stress on future policy rather than past achievements; (ii) more specific mention of support to cottage industries in the thrust toward rapid industrialisation; (iii) mention of his visit to Malaya in December 1958. Nehru acted on suggestions (ii) and (iii) but apparently not on (i).

57. To M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar

February 9, 1959

Dear Mr. Speaker,

In this morning's newspapers, reference is made to a speech you delivered yesterday while presiding over a symposium on "Law and Democracy in India". You are reported to have said that "a scrutiny of various Ordinances promulgated by the President and the Governors from time to time would show that there was seldom any hurry to warrant the use of that power. Whether the circumstances demanded any hurry or not, the Executive always seemed to be in a hurry to assume power".

You are further reported to have said that "one felt that the promulgation of an Ordinance was delayed until Parliament session was prorogued. If that was so, it would amount to the very negation of parliamentary democracy". After referring to the desirability of calling a session of Parliament at short notice in case of emergency, and the fact that there were free rail and air passes, you said, according to the report, that "the people must be taken into confidence". You are further reported to have "warned against the Executive being allowed to encroach upon the powers either of the legislature or of the judiciary" and said that "a tendency was noticeable on the part of the Executive to encroach upon the powers of the judiciary by making a particular piece of legislation as final. This is a very wrong tendency. If the Executive was allowed to encroach upon the rights and powers of the legislature or the judiciary, it would provide a fertile ground for dictatorship to grow. Wherever it was allowed, it gave rise to Ayub Khans. About India also, I shall say the more careful we are, the better for us".

I have read this report with some distress. For a person holding the high office of Speaker to condemn the Government for a misuse of executive powers and even for deliberately delaying the promulgation of an Ordinance until Parliament was prorogued, is a serious charge.

You will appreciate that this places members of the Government in a very embarrassing position. It would hardly be proper for them to enter into an argument with the Speaker. On the other hand, when such a serious charge is made, it does seem necessary to examine it in some detail and to place the facts before the public who, as you rightly say, "must be taken into confidence". The reference to Major-General Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan, in this connection is also embarrassing to our Government. Even the members of a Government do not refer to the Head of another Government in this manner. For a Speaker of the Lok Sabha to say this and criticise another country is probably unique. My own impression has been that Speakers are not supposed

to speak in public on controversial issues, either national or international.

I am venturing to write to you not only because I have been greatly distressed and feel that I should draw your attention to this matter, but also because I feel that a question of high principle has been raised which requires clearing up.

Since you have been pleased to refer to ordinances and to indicate that Government have misused that power, I would be grateful if you could kindly indicate when and in what cases this power was misused, so that we can examine those matters and try to avoid such errors in future. The Constitution has definitely given the power to the President to issue ordinances under certain conditions. Presumably, therefore, the makers of the Constitution considered such power necessary and not a negation of parliamentary democracy. As to whether the power has been used properly or improperly, is a matter which should be considered in each case. I would, therefore, beg of you to indicate where we have erred in the past. The Government have a heavy responsibility to carry and they can only function according to their own lights in order to discharge that responsibility.²¹⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

58. The PAC and the Prime Minister's Relief Fund²¹⁶

I do not think it will be appropriate for the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund to be brought under the purview of the Public Accounts Committee and the Lok Sabha. The Fund was not started at the instance of Government as such. An appeal was made by the Prime Minister when starting the fund and certain persons were appointed to supervise this Fund. The Law Ministry was consulted later and they agreed that this Fund should be kept out of public accounts. The Fund is audited by chartered accountants and from time to time figures pertaining to the Fund have been placed before the Lok Sabha in answer to questions. If any such information is required, it will be given. But, on

215. M. Ananathasayanam Ayyangar replied on 11/12 February 1959 that (i) he was speaking extempore; (ii) the newspapers might have put together phrases from different parts of his speech; and (iii) he had no intention of criticising the Government.

216. It is not clear to whom this note is addressed, but in all probability it was to Morarji Desai. 24 Feb. 1959.

reconsideration, I still think that this should not be included in the Government account. The Finance Ministry may deal with this matter accordingly.

59. To N. R. Pillai²¹⁷

It is obvious that this new Question has been put deliberately because the other was withdrawn. Shri Dahyabhai Patel²¹⁸ is a most objectionable person, and I do not think any approach should be made to him about withdrawing this.

2. Perhaps the Chairman might disallow it, but it will not be easy for him to do so as previously he admitted a like Question. I am inclined to think that we should give some kind of an answer. I shall consider this on my return from Lucknow.

3. Meanwhile you might consult the Home Minister. He had seen the previous Question, and it was at his instance that that was withdrawn.

60. To K. Ram²¹⁹

I am entirely opposed to this proposal of Raja Mahendra Pratap.²²⁰ Indeed, I do not even like the idea suggested by the Under Secretary in the Home Ministry that the inmates of Rashtrapati Bhavan should have prayers presumably together. It is open to any individual to pray as he likes, but there should be no congregational prayers of any kind in Rashtrapati Bhavan even for the people there.

2. Raja Mahendra Pratap's suggestions are seldom worthy of consideration. He talks of prayers for a religion of love, whatever that might be.

3. Shri Kamath²²¹ repeatedly raised the question in the Lok Sabha to begin proceedings with a prayer. As far as I can remember, he raised this at the time of the Constitution-making also. On every such occasion, it was opposed.

217. Note to SG, 28 Feb. 1959.

218. Son of Vallabhbbhai Patel, and Rajya Sabha MP from Gujarat; later joined Swatantra Party.

219. Note to PPS, New Delhi, 28 Feb. 1959.

220. Independent, Lok Sabha MP from Mathura, UP.

221. H. V. Kamath, PSP leader and Lok Sabha MP (1952-57) from Hoshangabad, Madhya Pradesh.

(e) Media

61. To M.C. Chagla²²²

January 3, 1959

My dear Chagla,²²³

Your letter of December 17th about the Associated Press supplying news to *The Times of India*. This matter was considered repeatedly and finally by the Cabinet as long ago as May 1953, and it was decided that we could not agree to the request of *The Times of India* as this would expose us to the charge of discrimination. The question of foreign exchange involved was not very important.

I had referred this matter again to the Ministry concerned, and they have repeated the various arguments that were advanced previously when this matter came up before us. No Indian agency can hope to conduct its operations economically unless it distributes, in addition to Indian news, a comprehensive survey of foreign news. We are anxious to build up Indian news agencies.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

222. File No. 43 (134)/59-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

223. Indian Ambassador to the USA.

62. To B.V. Keskar²²⁴

23rd January, 1959

My dear Balkrishna,²²⁵

Bhupendra Sanyal came to see me this morning. I have known him since he was a student in Allahabad, and got mixed up in the Kakori Conspiracy case.²²⁶ He has been associated as Editor or Assistant Editor with the Hindi *Amrita Patrika* of Allahabad which has now stopped.

He is naturally rather bitter against Tushar Kanti Ghosh and his crowd. Apart from the closing of the *Amrit Patrika*, he showed me a number of issues of the English *Amrita Bazar Patrika* issued from Allahabad which overnight underwent a sea change. On the 15th January what was intended to be a new paper came out *Northern India Amrita Bazar Patrika*, N.S. Vol. 1, No. 1. In the earlier editions of this the registration number was not given. Possibly somebody pointed out this later and registration number appeared in later editions. It was the same number as of the previous paper.

Thus this change is presumably to bring about some kind of a formal separation of the Allahabad edition from the Calcutta one so as to escape some of the consequences of the new rules and regulations. The whole thing does appear to be a piece of trickery though it may be strictly in conformity with the law. I do not know. Anyhow, I am sending to you these issues of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* which Bhupendra Sanyal left with me.

I am also sending a memorandum on the closure of the *Amrita Patrika* which he gave me and two personal letters about himself. I do not quite know how to deal with these matters and I should like you to give thought to them and make suggestions. So far as the personal matter is concerned, I should not like Bhupendra Sanyal to be left high and dry. I think we should try to utilise him in some way.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

224. File No. 43 (103)/57-62-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

225. Union Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting.

226. For an earlier reference to Sanyal, see SWJN/FS/4/p.209.

63. To M.N. Cama

January 28, 1959

Dear Shri Cama,²²⁷

I have received your letter of January 24th. I have not been in touch with the *Bombay Chronicle* for many years now, and it is only occasionally that I see it when I go to Bombay. But I am well acquainted with its past record and how we used to look upon it as a gallant fighter for India's freedom.

I am sorry to learn of your difficulties. I do not quite know what I can do in this or any other like matter. Some good newspapers, to my knowledge, have been in considerable difficulties. I have been unable to help them, partly because I am not in a position to do so and partly because in my position, it appeared to me improper to differentiate and favour.²²⁸

Should you wish to see me, I shall gladly meet you, but it is not clear to me what I can do in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

227. (b.1895); Managing Director, *Bombay Chronicle*; *Bombay Samachar* (Gujarati newspaper); President, IENS, 1950.

228. *Bombay Chronicle*, started in 1910 by Pherozeshah Mehta, ceased publication on 5 April 1959.

64. To Nizam Mir Osman Ali Khan of Hyderabad

February 9, 1959

My dear friend,²²⁹

Nawab Zain Yar Jung²³⁰ came to see me today and handed me copy of the note about Mohd. Ismail Zabih and a bundle of Press cuttings from *Hamara Iqdam*.²³¹ From these papers, it is obvious that this man Ismail Zabih is an undesirable and objectionable person. What he writes is also objectionable.

The question, however, as to what action can be taken against him, is a legal question and has to be judged in accordance with the law. Even the detention of a man has to be considered from that point of view because such detention is reviewed by three Judges later. I am writing to the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh²³² and asking him to have this matter examined.²³³

I am glad to learn that Your Exalted Highness has now stopped writing to the Press. This is the best way of avoiding Press controversies and this should gradually put an end to the defamatory writings in the Press about Your Exalted Highness.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

229. Nizam of Hyderabad.

230. Agent-General of Hyderabad in Delhi during the period of Standstill Agreement.

231. According to this note of 7 February 1959 Ismail Zabih edited and published a scurrilous Urdu daily called *Hamara Iqdam* in Hyderabad, which was started in about 1954, taking over from one Zain-ul-Abidin who had fled to Pakistan when the Government prosecuted him for his vitriolic articles against the Government and the Nizam regarding the Police Action in Hyderabad in 1948. He had been a member of the Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen and buttressed the efforts of Qasim Razvi, the leader of the Razakars, who had been imprisoned for seven years before emigrating to Pakistan. Ismail Zabih then joined hands with Abdul Wahed Ovaisi to revive the Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen and inflame the public; both were arrested in March 1958 under the Preventive Detention Act of 1950, and released after promising not to disturb the peace. Nothing deterred, Ismail Zabih published pieces like "Scuffle between the Nizam and the Souls of the Razakars" (11 January 1959) and especially "King Kothi is the headquarters of General Ayub Khan (Pakistan)" (30 January 1959). (King Kothi was the Nizam's palace). An incensed Nizam demanded his arrest again under the same Act.

232. Nehru wrote to N. Sanjiva Reddy and G. B. Pant the same day.

233. See also SWJN/SS/45/p. 333.

65. To S.K. Patil

February 19, 1959

My dear S.K.,²³⁴

I have your letter of the 17th February about the *Bombay Chronicle*. I remember very well the old days of the *Chronicle* and the important part it played in our National Movement. But I must confess that whenever I have seen any copy of the *Bombay Chronicle* in recent years, I have been severely disappointed. It is one of the poorest dailies in India that I know of, both in get-up and content. Even its policy can hardly be called national now.

The proprietor of the *Chronicle* wrote to me some time ago.²³⁵ I do not think that as it is, it is likely to survive and any effort to keep it going will not really help unless everything about the paper changes, which is unlikely. I would not, therefore, like to interfere with the discretion of the I. & B. Ministry in this matter which presumably is in consonance with the policy laid down by Government.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(f) States

(i) Bihar

66. To Jagjivan Ram

January 28, 1959

My dear Jagjivan Ram,²³⁶

You might remember my having a talk with you early in April 1957 in regard to some letters which I had received from Bihar. These letters contained various charges against you concerning the withdrawal of the candidate who had opposed you in the elections. You told me, as I expected, that these charges were baseless and that you were much embarrassed by them. You added that you would deal with them in public speeches in Bihar.²³⁷

234. Congressman from Bombay; Union Minister of Transport and Communications.

235. See Nehru's letter to M.N. Cama on p. 320.

236. Union Minister of Railways.

237. For details, see SWJN/SS/37/ p. 321.

I have now received another letter from the same person together with a number of enclosures, I am sending these to you. These enclosures contain printed notices which have apparently been circulated. This kind of thing must be refuted publicly. Perhaps, you mentioned this in your speeches in Bihar. Did you take any other steps in regard to it?

All of us have to face all kinds of charges and allegations which have no substance but which nevertheless create a disturbance in the public mind. All we can do is to refute them publicly and wherever necessary to take legal action.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(ii) Delhi

67. To K.C. Reddy²³⁸

January 28, 1959

My dear Reddy,

The Head Lama of Ladakh²³⁹ came to me today and said that he would very much like to build a small Tibetan temple in Delhi as more and more Tibetans and other Buddhists from our Lamaist areas came here. He wanted about an acre or a little less of land for it. With the temple will be some residential accommodation. I told him this was a difficult proposition, but I am passing it on to you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

238. File No. 2 (314)/59-67-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

239. Kushak Bakula.

68. To K. Ram²⁴⁰

I read in a newspaper about the illumination of the New Delhi Town Hall. In the course of a drive through New Delhi on the 26th January evening with the Duke of Edinburgh, we passed New Delhi Town Hall. I must say that I was dazzled by the brilliance and the abundance of the illuminations. But I was a little pained and disturbed also. There was no artistry about it and an effect was sought to be created by far too many lights and jarring colours. I suggest that those who are responsible for it might think in future of the artistic and aesthetic sides of such illuminations.

69. To Jogesh Chandra Chatterji

February 1, 1959

My dear Jogesh,²⁴¹

Your letter of January 29th. Your previous letter was forwarded by me to the Home Minister. It has been decided that a suitable plaque will be put up at the site of the old District Jail in Delhi and an inscription will be put on this plaque as a memento of the revolutionaries who had been kept there in prison.

The area now occupied by the District Jail will be utilised for the Medical College.²⁴²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

240. Note to PPS, 28 Jan. 1959.

241. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from UP.

242. A black marble plaque, with the inscriptions of the imprisoned revolutionaries, was installed at the site where freedom fighters were hanged in the Jail. It now lies within the campus of Maulana Azad Medical College in New Delhi.

(iii) Himachal Pradesh

70. To Govind Ballabh Pant²⁴³

I met a deputation from Himachal Pradesh today consisting of Dr. Parmar²⁴⁴ and the President of the Pradesh Congress Committee²⁴⁵ and others. They were much concerned at the fact that Himachalees were not being given opportunities of employment even in the lower cadres as non-gazetted officers. The Congress Committee had expressed its protest at this. They referred to Act 44 of 1957, namely, the Public Employment (Requirement as to Residence) Act which was particularly aimed at helping in such employment in Himachal Pradesh, Tripura, Manipur, etc. Under this act some rules have to be framed, but they have not thus far been framed for Himachal Pradesh.

2. When the Congress Committee protested against outsiders being brought in even for these lower grades, the local representative of some newspaper outside started a propaganda against Congress interfering with the Government. This local press representative has been very specially favoured by the Himachal Pradesh Government. His two sons have been employed in publicity work as also some friends of his who have been recommended by him. Thus, he practically functions as an apologist of the Himachal Pradesh Government and creates a wrong impression about public feeling which is unhappy about these developments.

3. As I am specially interested in the development of roads in Himachal Pradesh, I asked as to what progress had been made. The Planning Commission, realising the importance of these roads both from the point of view of opening out the interior and reaching our frontier, had allotted a fairly large sum of money for these roads. I am told, however, that progress has not been made and in fact the road making programme has been slowed down. It is not quite clear why this should be done from any point of view because roads in Himachal Pradesh are of the first importance.

4. I am passing on this note to you for your information as this Himachal Pradesh deputation is probably going to see you also.

243. Note to Union Home Minister, 23 Jan. 1959. File No. 2 (242)/58-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

244. Y. S. Parmar, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Mahasu, Himachal Pradesh; and former Chief Minister of Himachal Pradesh.

245. Purnanand.

(iv) Jammu and Kashmir

71. To Govind Ballabh Pant

January 3, 1959

My dear Pantji,

Thank you for your letter of January 3rd about the Kashmir Conspiracy Case.²⁴⁶ I met Pathak²⁴⁷ also in Allahabad and had a talk with him about this case.

I am rather doubtful about Mitter²⁴⁸ continuing in this case even for a few weeks. He has not only proved an indifferent lawyer, but totally lacks understanding of the political aspect of the case. In addition, he has been using language, so I am told, against Asoke Sen.²⁴⁹

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

72. To J.P. Mitter

January 22, 1959

Dear Shri Mitter,

I have received your letter of January 19th and have read it together with its enclosures.

I have naturally been greatly interested in Kashmir affairs and have been dealing with them from the political point of view right from the beginning. Consequently, I have been interested in the Conspiracy trial. But I have not been closely connected with its development from time to time. Occasionally, I have been consulted and informed of what was happening. The Home Minister has been in much more intimate touch with it, as also the Law Minister. I am, therefore, sending your letter to the Home Minister.

I was informed that you had prepared the speech for the opening and that copies of this had actually reached the press as well as Sheikh Abdullah. In fact

246. Sheikh Abdullah and twenty-four others were accused of conspiracy to overthrow the State Government, according to the FIR of 9 October 1957 and the charges filed in March 1958.

247. G. S. Pathak, a lawyer from Allahabad; represented the Jammu and Kashmir Government in the Kashmir Conspiracy case.

248. J. P. Mitter, former Judge of the Calcutta High Court. See also the next item.

249. Union Minister of Law.

a copy reached us also. This may have been a draft for consideration, but the fact that it managed to reach the press and Sheikh Abdullah inevitably led to certain consequences. Certain parts of this draft appeared to me to indicate a wrong political approach. In a case of this kind, it is of great importance that there should be complete understanding of our political point of view. I felt that you had not understood this position.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

73. To Vishnu Sahay²⁵⁰

January 29, 1959

My dear Vishnu Sahay,²⁵¹

Tariq Abdullah²⁵² came to see me today. He hardly said anything about his father or about the Conspiracy Case. He spoke about himself. He mentioned one incident to me that when he had gone to see his father at Kud,²⁵³ he left him in the evening. He and his brother or cousin accompanying him, went up to the Tunnel. It was too late to cross it at that time of the night. So they decided to spend the night in the small Rest House at Bannihal. Ghulam Qadir, a policeman, was also staying there. There were many other rooms empty. But Ghulam Qadir told the men in charge of the Rest House that if he put up Abdullah's sons, he would have him skinned. The poor man came to Tariq and said that he was very sorry but he dared not anger Ghulam Qadir, and so he could not put them up.

Tariq then went up to the Tunnel and wanted to cross it. It was after midnight. The sentry there said that this was not allowed at that time of the night. Tariq explained to him the position and how they were completely stranded. It was very cold also. The sentry later allowed them to go through the Tunnel even though this was against orders.

Tariq asked me about Sheikh Abdullah's family allowance. He was not quite sure if it was being continued or not, as Sheikh Abdullah was now a detenu, but an under-trial prisoner. I told him that I did not know anything

250. File No. KS-18/59-p.6, MHA. Also available in JN Collection.

251. Cabinet Secretary.

252. Second son of Sheikh Abdullah.

253. Sheikh Abdullah was detained in Kud Sub-Jail.

about it, but in my opinion the allowance should be continued. Will you please find out about this family allowance? I think it will be improper for it to be stopped or even reduced.²⁵⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

74. To J.B. Kripalani

February 11, 1959

My dear Jivat,

Your letter of February 8th.

I need not tell you how distressed I have been about Mridula.²⁵⁵ But sometimes, events are too strong for us and we cannot control them.

I spoke to Pantji about your interviewing her. He gave me the same reply as he had to you, that is, if you so wish it you can see her, but he was afraid that this might become a precedent for others to desire interviews. Personally, I think that you or Sucheta²⁵⁶ can have an interview with her.

As for her transfer to Sabarmati, we have received no such request yet. But if a request comes from her or her family I think this might be arranged. She should, of course, agree to it. I imagine though that she will probably have greater comforts and amenities in Delhi.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

254. Shankar Prasada, Special Secretary, Kashmir Affairs, GOI, informed Vishnu Sahay on 14/16 February 1959 that Nehru had already been told that Sheikh Abdullah continued to receive the allowance although he was no longer a detenu but was held on a criminal charge.

255. A freedom fighter; organised relief work for refugees and worked for restoration of abducted women after Partition; detained on 8 August 1958 for supporting Sheikh Abdullah.

256. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from New Delhi.

(v) Kerala

75. To Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim

2nd February 1959

My dear Hafizji,²⁵⁷

I enclose a copy of a letter dated the 31st January, 1959, which I have received from V. R. Krishna Iyer, Law Minister of Kerala.²⁵⁸ He has sent me a copy of his letter to you of the same date.

I am anxious to avoid any feeling that we are discriminating against the Kerala Government or that we are not giving them the help that they deserve. Could you kindly look into this matter immediately and let me know what can be done for the Panniyar Project?²⁵⁹

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

76. To K. Ram²⁶⁰

I do not like any impression gaining ground that we are coming in the way of the Kerala Government's development schemes or that we are discriminating against them. Therefore, we should finalise this matter as soon as possible. The sums involved are not big.

2. It should be easy for the C.W.P.C. to find out soon and inform us about the possibility of getting the 7,500 meters in India. If that is not possible, or if only a lesser number are likely to be available, then the balance should be allowed to be imported.

257. Union Minister of Irrigation and Power.

258. V. R. Krishna Iyer had complained on 31 January 1959 about discrimination against Kerala. Foreign exchange for the Panniyar project, along with six other schemes, all core items of the Plan, had been delayed despite assurances from the Power Ministry and the Planning Commission that it would be available by the end of January. On the other hand, the Mysore Government's much more expensive Sharavathi Project, had been approved.

259. Panniyar Hydroelectric Project, developed on Panniyar, a tributary of the Mudirapuzha river, has two reservoirs, at Anayirankal and Ponmudi, to generate about 30 megawatts power.

260. Note to PPS, 2 Feb. 1959.

3. Meanwhile, please verify that the import licence for 5,000 electric meters has been issued and inform me of this.

77. To V.R. Krishna Iyer²⁶¹

2nd February, 1959

My dear Krishna Iyer,

Your letter of the 27th January about the supply of meters.

I have enquired into this matter from the Ministry of Commerce & Industry and am informed that that Ministry have already agreed to the import of 5,000 electric meters for the Kerala Government. The Central Water & Power Commission are trying to get the necessary foreign exchange clearance from the Finance Ministry. Thereafter, the import licence will be issued.

For the present only 5,000 meters are to be imported in this way because it is hoped that the indigenous production, which is being stepped up, will be able to provide the others. In case, however, there is a difficulty in getting the balance of the meters, required by you from indigenous sources, the question of importing this balance of 7,500 or less, as the case may be, will be considered immediately.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

78. To V.R. Krishna Iyer

February 11, 1959

My dear Krishna Iyer,

I am writing to you about the case of a lady which has been brought to my notice. The lady's name is Shri K. Saradamma. She is a Member of the Social Welfare Advisory Board of Kerala. Some time ago she gave some properties as gift to the Swayamprakash Ashram at Neyyatinkara, Chankal. These properties consisted of paddy fields and coconut gardens. A young man, who is said to be a member of the Communist Party, is preventing the Ashram from taking the yield from these lands. He lives in a small cottage on one place of this property. But, according to the report received by me, he has no other rights in the property.

261. File No. 17 (219)/57-61-PMS.

The lady has written to our Secretary General, N.R. Pillai, to whom apparently she is related, and asked him to bring this matter to my notice. I think N.R. Pillai has written to your Government on the subject drawing their attention to it.

Could you kindly have this matter enquired into?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(vi) The North East

79. To Saiyid Fazl Ali

January 16, 1959

My dear Fazl Ali,²⁶²

Thank you for your letter of January 13th. I shall certainly meet Luthra²⁶³ when he comes here.

As for giving assistance for rehabilitating Churches, etc., the sum asked for is absurd. I think, however, that we should give some reasonable sums from time to time for this purpose.

As for the village guards,²⁶⁴ I realise their importance, but, after the recent experience we had, we shall have to be careful in choosing them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

262. Governor of Assam.

263. P. N. Luthra, Commissioner, Nagaland.

264. The Village Defence Corps. See SWJN/SS/41/pp. 510, 513-518.

80. To Ministry of Home Affairs²⁶⁵

I saw Dr. Verrier Elwin²⁶⁶ today. He had recently been to Manipur and Tripura and he told me that he was very worried about the tribal situation in these States. He spoke highly of Raina,²⁶⁷ Chief Commissioner of Manipur, but then he said that some experienced senior grade officers in these two States, who belong to the IAFS²⁶⁸ and had been brought from NEFA, were spending all their time in doing revenue and like work. Their special training in tribal work was thus not utilised and they could not spend much time over it. He suggested that one such IAFS officer both in Manipur and Tripura might be asked especially to look after tribal affairs which required a great deal of looking after.

2. Dr. Verrier Elwin had been asked by us to visit Tripura and Manipur occasionally and offer such suggestions as he has to make about conditions there and what should be done in regard to tribal affairs. It was in this connection that he went there. He said, however, that his visits did not help as much as they might otherwise do as he did not know what was being done and saw no papers, etc. He had no connection with either Tripura or Manipur. If a somewhat closer connection could be evolved, he might prove much more helpful. He suggested that if he was asked officially to advise on tribal affairs in Manipur and Tripura, this closer connection might be established.

81. To Subimal Dutt²⁶⁹

Dr. Vernier Elwin came to see me today. He spoke to me about Manipur and Tripura which he had visited. I am dealing about that aspect with the Home Ministry.

2. Then he spoke to me about NEFA and said that the amount of paper work that our political officers have to do there is fantastic. They are constantly preparing reports for various Ministries here, including Commerce & Industry, Food & Agriculture, Community Development, etc. In fact, he said that External Affairs was on the whole kind to them in this matter. I suppose that every

265. Note, 28 Jan. 1959.

266. British anthropologist who worked in the North Eastern region of India; Adviser to the Governor of Assam.

267. Jagat Mohan Nath Raina.

268. In fact, it is IFAS.

269. Note to FS, 28 Jan. 1959. File No. 11 (3)-NEFA/58, MHA. Also available in JN Collection.

circular that is sent to various states by the different Ministries is sent to NEFA also, whether it applies to it or not, and so all kinds of trade and production figures are asked for. Some of the examples he gave me sounded ridiculous.

3. All this paper work and reporting takes up a great deal of time of the political officers and diverts them from their principal duty, that is, looking after the tribal people. Could we save them from this rather unnecessary work and limit the reporting to only such matters as are necessary for NEFA?

4. He spoke to me also about the people living on the Tibet border who are emotionally attracted to Tibet. The Tibetan officers on the other side are often telling them that they would be coming back there and attaching them to Tibet. The problem is how to integrate them emotionally to India. It was for this purpose that we had suggested sometime ago that school buildings and the like might be given a Tibetan look which would be much appreciated. Also, certain solidity to give a sense of permanence. He said that some designs had been made for such buildings. They were good designs, but they were also more expensive. On this ground of expense, Finance had objected. Elwin said that so far as the general school buildings, etc. were concerned, they should be as simple and cheap as possible, but it would be desirable near the border to put up just a few more solid and pretentious buildings, partly after the Tibetan style. This would impress people there. This matter appears to deserve consideration.

5. Then he referred to the attempts being made to build up big villages instead of scattered population. He had once written about this and there was rather a long note in reply from, perhaps, our Ministry pointing out the advantages of these bigger villages. Some of the advantages are obvious. We could have a school there and other activities. Nevertheless, Verrier Elwin thought that uprooting people from their scattered dwellings was not desirable. They are deeply attached to their land and many other matters, and such removal was not liked and creates some feeling of resentment. He said that these tribal people do not think of walking a few miles as of any consequence and are used to it.

6. Lastly, he again referred to what in fact we have said, i.e. any attempt at imposing something on the people should be avoided. This would not be merely a question of not giving orders, but avoiding the methods of subtle pressure. They are simple folk who take even a hint as an order.

82. To J.M. Raina²⁷⁰

6th February 1959

My dear Raina,

Rani Gaidinliu²⁷¹ of the Manipur Nagas has been here for Republic Day. She came to see me today and gave me a representation, a copy of which I enclose.²⁷²

I have been interested in Rani Gaidinliu since the early thirties when she got into trouble and was sentenced, I think, to death at first.²⁷³ In view of all this past, I am treating her somewhat exceptionally. I sent her Rs. 3,000/- some years ago to build a house.²⁷⁴ Apparently she has not done so yet or used the money. She says that it is not enough for her to build a house. She lives in a remote area and she cannot get material, etc. She says that Rs. 10,000/- is necessary for the house.

I told her that it was unfortunate that she had not started building all this time and I could not find Rs. 10,000/- for her. She should build the house, as much of it as she can, and then we shall see. I have promised to give her Rs. 2,000/- for the house.

I am sending you Rs. 2,500/-. You may give Rs. 2,000/- to her for the house. As for the remaining Rs. 500/-, you may use your discretion, that is, you can give her the sum or part of it for her other expenses. She gets a pension of Rs. 100/- which she says is not quite enough. I am not quite sure who gives her this Rs. 100/- the Central Government or the Assam Government. Originally, I think the Assam Government used to pay her but now I suppose it is the Centre which pays her.

I should like your advice as to whether you think Rs.100/- which she gets now is not adequate and, if so, what more should we give her.²⁷⁵

270. File No. 13/1/59-Poll.II, MHA. Also available in JN Collection.

271. A freedom fighter from Manipur, imprisoned during the freedom struggle.

272. Rani Gaidinliu wrote in on 5 February 1959 asking for money and support to the Kabui Naga, who, she claimed, "is the most backward tribe in Manipur," and was persecuted by the army. She recommended recruiting Gaibirungpu Kabui into the IAS as he was the first graduate from the tribe.

273. Nehru wrote about her on 9 December 1937 in an article in the *Bombay Chronicle* of 21 December 1937. See SWJN/FS/8/ pp. 501-502.

274. For Nehru's earlier references to Rani Gaidinliu, see SWJN/SS/ 31/ pp.139-140 and SWJN/SS/34/pp. 163-164.

275. Raina replied on 26/27 February 1959 that the Home Ministry's allowance of Rs. 100, dating from 11 February 1956, should be raised to Rs. 200.

You will see in the representation a reference to the conditions at the Tamenglong Sub-Division and a request that someone from the tribe should be appointed there. The name of Gaibirungpu Kabui is mentioned. I do not know what can be done about it. But it is certainly desirable to encourage some of these backward people when they get educated. Even if normally they would not come in, a point should be stressed in their favour. This is a matter of course which should be settled with the Home Ministry. I am merely expressing my immediate reaction. You can see the young man yourself and make such recommendation as you think proper.²⁷⁶

I hope that your wife's²⁷⁷ efforts at encouraging Manipur dancing are bearing fruit.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

276. Raina also informed Nehru that Tamenglong Sub-Division was indeed the focus of development activity, that a motorable road up to Imphal would be completed in 1960, that he had problems with insurgents going through Manipur to East Pakistan, that several gazetted officers from the Kabui and other tribes had been recruited, and that he had requested Gaibirungpu Kabui to meet him. They were also attending to the revival of folk art in the hills.

277. Vimala Raina.

83. To N. R. Pillai, Subimal Dutt and B. N. Chakravarty²⁷⁸

I enclose a letter from the Governor of Assam about Major Khathing.²⁷⁹ I do not know what the facts are but it is clear to me that, in the present circumstances, we cannot reduce Major Khathing's basic pay. If there is any rule contrary to this, that rule will have to be by-passed in this case and some special decision will have to be taken. The Naga situation is a difficult one and Major Khathing has distinguished himself. In fact, he has been given one of the President's Awards. After that to go by some rule and do something which will have the contrary effect will be rather absurd.

2. You might draw the attention of the Finance Ministry to this and if there is any difficulty, the Finance Minister²⁸⁰ might be good enough to speak to me.

278. Note to SG, FS and SS, 16 Feb. 1959.

279. Ranenglao Khathing (1912-1990); nicknamed "Bob" by Americans during World War II; Tangkhul Naga from Manipur; taught at Ukhrul High School, 1937-39; enlisted and commissioned into the 9/11 Hyderabad Regiment; transferred to the newly raised Assam Regiment in Shillong, 1942; distinguished himself during the War in Ukhrul area, and awarded the Military Cross; Minister in charge of Hill Administration under Maharajkumar Priabrata Singh of Manipur, October 1947-49 (till Manipur's merger with the Indian Union); joined Assam Rifles, 1950; taken into IFAS, 1951 and appointed Assistant Political Officer, and sent to Tawang to reorganise the administration there. He "declared that under the 1914 Shimla Treaty the area South of Macmahon Line belonged to India, and by show of force he made the Tibetans to withdraw. He exempted taxes and arranged material relief for the population. His assertion that Lhasa would not be permitted to exercise authority south of Bumla laid the seeds for eventual integration of the strategic area into Indian Union." [Excerpt from letter from Col. (Retd) V. K. Singh, Deputy Director (Administration), USI of India, 24 Feb. 2012]; Deputy Commissioner, Mokukchung, Naga Hills, 1953-57; attended National Defence College, New Delhi, July 1961- Apr. 1962; sent on deputation to Sikkim Government as Development Commissioner, 1962; Security Commissioner, NEFA at Tezpur, Nov. 1962 to Jan. 1967; Chief Secretary, Nagaland, 1967-72; Indian Ambassador to Burma, 1972; Advisor to the Manipur Government during the President's Rule, 1980. [Courtesy: USI].

280. Morarji Desai.

84. To Subimal Dutt and B. N. Chakravarty²⁸¹

Broadly I agree with the approach in SS's note.²⁸² Specific proposals might be put up for discussion.

2. I might point out that powdered milk or, perhaps, even condensed milk is now produced in the Anand Dairies of Gujarat. It is quite good. We should arrange for a supply of this to our officers in the NEFA.

3. The question of running a hostel in Shillong should be enquired into. The hostel should not be confined to the children of our officers. It should be open to scholars from the Naga Hills as well as any others.

4. I am not quite clear in my mind about a helicopter. Enquiries might be made, but helicopters are not very safe or desirable methods of travel in high mountains.²⁸³

5. Among the amenities which are especially prized in isolated places are books, periodicals and radios. Obviously, each such establishment should have a radio. I do not know if there is any arrangement to send them books and periodicals. I suggested this in the case of our Mission in Tibet. Practically, the same considerations apply in the NEFA area. A little money spent on books and periodicals would, I am sure, yield satisfactory results. From time to time, the books can be exchanged in that area.

281. Note to FS and SS, 19 Feb. 1959. JN Collection.

282. The Home Ministry had provided statistics of the recreational facilities in NEFA; 22 clubs from 1950-1951 now being increased to 57; reading matter like the *Illustrated Weekly of India*, *Reader's Digest*, a Hindi periodical, and daily newspapers; radio sets and sports material. In addition, while roads were being built, they proposed to use helicopters in emergencies, which led to Nehru's cautionary comment.

283. B. N. Chakravarty had noted on 16 February 1959 that the difficulties of communication were being tackled by construction of jeepable roads, wherever possible, and suggested the use of helicopters in times of emergencies. This, he felt, would go a long way to remove the feeling of isolation in these areas. Helicopters, which could go up to a height of 10,000 ft, were being made in the USA and Canada, were worth acquiring as IAF helicopters could only go up to 3000 to 5000 ft.

(vii) Punjab

85. To Tara Singh

Raj Bhavan, Nagpur
7th January 1959

My dear Master Tara Singh,

I have received your two letters, one dated the 3rd January and the other 5th January, 1959.²⁸⁴

After you came to see me last,²⁸⁵ I sent the paper you had given me and a report of our conversation to the Chief Minister of the Punjab. You will appreciate that in matters before the Punjab Legislature it is not desirable for me to interfere. That would be interference with provincial autonomy. It is true that we confer about various matters from time to time. I discussed this question of the Gurdwara Amentment Act with Sardar Partap Singh Kairon and he explained the situation to me and said that there was no question or desire to interfere in Sikh religious affairs by the Government. The proposal embodied in the Gurdwara Amendment Act was being arrived at to make a somewhat better arrangement for representation of Sikhs till elections took place as the old arrangement was not representative or satisfactory.

As you desire to pay a visit to Pakistan in order to go to Nankana Sahib and Dera Sahib, Lahore, there will be no difficulty in your obtaining the necessary passports. I have spoken to the Chief Minister of the Punjab about it and he is issuing instructions to his Government to have such passports as you require issued to you.

You have suggested that I should ask someone to accompany you on your visit to Pakistan. I do not see any necessity for this and it is not our custom to attach people in this way.

I hope you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

284. Tara Singh deplored the increased intrusion of the Congress government into Sikh religious affairs after the Gurdwara Amendment Act, 1959 (See also p. 14 fn 43). To seek "inspiration and blessings" to counter these activities, he was going on a pilgrimage to all Sikh holy places, starting with the Nankana Sahib and Dera Sahib in Lahore. He would go alone and refuse to speak with anyone in Pakistan, lest his mission be misunderstood. He demanded full support from Nehru thus: "Please instruct Deputy Commissioner, Amritsar, to issue passport for me with a car, driver, and another attendant immediately."

285. See SWJN/SS/45/pp. 357-358.

86. To K.L. Shrimali

January 25, 1959

My dear Shrimali,²⁸⁶

The other day I met Prithvi Singh²⁸⁷ at Ambala. I spoke to Partap Singh Kairon about him also and enquired about Prithvi Singh's work. Partap Singh told me that he was very satisfied with his work and would not like to lose him. I asked him if perhaps he could spare him for a time so that we could try him in other work and see how he functions. Partap Singh was agreeable to do this for three months or so.

Do you think it is possible to have Prithvi Singh here for three months or so and attach him to your National Discipline Scheme, more especially the training of instructors? He could give some ideological basis to the training which perhaps these people lack at present.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

87. To Jane B. Drew²⁸⁸

February 27, 1959

Dear Mrs. Drew,²⁸⁹

Thank you for your letter of 22nd January and for the catalogue on Le Corbusier's²⁹⁰ Exhibition. I have found this catalogue very interesting reading, and the pictures are good.

As it happens, I went to Chandigarh today after about a year and spent a few hours there. The occasion was the laying of the foundation stone of the

286. Union Minister of State for Education.

287. Prithvi Singh Azad was Director of the Institute of Physical Culture in Saurashtra.

288. File No. 7 (118)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

289. (1911-1996); architect, Assistant Town Planning Adviser to Resident Minister, West African Colonies, 1944-45; Senior Architect to Chandigarh Capital Project, Punjab, 1951-54; completed work includes housing, hospitals, schools and colleges in UK, West Africa, etc including universities in Nigeria, Middle East and India; a section of Festival of Britain, 1951; town planning, housing and amenity buildings in Iran, West Africa and India.

290. Chief Architect, Chandigarh Capital Project, Government of Punjab.

Science Block of buildings in the University campus.²⁹¹ During the past year, Chandigarh has grown quite considerably. I must say that my liking for it grows also. I think that when all the major buildings have been constructed and more people live there, it will be a very attractive town.

If you come to India next month, I shall be happy to meet you again.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(viii) Rajasthan

88. On the Bhooswami Sangh²⁹²

Ever since the Rajasthan Government began to consider the question of jagirdari abolition, in accordance with the National Policy, repeated reference has been made to me on behalf of the jagirdars. At one relatively early stage, the jagirdars, represented by the Rajasthan Kshatriya Mahasabha,²⁹³ requested me to arbitrate in this matter as between them and the Rajasthan Government, I made it clear that I could not undertake this work unless the Rajasthan Government agreed to it. Further, that I was neither expert enough in regard to jagirdari or tenancy matters nor had I the time to consider these matters in any detail. Therefore, all I could do was to refer it to the then Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, who would, after due consideration, send his recommendations to me.

2. The Rajasthan Government were agreeable to my undertaking this work, and both they and the Rajasthan Kshatriya Mahasabha further agreed to the suggestion I had made that Shri Govind Ballabh Pant should consider this matter. Shri Govind Ballabh Pant was good enough to give a great deal of time to it and presented his report to me. This report and his recommendations were accepted by me.²⁹⁴

291. See pp. 481-489.

292. Note on the report of Nawab Singh and Tarlok Singh of the Planning Commission, 5 Jan. 1959. File No. 7 (79)/58-65-PMS.

293. An association of jagirdars.

294. Pant Award of July 1953. See SWJN/SS/23/pp. 90-91.

3. Originally, the proposed legislation dealt with jagirs with an annual income above rupees five thousand. Later, it was proposed to extend the scope of the legislation to smaller jagirs also, thereafter, a further reference was made to Shri Govind Ballabh Pant. After a good deal of consultation and negotiation, an agreement was arrived at in regard to a number of matters in dispute. So far as I was concerned, I felt that the matter had been finally settled on the basis of Shri Govind Ballabh Pant's recommendations.

4. However, the Bhooswami Sangh²⁹⁵ was dissatisfied in regard to some matters, and it was suggested again that I might agree to arbitrate in regard to these particular matters which had remained unresolved. Both the Chief Minister of Rajasthan and the representatives of the Bhooswami Sangh expressed a wish that I should consider and arbitrate on these unresolved matters. It was clearly understood that the scope of the reference to me would be in regard to these unresolved matters, and not to any others which had been finally decided.²⁹⁶ I agreed to undertake this work, but made it clear that a detailed examination of the questions referred to me would have to be done by some experienced people in the Planning Commission. This was agreed to by the parties concerned.

5. Thereafter, I requested the Planning Commission to have these matters fully examined, and Shri Nawab Singh²⁹⁷ and Shri Tarlok Singh²⁹⁸ were appointed to do so. I have now received the report of Shri Nawab Singh and Shri Tarlok Singh. It is evident from this report that the questions at issue have been very fully and carefully considered and numerous consultations have taken place with the representatives of the Rajasthan Government as well as of the Bhooswami Sangh. On several occasions, Shri Nawab Singh and Shri Tarlok Singh visited Jaipur for the purpose of these discussions. The report is a detailed one, and I should like to express my gratitude to them for the able and exhaustive way in which they have dealt with these questions.

6. This report came to me at the end of November. I am sorry that I have not been able to deal with it earlier. I was anxious to give full thought to it and waited, therefore, when I had some leisure to do so.

7. I have now fully considered this report and I agree with the recommendations made in Part VIII, paragraph 32, of the report. These recommendations are attached to this note as an Appendix. In the nature of

295. A group of small jagirdars, who opposed the Pant Award and were agitating for better compensation for their jagirs under the Rajasthan Land Reforms and Resumption of Jagirs Act of February 1952.

296. See also SWJN/SS/ 26/pp.237-238, and SWJN/SS/33/pp.283-285.

297. Adviser, Programme Administration, Planning Commission.

298. Additional Secretary, Planning Commission.

things, it was not possible to have rigid rules which could be applied to the various questions raised. But full consideration was given to all the circumstances and to similar legislation made in other states, as also to the necessity of the decision being a fair one to the jagirdars affected and to the State.

8. I accept, therefore, the recommendations contained in paragraph 32 of the report, dated November 29th, 1958, of Shri Nawab Singh and Shri Tarlok Singh.²⁹⁹ I trust that the parties concerned will appreciate that these recommendations and my decision on them have been taken after due care and full consideration of all aspects. There has been a good deal of controversy and agitation over this matter. I hope that this will end now and a period of cooperation between the jagirdars and the Rajasthan Government will be ushered in.

89. To Jai Narain Vyas

January 14, 1959

My dear Jai Narainji,³⁰⁰

I have your letter of the 13th January about the Nathdwara affairs.³⁰¹ I have been concerned about these affairs and have gone into them rather thoroughly from time to time. Nathdwara was not only a case by itself but represented to me the entire problem of temple properties in India. We hope to have All India legislation for the proper control of temple properties all over India. We have been consulting all State Governments on this subject. Some have already got good laws.

As for past offences by the Mahant, we have gone into them and have been unable to get a legal grip. The matter is, however, under the consideration of the Home Minister.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

299. The two officers recommended that : (1) the Bhooswami Sangh's memorandum related only to jagirs below Rs 5000 ; (2) the administrative charges be reduced and additional multiples of net income be given as rehabilitation grant; (3) Rs 4 lakhs be distributed, in consultation with Bhooswami Sangh, as compensation for improvement in special cases; (4) Rs 15 lakhs be used for rent relief; (5) grievances against the Ajmer Abolition of Intermediaries and Land Reforms Act, 1955, be taken out of the purview of this arbitration.

300. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Rajasthan.

301. This refers to the discovery of a treasure in the Nathdwara temple. See SWJN/SS/ 41/ pp. 529-530.

90. To Mohanlal Sukhadia

14th January, 1959

My dear Sukhadia,³⁰²

I have received a letter from a person from Udaipur saying that the dak bungalow in Bhilwara is being reconditioned for my sake and that about a lakh of rupees is going to be spent on this. I hope this is not so. I do not like money being spent in this way just because I am going there. That money can be spent in much better ways. Even if the dak bungalow has to be reconditioned, it is far better to do it independently of my visit so that it may not be connected with it. I can easily stay there without any changes.

I should like you to let me know precisely how I can go to Bhilwara from Delhi. From Bhilwara I shall have to go to Bombay.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(ix) Uttar Pradesh

91. To Sampurnanand

January 29, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received from Chandra Singh Rawat, MLA.³⁰³ I have always felt that the supply of drinking water in our villages as well as in the towns is of the highest importance and should be given top priority. That people have to purchase water at four annas a tin is bad.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

302. Chief Minister of Rajasthan.

303. Rawat's letter of 28 January described the acute shortage of drinking water in the Garhwal area and claimed that abundant supplies were available 11 miles away from the western Nayar Nadi; the Irrigation Department had estimated it could be tapped with an outlay of Rs. 10 lakhs and a recurrent expenditure of Rs. 1 lakh.

(x) West Bengal

92. To Atulya Ghosh

February 19, 1959

My dear Atulya Babu,³⁰⁴

Your note. I have not contradicted Dr. Roy³⁰⁵ in so far as he said that the State Government was not consulted. It is a fact that there was no formal consultation with the State Government. But we have always tried to keep in touch with the State Government and more especially with its officials. Whenever there is a conference with Pakistan on such subjects, the officers of the West Bengal Government are invited and are present.³⁰⁶

According to this policy, a number of officers of the West Bengal Government came to Delhi when I met the Prime Minister of Pakistan. I saw them and had a word or two with them occasionally, but they had full talks with our senior officials. I was not present then, but I was definitely given to understand by our officials that the Bengal officials were agreeable to the proposals being made. It is obvious that there was some misunderstanding between these two sets of officials.³⁰⁷

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

304. PCC President, West Bengal.

305. B. C. Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal.

306. This refers to the transfer of a part of Berubari Union in the Jalpaiguri district of West Bengal to Pakistan under the Nehru- Noon Pact.

307. B. C. Roy informed the West Bengal Assembly on 17 December 1958 that he had found on enquiry that the State Government Revenue Officers, Chief Secretary S. N. Ray, and Director of Land Records, Raghu Banerjee, were among the Bengal team who were present in the ante-room when Nehru-Noon conference was going on in Delhi but they gave no opinion regarding the points at issue (transfer of parts of Berubari) nor were they authorised to do so. See also pp. 88-89, 573-575 and 581-584.

93. To Atulya Ghosh

February 25, 1959

My dear Atulya Babu,

Your letter of the 23rd February. I quite understand your difficulties, but the fact is that if this matter of Berubari goes to any tribunal for arbitration, the chances are that we shall lose the whole area. Because of this, a certain decision was arrived at, and I am naturally committed to it.

I am, however, prepared to agree to a further consideration of the legal points and whether we should consult the Supreme Court in regard to them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

94. To B.C. Roy

February 26, 1959

My dear Bidhan,

Mihir Sen, the channel swimmer,³⁰⁸ has written to me that he is in great financial difficulties because of the monies he borrowed to finance his channel swim. He says that he has incurred debts amounting to five hundred pounds in England and great pressure is being brought to bear upon him to pay these debts immediately, or else he will be taken to court. He further says that debts amounting to about Rs. 25, 000/- have to be paid in India, and he has to pay heavy interest, 18 per cent, on these debts. However, he adds, that he will, so far as the Indian debts are concerned, try to liquidate them gradually, but the English debt of £500/- is urgent and he must pay this somehow very soon. So he asks me for help.

He says that he has applied to the West Bengal Government and that Prafulla Sen³⁰⁹ was very sympathetic to him, but nothing has happened.

I think that we should help him. I am prepared to send him some money though, I am afraid, I cannot send him £500/-. I should like your advice in this

308. Mihir Sen swam the English Channel in 14 hours and 45 minutes on 27 September 1958. He was the first Asian to do so.

309. Congressman and a Minister in the West Bengal Government.

matter. Also I should like to know if the West Bengal Government can help him to any extent.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(g) Goa and Pondicherry

95. To Mahadeoshastri Joshi

17th January, 1959

Dear Shri Joshi,³¹⁰

I have received your letter of the 15th January. I can very well understand your concern for the health of your wife, Shrimati Sudha Joshi,³¹¹ who is in prison in Goa. So far as we are concerned, we shall do all we can for her, but, you will appreciate, we cannot do very much from here. Our information, however, is that she is keeping fairly good health.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

96. To Subimal Dutt³¹²

I enclose a letter from Shri Mahadeoshastri Joshi about his wife, Sudha Joshi.³¹³ I do not know what we can do about this matter, but we should do something. Perhaps we might approach the Egyptian Embassy and request them to take some steps.

Please acknowledge the letter.

I enclose also a letter from Dr. Samboo of Paris. Please have it acknowledged also.

310. A Marathi writer.

311. President of the Goa National Congress.

312. Note to FS, 3 Feb. 1959. File No. 13-5/59-Goa (Ngo) p.2/n., MHA (MEA).

313. Mahadeoshastri Joshi again wrote on 31 January 1959 that his wife, Sudha Joshi, had fallen ill in jail, and she needed to be shifted urgently to a proper hospital.

97. To Indira Gandhi³¹⁴

Shri Goubert³¹⁵ of Pondicherry has come here and has met me. He complained that the officials in Pondicherry were standoffish and did not mix with the public. On further enquiry, it appeared that what he really wanted was that the Chief Commissioner³¹⁶ and other officials should help him and his group. He agreed, however, that nothing much could be done before the elections which are going to take place in a few weeks time.³¹⁷

2. Our Chief Commissioner at Pondicherry tells us that the Congress Party in Pondicherry is in a mess and Goubert's leadership is not accepted by some other members of the Party. Apparently, the Madras Congress leaders also do not approve of him much. I do not know if there is any other person who is better than Goubert. Meanwhile, the Communist Party in Pondicherry is carrying on a vigorous propaganda getting effective speakers from Kerala.

3. It is suggested that some leading Congressmen from outside Pondicherry should visit the area and try to revitalise the Pondicherry Congress Party. Otherwise, Congress is not likely to do well in the elections. I do not know who can be sent there, but in any event, the Tamil Nad Congress Committee should be asked to help.

(h) Sikkim

98. To MaharajaTashi Namgyal of Sikkim

February 16, 1959

My dear Maharaja,³¹⁸

Thank you for your letter of the 6th February, 1959, about Rustomji, the present Dewan of Sikkim.³¹⁹ I know well that Shri Rustomji has done good work in Sikkim and that this has been appreciated by Your Highness. Last year, you were good enough to write to me on the subject of his extension, and I

314. Note to the Congress President, 12 Feb. 1959.

315. Edourd Goubert, leader of the Congress Party in Pondicherry.

316. L.R. S. Singh.

317. Pondicherry State Assembly was dissolved on 28 October 1958, as internal differences within the Congress Party had made the Government unstable, and the administration was taken over by the Chief Commissioner. Elections were held between 11 and 14 August 1959 in Pondicherry, Karaikal, Mahe, and Yanam.

318. Maharaja of Sikkim.

319. N. K. Rustomji was Dewan of Sikkim from 1954 to 1959.

recommended this strongly to the Chief Minister of the Assam Government, who had been pressing for Shri Rustomji's return to his State.³²⁰ It was with some difficulty that the Assam Government, at my earnest request, agreed to extend the period of Shri Rustomji's stay in Sikkim by another year or so. They have been pressing me again for Shri Rustomji's return. I find it very difficult to refuse their request after the promise I made to them last year.

Shri Rustomji has been in Sikkim now for about five years. During this period, the question of his return to Assam has been repeatedly raised, and I have had to request the Government of Assam to agree to further extensions. On the last occasion, I practically assured them that there would be no further extension. Your Highness will appreciate my difficulty in this connection now. Last year, there was a question of elections in Sikkim. Those elections are now over. I quite understand that, after elections, fresh problems arise, and a person with experience will be helpful. But I have placed my own difficulty before Your Highness. After a good deal of search, we have selected a suitable officer who could take Shri Rustomji's place. Realising that a person who goes to Sikkim, must have certain special qualifications to suit that post, we have taken some pains in this selection. I think that he will be able to discharge his duties satisfactorily to Your Highness.

I am very glad to learn of the progress being made in Sikkim of the various development schemes. My last visit there in September is fresh in my memory and I particularly remember with great appreciation Your Highness's kindness and hospitality.³²¹

With warm regards and good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

320. For Nehru's letter to B. P. Chaliha, see SWJN/SS/41/pp. 652-653.

321. Nehru stopped in Gangtok on his way to Bhutan on 16 & 17 October 1958 and on 1 October on his way back. See SWJN/SS/44/pp. 305-332.

(i) Administration

(i) General

99. To Ram Narayan Chaudhary³²²

जनवरी 3, 1959

प्रिय राम नारायण जी,³²³

आपका 2 तारीख का पत्र मिला।³²⁴ आपने एक उसूल का सवाल उठाया है। उसका जवाब तो तभी सही मिल सकता है जबकि ठीक-ठीक मालूम हो कि किस शर्त पर रुपया दिया गया था। ज़ाहिर है कि अगर एक खास काम के लिए दिया गया था, तो दूसरे काम में उसे नहीं लगाना चाहिए और बगैर इजाज़त के। लेकिन कभी-कभी ऐसा होता है कि इस क्रिस्म की इजाज़त मिल जाती है। ऐसे हर सवाल को अलग देखना होगा।

दूसरा जो आपका सवाल है, उसका जवाब मैं नहीं दे सकता जब तक की पूरी तरह से मालूम न हो कि वाक्यात क्या हैं।

आपका

[जवाहरलाल नेहरू]

[Translation begins:]

January 3, 1959

Dear Ram Narayanji,³²⁵

Received your letter of the 2nd.³²⁶ You have raised a question of principle. The right answer can be given only when we know the conditions on which the money was given. Obviously, if it was given for a particular purpose, it should not be used for anything else and that too without permission. But sometimes this kind of permission is granted. Therefore, every question has to be examined on its merit.

322. File No. 40 (12)/38-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

323. Information Secretary of Bharat Sewak Samaj.

324. Ram Narayan Chaudhary had questioned the legality and morality of the Bharat Sewak Samaj spending money for purposes other than as stipulated. He also asked about somebody receiving a salary from one department while working in another.

325. See fn 323 in this section.

326. See fn 324 in this section.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

About your second question, I cannot answer it without fully knowing the facts.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Translation ends]

100. To V.K. Krishna Menon³²⁷

I do not think it is at all feasible for the President to go through parts of Old Delhi on his way from Rashtrapati Bhavan to Raj Path. That would not only upset the entire programme, but would also be a great strain on the President. It was in order to please residents of Old Delhi that he was good enough to agree to go there in the evening. I do not know how he goes there, in a car or a carriage and pair. To take six or eight horses through the narrow streets of Delhi would be bad for the horses as well as the spectators.

2. I have no objection to some folk dance items taking place in Old Delhi, provided proper arrangements can be made for this. A great deal of organisation is necessary for this, and I am not at all sure that this will be possible in the Ramlila Grounds without a very considerable expense. Also, it is not easy to find time for this. Last year, a proposal was made to give a special show for children. As far as I remember, this was not considered possible because no suitable time could be found for it. If time is found and the Delhi Corporation can make suitable arrangements, some such programme can be fixed up.

101. International Congress of Jurists³²⁸

Mr. Chairman, (I presume there is a Chairman, I don't know,)³²⁹ distinguished delegates, ladies and gentleman, I am happy to be here to accord you a warm welcome on behalf of the Government of India and of myself. Standing here I feel somewhat overawed by these serried ranks of eminent jurists, lawyers,

327. Note to Defence Minister, 4 Jan. 1959.

328. Inaugural address to the plenary session of the International Congress of Jurists, New Delhi, 5 Jan. 1959. AIR tapes, NMML. Also available in PIB files and leading newspapers.

329. The six-day Congress was organised by the Indian Commission of Jurists, of which M. C. Setalvad, Attorney-General of India, was President.

and judges. Most of us have had some kind of experience or other of the law. My own experience has been varied, both to begin with as a lawyer, appearing before judges, later as a prisoner in the dock, and so it might be said that some of us who similarly circumstanced were able to see both sides of the question, because, the first thing that strikes one, who has had the privilege of this type of experience is, that there are two sides to a question. Even though only one side decides.

However that may be, it is clear that unless a community lives under a rule of law, it will tend, well, to be lawless, to have no rule, and that means more or less an anarchical way of subsisting. So, a rule of law has to be there to bind the community. And so the first objective of this Commission, International Commission of Jurists, is to preserve and maintain the rule of law, seems to me synonymous with the maintenance of civilised existence. Also, if there is to be a rule of law, there should be independent people, judges, to administer that law. Otherwise, the law may be used and exploited not in the interests of the law, but in other interests. Those two basic facts seem to me to stand out.

At the same time some difficulties arise in facing the consequences of this. One difficulty of course is when law ceases to function, as in war. War presumably is an absence of law and only the person with the biggest gun is supposed to be the arbiter of events. If war is the absence of law, as it is, and not only on the battlefield but far away from the battlefield, the atmosphere of war, the effect of war on people's thinking dulls their sense of the law even in the home countries which may be far removed from the theatre of war. The law seldom functions with the objectivity, the dispassion in the times of war.

If that is so, during times of war, real war, some effect of that surely must come during times of cold war, affecting the objectivity of people, moving them to take up stronger attitudes than they normally would, and thereby becoming advocates, more than judges, inevitably not deliberately, because even judges cannot rise above always the atmosphere prevailing around them. So, it seems to me that when we live in a period of what is called a cold war, we suffer to some extent from that psychology of war which comes in the way of the rule of law; which comes in the way of objective, dispassionate consideration of problems, and which tends almost inevitably to make us bend this way or that way. From the point of view, therefore, of the law, the worst possible environment for it to flourish is war and to a somewhat lesser degree, a cold war. And I am not surprised, therefore, that law and justice often are casualties when such an atmosphere flourishes.

Now, as I said, law seems to be the basis of civilised existence. Without it society would go to pieces. At the same time, society changes. It is not static as we know very well. It has changed vastly because of, let us say, industrial

and technical advance—and the law has normally adapted itself to it, it had to. If it does not adopt itself quickly enough, there is a divergence, there is a gap between the functioning of the law as it has functioned for some time past, and a new development in society, due to many happenings, such as technological changes, etc. Undoubtedly, some aspect of the law must be considered to embody some moral or ethical principles. Some other aspects, maybe the application of those principles to changing circumstances. And when those circumstances change, the application may also have necessarily to change, otherwise there is friction. Obviously, the law of, let us say, 1000 years ago when society was very different would not fit in with the society today. Therefore, law has changed. Therefore, law itself is a changing thing apart from some basic approaches. It cannot be otherwise, the moment it is static it becomes out of touch with the changing society. And yet, there is that danger of the law becoming static or lawyers having to deal so much with basic things and precedents, thinking more in terms of an unchanging approach to problems and not realising that life is ever-changing. I suppose the two functions, the two things have to go together in life, in society; the static element which keeps it firmly rooted to certain basic principles, and which gives a certain continuity; and the element of change which is so essential in a changing society.

You want both continuity and change. Without one of them, difficulties arise, as they have often arisen. It is obvious, that where things are not ideal, people want to change them. If there are opportunities of change afforded to them through constitutional and peaceful methods, probably they will take advantage of them. If they are not open to them, such opportunities, what then are they to do? What is a country to do under foreign rule with no constitution or anything? Where is the rule of law? It is a law imposed by an authority, which does not respond to the will of the people. Therefore, all foreign rule, according to that rule of the law, which you so ably administer, all foreign rule is outside the pale of law. All imposed rule is outside the pale of law. It follows logically although practically there may be difficulty that is a different matter. The rule of law, requires many other things—equal treatment, no racial discrimination, and all that, yet we know that all this takes place. And therefore, it is outside the pale of law.

The rule of law requires that the individual's rights should be protected, and they should be protected, of course. And as our Attorney-General pointed out to you, our Constitution in India lays special stress on the rights of the individual. And if I may say so, it is not our Constitution only, but the whole background of our ancient law also says so. Now, in protecting the rights of an individual, no law prohibits that individual to function in a predatory manner against his neighbor or against society. That is, the law is supposed to curb the

predatory instincts of the individual. Now, where does protection of the rights of the individual fit in with curbing the predatory rights or the predatory instincts of that individual. Some line has to be drawn somewhere, and the line may vary. Otherwise the individual would become a menace to society or a group may become a menace to a society.

I am merely putting before this distinguished audience some difficulties and problems that arise in my mind because we live obviously in changing times. And times change with amazing rapidity. If the distinguished lawyers and jurists of Plato's day had met together and they were very able men, they would have taken slavery for granted, human slavery, it was one of the accepted things, nobody challenged it, not only then but till much later. And yet, later it was not only challenged and condemned but uprooted practically all over the world because the social mind would not accept it as such. So, other things, which may have been considered good in a certain age may become not so good or out of date in a subsequent age.

Now every one knows that society changes very greatly because of scientific and technological developments. People's lives change, their associations with each other, their problems, their businesses, their methods of production, distribution everything has changed in the last 200 years because of the industrial revolution and the law has tried to keep pace with these changes, and has often kept pace with them because it is obvious that the law, which applied to a pre-industrial society, would hardly be applicable to the complicated society of today. And, now, the changes go on at a terrific pace, in this jet age or space travel age, bringing about new problems. All this leads one to think that the rule of law which is so important, must run closely to the rule of life. It cannot go off at a tangent from life's problems and be an answer to problems which existed yesterday, and are not so important today. It has to deal with today's problems and yet law by the very fact that it represents something basic, fundamental, has a tendency to be static. That is the difficulty. It has to maintain that basic fundamental character, but it must not be static as nothing can be static in a changing world.

So this International Commission of Jurists has this tremendous responsibility to look at this changing world, changing before our eyes from day to day, changing social relationships, changing the relationship of nations with each other, intimate contacts arising, coming into being all over the world between the countries, distances being annihilated, every country being practically the neighbor of the other country, and all these changes, which were unknown in the old days. When law of any kind or international law was considered all these are new problems, in a new context, in a new environment, and to look at these as dispassionately as possible, even in an age which suffers

from this atmosphere of cold war, it is difficult task. But I am sure, that the eminent judges and jurists, who are present here and who are used to dispassionate consideration of problems, would be able to face it, but before one faces it, one has to formulate the question or the problem, just as in the court the issues have to be framed. And unless they are correctly framed, the decisions may lead you away from the central factor, which you are considering.

I have ventured to place some thoughts that come into my mind, and I do feel that law, just as law and war are incompatible, to a lesser extent but still to some extent, law and cold war are incompatible just as law is a pre-condition of freedom and peace or rather the other also works, that freedom and peace are necessary before the law functions properly, both sides, both aspects have to be considered.

The Attorney-General referred to various matters of deep interest,³³⁰ which also lead one to think, lead one into various avenues of thought and perhaps in the course of your discussions you will consider those various approaches and the consequences of those approaches, because the biggest thing today in this fact of a rapidly changing society. And unless that is kept in mind, one is apt to be left behind in one's thinking and action. There is, as the Attorney-General said, the judge who protects the individual from the dangers of wrong executive action that is very necessary, I think, and yet it may be that in a changing society, the judge may be left a little behind by the changes that have come over society and may not quite represent that mood which happens to be the mood of society and which perhaps represents reality more than the statute law which the judge administers. It may be even the executive represents that much more for the moment, it may of course be that the executive acts wrongly and oppressively and should be pulled up, but they are all these aspects of these questions, which are not so simple as to be put down in a phrase, in a simple phrase.

I welcome you again distinguished delegates, and wish you success in your labours.

330. Setalvad discoursed upon the rights of the individual, fundamental rights, a free judiciary, the enforcement of the law, the need for representative institutions, free elections and judicial review, and the danger of dictatorship.

102. Speech at Nagpur³³¹

Equal Pay for Equal Work is Government Aim

Nagpur, Jan.6—Prime Minister Nehru said here yesterday that he believed in the principle that there should be no disparities between the salaries of Central and State Government employees doing the same type of work. But, he said the removal of the existing disparities was rather difficult just at present. He, however, hoped that a day would come when it would be possible for the Government to ensure against equal pay for equal work for its employees.

Pandit Nehru was addressing an all India conference of lower grade Government employees held here under the auspices of the Vidarbha 'Laghuvetan Sarkari Karmachari Sangh'.

The Chief Minister of Bombay, Mr Y.B. Chavan, was present at the conference during Pandit Nehru's address.

Pandit Nehru advised the Government employees to put in their best efforts in their work because they must realise what mattered ultimately was the progress of the country and that every one of them was an equal partner in the common task of banishing poverty and ensuring the basic necessities of life for all the people.

Mr. T. C. Nirale, regional president of the conference, welcoming Pandit Nehru, urged that the recommendations of the Central Pay Commission should be extended to State Government employees as well.

Pandit Nehru was presented by the organisers of the conference with specimens of birds made of conch shells.

103. To Balwantray Mehta

Raj Bhavan

Nagpur

January 8, 1959

My dear Balwantray,³³²

Your letter of January 2 has been forwarded to me here. I am sorry that anything that I said pained you. I have no particular recollection of what you refer to

331. PTI report of an address to Lower Grade Government Employees, Nagpur, 6 Jan. 1959.
From *National Herald*, 8 Jan. 1959.

332. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Gohilwad, Bombay State.

and what I said. Indeed, I cannot even remember the occasion. I remember that once at a Committee meeting of the Party Executive, some member present referred to the Estimates Committee and the Public Accounts Committee, and probably I replied to it.

In the past, not recently, various reports had reached me about the manner of treatment given to our officials and others who went to these Committees. This was particularly so before you became Chairman.³³³ I have not received any such report recently. Another type of report has sometimes come to me that quite a great deal of time has to be spent by a large number of officers at one and the same time when they are summoned to these Committees. I had said that it might not be necessary for many officers to be summoned from the same Ministry as a rule. Whoever is wanted could be sent for, as, otherwise, work tends to suffer.

I am sure that you would not be discourteous to anybody.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

104. To Vishnu Sahay³³⁴

Will you please see these papers? I have read the various notes from the Atomic Energy Commission. I have not considered their proposals for the next budget.

2. This does seem to me to raise an important question of procedure. We have given greater autonomy to Ministries in regard to drawing up of their budgets, subject to the overall figures which are available. So far as a highly technical and specialised field like the Atomic Energy is concerned, it is inevitable that we should rely on their judgment and it seems rather odd for some Under Secretary or Deputy Secretary in the Finance Ministry to sit in judgment over the Financial Member of the Atomic Energy Commission as well as the Commission itself.

3. Please, therefore, enquire into this matter and discuss it with Dr. Bhabha³³⁵ when he comes here.

333. Mehta was Chairman of the Estimates Committee, 1958-59.

334. Note to Cabinet Secretary, 13 Jan. 1959.

335. Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission, and Secretary, Department of Atomic Energy.

105. To K. Ram³³⁶

In regard to the cases which are pending departmental action (mentioned in paragraph 20, page 8, on this note),³³⁷ you might address the Ministries concerned in regard to such as are older than one year. You might just say that my attention has been drawn to these cases and I shall be glad if their consideration is expedited.

2. I should particularly like to know what is the one case in External Affairs which is over one year old.

106. To Vishnu Sahay³³⁸

I enclose a copy of the curriculum vitae of Hashim Raza Ali Bakht.³³⁹ He is a descendant of the old royal family of Delhi. I have come across him because his family was resident in Allahabad and his grandfather was a judge of the High Court there.

2. You will see about his qualifications, etc., from the paper attached. He has struck me as a person of good character and some ideals. He is just under 29 years of age at present.

3. I should imagine that a man of his qualifications and character should prove useful to us in some way or other as our work is expanding. You might send for him and have a talk with him and keep him in mind.

4. You will get his Delhi address from my P.S. Shri Srinivasan.³⁴⁰

336. Note to PPS, 15 Jan. 1959.

337. This refers to the report of the Special Police Establishment for the month of December 1958.

338. Note to Cabinet Secretary, 18 Jan. 1959.

339. Author of *The life & adventures of a prince* (n.p., Javaid Prakashan, 2007) and *Sunrise in Banaras : Memoirs of the author, descendant of the Mogul Emperors, about his family* (Allahabad: Palak Prakashan, 2008).

340. C. R. Srinivasan.

107. To Vishnu Sahay³⁴¹

For the last two years, we have been observing Martyrs' Day on the 30th January. Work is supposed to stop that day at 11 a.m., and the President goes to Rajghat, and there is firing of guns and two minutes' silence.

2. All offices are supposed to stop work during those two minutes and people in the offices are supposed to gather in one place for the purpose.

3. As I have been attending the Rajghat ceremony, I have not been in office. I do not quite know what happens in the offices. But I am told that this two minutes' silence, gathering together of all people in the office, has not been very successfully managed. Perhaps, it would be better for office people to gather in a number of places inside the office, in small groups, at 11, and at the strike of 11, stand up and observe the two minutes' silence. You might discuss this with Secretaries and devise means to make this properly and solemnly observed.

108. To Vishnu Sahay³⁴²

For a long time past, there has been an argument about the proper arrangement of our office accommodation. At present it is not very rational or conducive to good work. Naturally, when some people are occupying certain premises, they are reluctant to leave them. But it is obviously desirable to have a more rational arrangement so that it may ultimately be conducive to better and more efficient work. Unfortunately, not much has been done in this respect and the old arrangement continues with dispersed offices, etc., leading to waste of time and energy.

2. I should like you to look into this matter and make necessary adjustments. The chief consideration, of course, is that work should be done efficiently and without people having to travel hither and thither. This matter has been pending for a long time and something should be done soon.

341. Note to Cabinet Secretary, 18 Jan. 1959.

342. Note to Cabinet Secretary, 19 Jan. 1959.

109. To D.P. Karmarkar

January 19, 1959

My dear Karmarkar,³⁴³

I am sorry to write to you about a relatively minor matter. But as my attention has been drawn to it, I think I might pass it on to you.

I gather that for selection to posts of the teaching staff in the Lady Hardinge College, there used to be a Committee with D.G., H.S. as Chairman, the Principal of the College, the professor concerned and an outside expert. That is, it was a technical committee. Now, a fresh Selection Committee has been formed with Lakshmi Menon³⁴⁴ as Chairman, and the D.G. has been eliminated from this Committee. The removal of the D.G. from the Selection Committee seems to me rather odd. He can hardly sit in judgement over the Committee's choice afterwards. Generally speaking, such selections should be left to experts and technical people.

I further understand that a certain Miss Chitale has been promoted to the post of D.A.D.G. without reference to the D.G. or the Secretary. Her special qualification apparently was as a librarian.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

110. To John Matthai

19th January 1959

My dear Matthai,³⁴⁵

Thank you for your letter of the 17th January. We have naturally to respect your views in this matter. But may I point out that there is no question of giving a title to anybody. We are forbidden to give titles by our Constitution. These are just awards involving no addition to the name of a person. Perhaps you might reconsider your decision on this basis?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

343. Union Minister of State for Health.

344. Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs.

345. Former Union Minister of Finance.

111. To B.N. Chakravarty³⁴⁶

I agree.³⁴⁷ I might add that I am entirely opposed to rigid rules and am in favour of flexibility. If a really competent and suitable person is available for a particular post of responsibility, then no rules in any service should come in the way of his appointment.

112. Message to the Incorporated Law Society of Calcutta³⁴⁸

I am interested to know that the Incorporated Law Society of Calcutta³⁴⁹ is celebrating its Golden Jubilee soon. I send it my good wishes on this occasion. In India we believe firmly in the Rule of Law and I hope that we shall continue to do so. But I have been much troubled, especially recently, by the long delays of the Law and how in some of the High Courts of India many appeals are not disposed of for ten years or more. I think this matter deserves the urgent attention of all of us and, more especially of lawyers. At any time justice delayed is sometimes justice denied. In the modern world, with increasing pace of events, these delays are particularly distressing.

346. Note to SS, MEA, 20 Jan. 1959. File No. 26 (4) NEFA/59, MHA.

347. B. N. Chakravarty had written that the Indian Frontier Administrative Service was specially created on 1 December 1957 for administration of the frontier areas and their officers, with experience of administering tribal areas, were particularly suitable for NHTA. He suggested an increase in the deputation reserve of the IFAS from 4 to 11 in Grade I, and from 2 to 4 in Grade II. If any officers of comparable seniority and experience were available from the IAS or other Class I Service, they should not be debarred from appointments in NHTA.

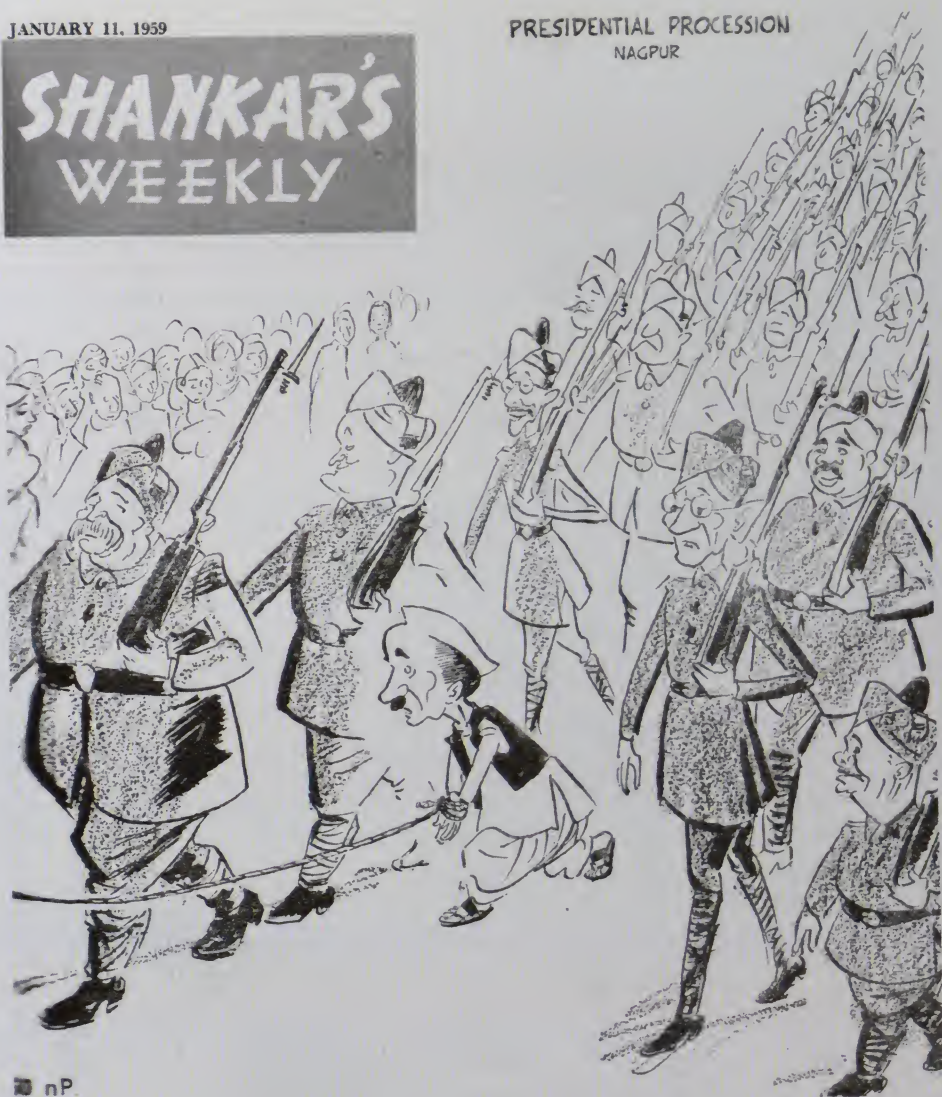
348. For their Golden Jubilee, 21 Jan. 1959. PIB files. Press reports on 22 Jan.

349. An association of attorneys, solicitors and advocates.

JANUARY 11, 1959

PRESIDENTIAL PROCESSION
NAGPUR

SHANKAR'S WEEKLY



FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 11 JANUARY 1959.

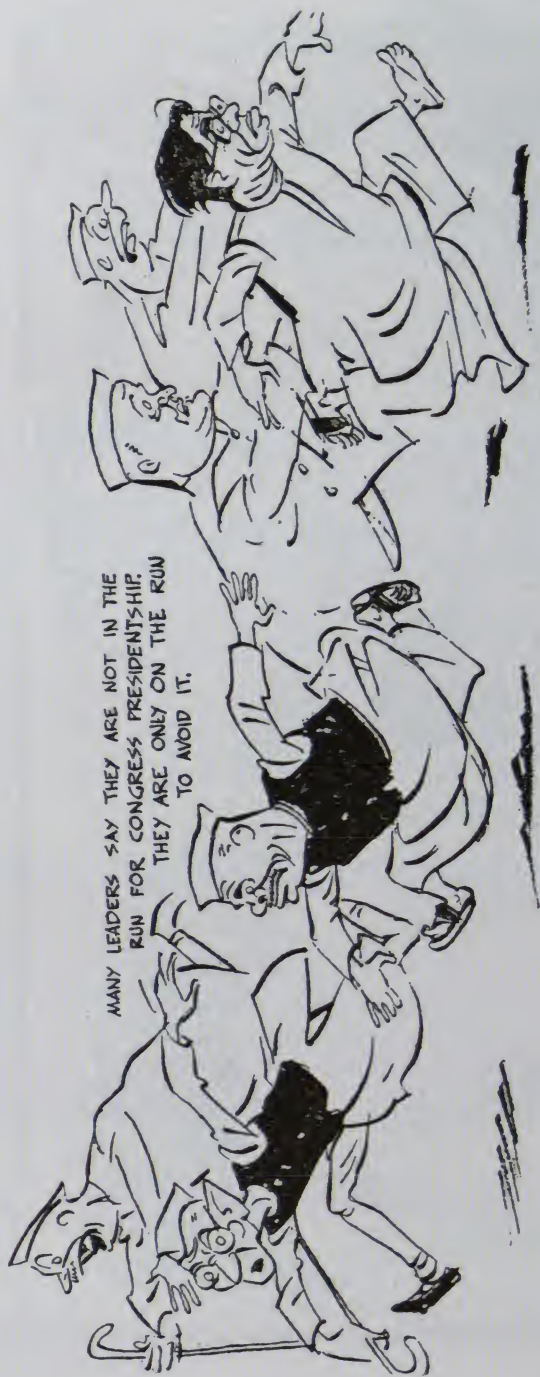
FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: G. B. PANT, S. K. PATIL,
U. N. DHEBAR, G. L. NANDA, MORARJI DESAI, JAGJIVAN RAM,
LAL BHADUR SHASTRI

[LEAVING IT TO BURN]

DHEBAR ADMITS CONGRESS
IS PASSING THROUGH A
TESTING TIME.
AND SO HE IS LEAVING
PRESIDENTSHIP.



[RUNNING AWAY]



FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 18 JANUARY 1959

G. B. PANT, MORARJI DESAI, LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI, S. K. PATIL, C. SUBRAHMANYAM

No Takers?



The chance of a Congress President to succeed Mr. Dhebar has not been found easy, says a report.

FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 4 JANUARY 1959

MORARJI DESAI, K. KAMARAJ, B. C. ROY, GULZARILAL NANDA, JAGJIVAN RAM SECOND ROW FROM LEFT: SAMPUERNANAND, G. B. PANT
THIRD ROW: S. K. PATIL, BOTTOM: LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI. U. N. DHEBAR

A Matter Of Nursing

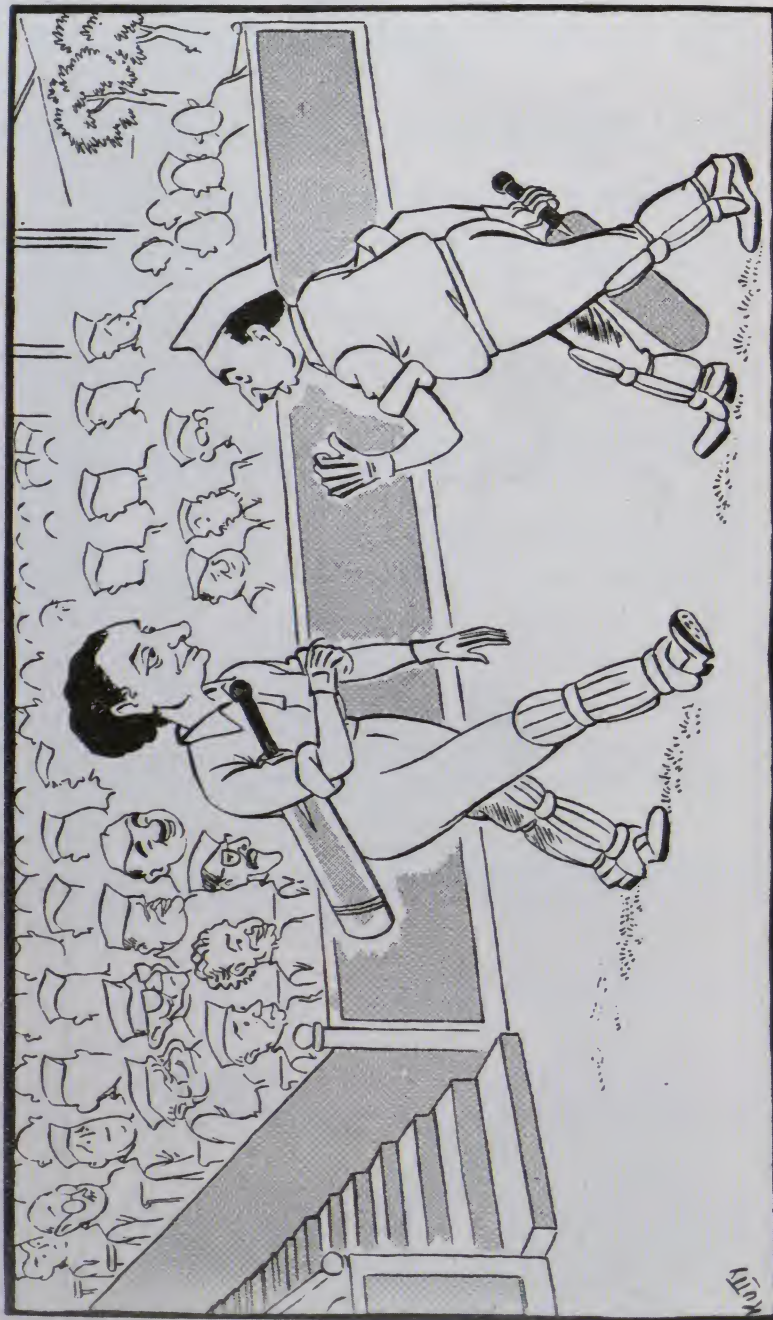


Various Pradesh Congresses have put up Mrs. Indira Gandhi's name to succeed Mr. Dhebar as President.

FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 25 JANUARY 1959

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU AND INDIRA GANDHI WITH CONGRESS LEADERS

Sticky Wicket

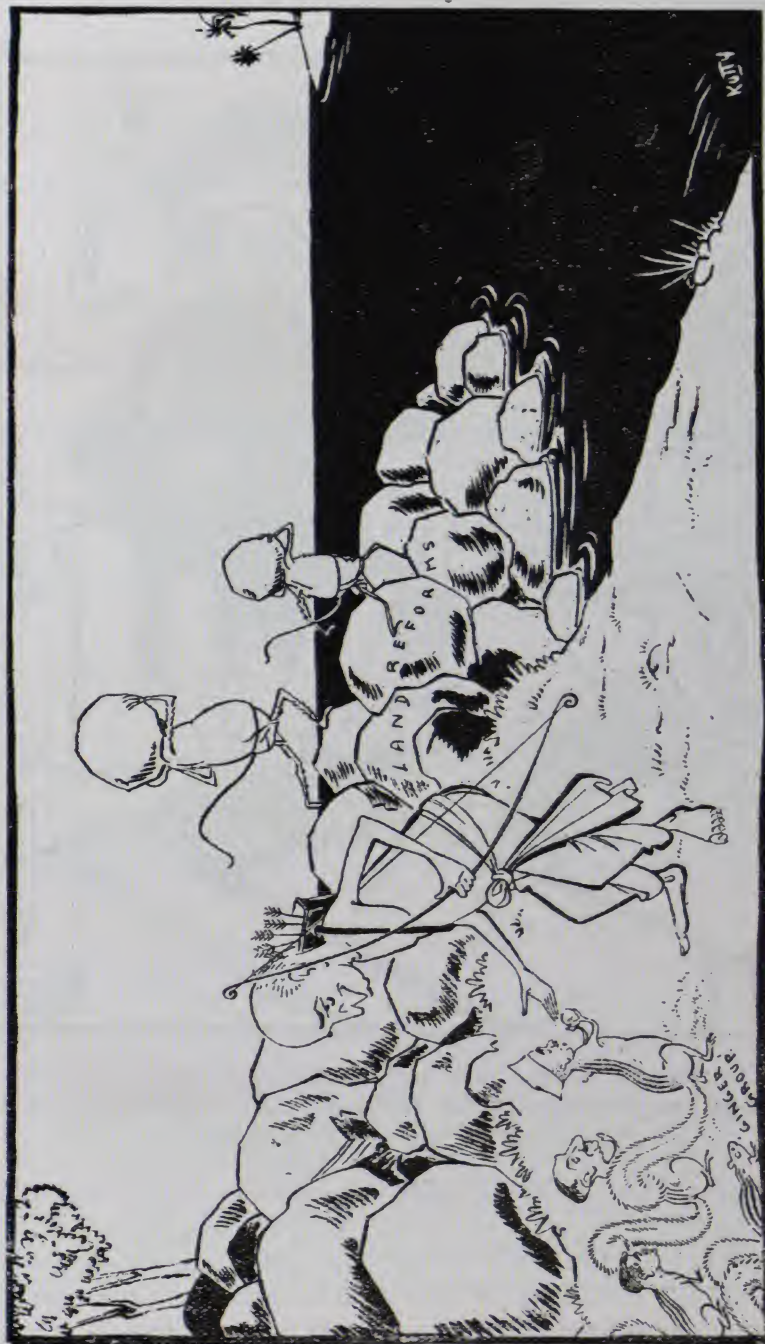


Mrs. Indira Gandhi has succeeded Mr. Dhebar as President of the Indian National Congress.

FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 8 FEBRUARY 1959

INDIRA GANDHI AND U. N. DHEBAR

Their Mite



The Congress "Ginger Group" met in Delhi and decided to do their best to accelerate the land reform and agricultural policy laid down at the Nagpur session.

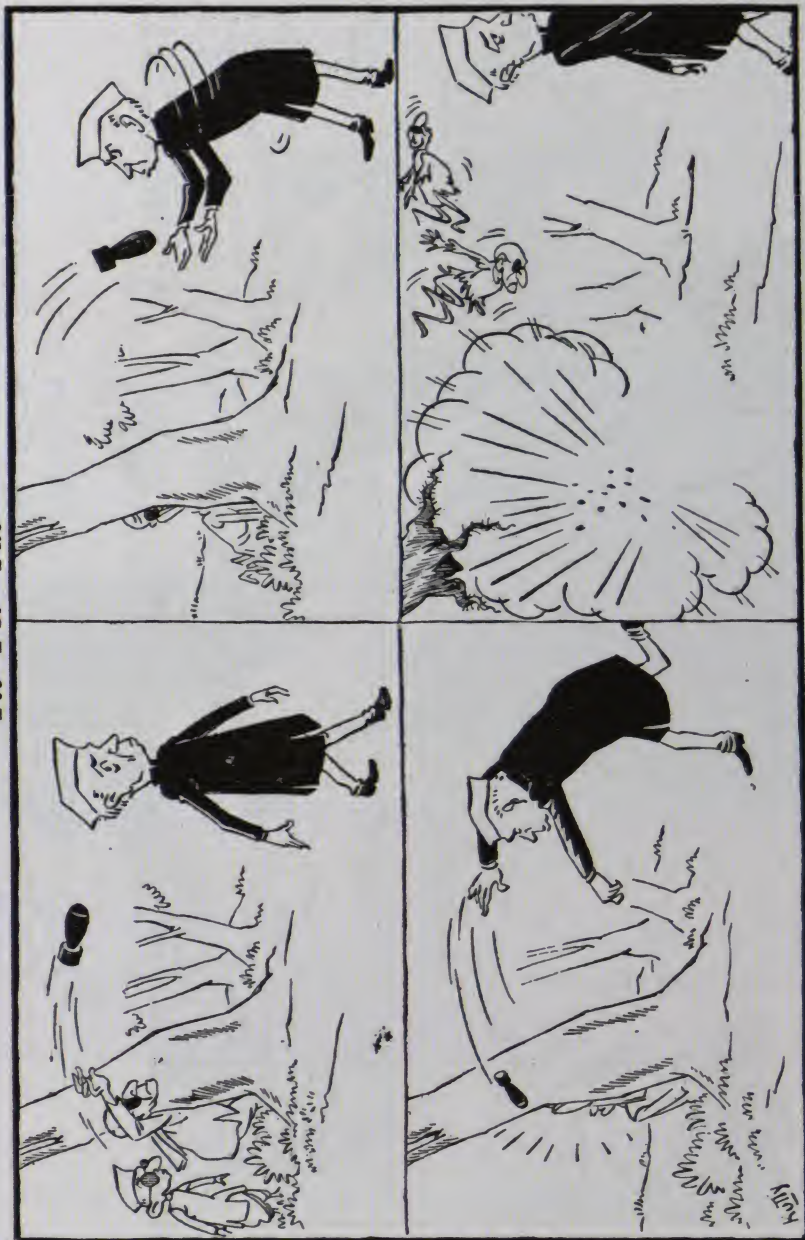
FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 22 FEBRUARY 1959

[NON-COOPERATION VS COOPERATION]



"We are people who launched ourselves into the non-cooperation movement at Bapuji's call. Who are these cooperation mongers of today?"

Tit For Tat



The Prime Minister at his press conference effectively answered the criticism of cooperative farming voiced by Rajaji and Mr. K. M. Munishi.

FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 15 FEBRUARY 1959

To The Promised Land



Manit Nehru said the Nagpur Congress resolutions blazed a new trail.—Report.

FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 18 JANUARY 1959

U. N. DHEBAR, JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, G. B. PANT, LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI,

MORARJI DESAI, JAGJIVAN RAM, V. K. KRISHNA MENON

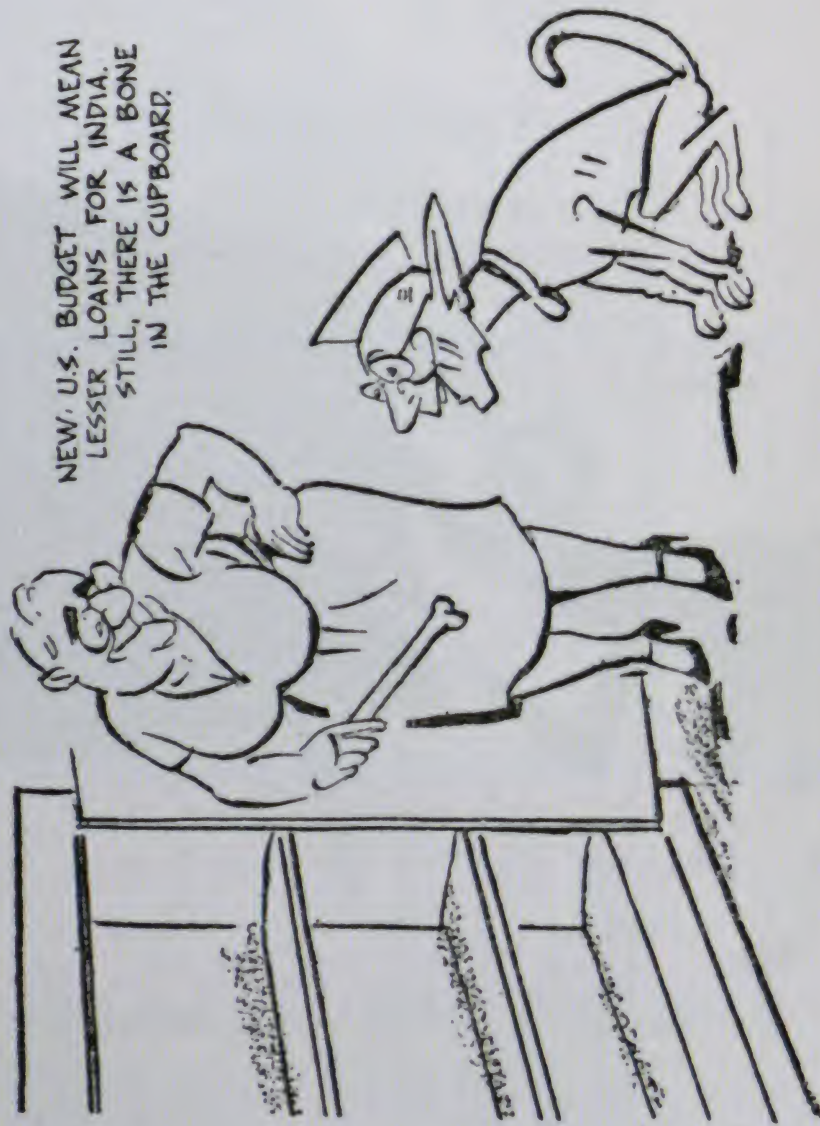
[THE POWER OF THE ZERO]

MAHALANOBIS HAS PUT
RS.10,000 CRORES
AS 3RD PLAN
OUTLAY.
IF IT IS STILL SMALL,
MORE CAN BE ADDED.



FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 25 JANUARY 1959

[J.F. DULLES TO MORARJI DESAI]



[ALL FOR POVERTY ERADICATION]

P.M. SAYS CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS ON PLANNING
AND LAND REFORMS WILL END POVERTY.
WHOLESOME FOOD INDEED.



FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 18 JANUARY 1959

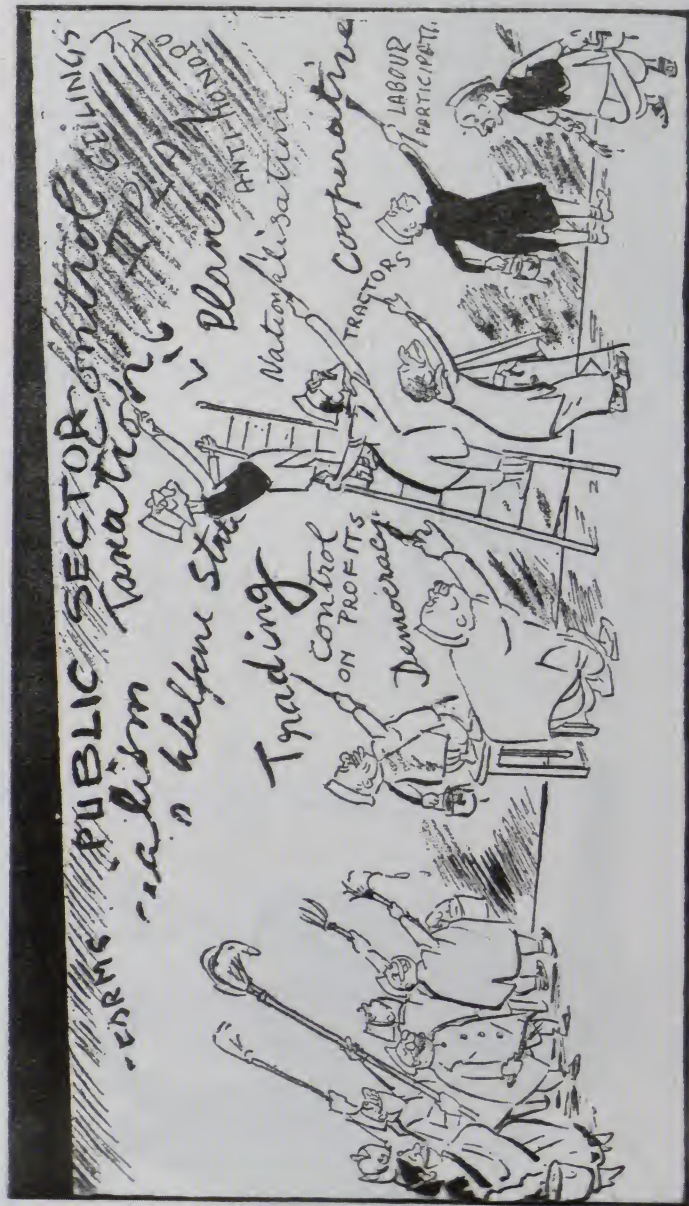
[OLD HABITS DIE HARD]

A.P. JAIN SAYS, CHANGE IN FOOD HABITS
HAS CAUSED SHORTAGES.
WHY NOT REVERT TO OLD HABITS?



FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 22 FEBRUARY 1959

Be It Resolved...



The goal of a democratic socialist society was stressed at the Nagpur Congress.

FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 11 JANUARY 1959

LEFT TO RIGHT: LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI, G. B. PANT, MORARJI DESAI, GULZARILAL NANDA,
V. K. KRISHNA MENON, JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, U. N. DHEBAR

From Pillar to Post



The Central Food Ministry is said to have asked Mr. E.M.S. Namboodiripad to negotiate with Andhra the price for rice procured by Kerala from that State.

FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 4 JANUARY 1959; CENTRE: E. M. S. NAMBOODIRIPAD

Civic Reception



The Food and Agriculture Minister returned from the Nagpur Congress session.

FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 18 JANUARY 1959

G. B. PANT, A. P. JAIN IN PALANQUIN, JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Planned Family



The Prime Minister stressed the importance of family planning at an international conference on the subject in New Delhi.

FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 22 FEBRUARY 1959

U.P. and Down



Mr. Dhebar in a letter to Mr. Sampurnanand has clarified the Parliamentary Board's decision on the U.P. Ministers' organisational dispute.

FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 25 JANUARY 1959; FROM LEFT: C. B. GUPTA, U. N. DHEBAR, SAMPURNAND

'Namboodiripadyatra'



The Kerala Chief Minister is now in Moscow for the 21st Party Congress.

FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 1 FEBRUARY 1959

[JI HUZOOR]



AYUB KHAN DESIRES BETTER
RELATIONS WITH INDIA.
IF THE PROPER ATMOSPHERE
IS CREATED

FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 22 FEBRUARY 1959



GREETING M. VISVESVARAYA, GOLDEN JUBILEE,
INDIAN INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE, BANGALORE, 4 FEBRUARY 1959



WITH MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. AND MRS KING,
TEEN MURTI HOUSE, NEW DELHI, 10 FEBRUARY 1959



AT A BANQUET GIVEN BY KWAME NKUMAH IN NEHRU'S HONOUR, NEW DELHI, 2 JANUARY 1959



WITH MARSHAL J.B. TITO AND MRS TITO, NEW DELHI, 14 JANUARY 1959

113. To K. Atchamamba

January 22, 1959

Dear Dr. Atchamamba,³⁵⁰

I have your letter of the 17th January.

What Shri Namboodiripad said in his press interview was not happily said and I can well understand some people taking objection to it.³⁵¹ But the various inferences you have drawn appear to me to be a little exaggerated. No foreign help can go to any State directly. Only the Government of India deals with such matters or receives such help. The use of such assistance is determined by the Government of India, sometimes in consultation with the donor government. Usually, this assistance is for major schemes.

Although it was not quite proper for Shri Namboodiripad to say what he did, we cannot issue directions as to what he should talk to any person. In fact, some other Chief Ministers of States have discussed such matters with foreign governments and they have gone abroad. They have naturally reported this to us and left it to the Government of India to deal with the matter further.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

114. To Vishnu Sahay³⁵²

I think this should be considered in Cabinet.³⁵³ While generally the rules have to be made and to be followed, no rule can provide for real exceptional cases of high merit. This applies especially in science and in the Defence Services. Science would not have progressed at all if some strict rule was applied to scientists. No great General would have ever had the chance of functioning

350. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Vijayawada.

351. E.M.S. Namboodiripad, Chief Minister of Kerala, told the press on 15 January in Trivandrum that he would "certainly try to find out whether the Soviet assistance that is now increasingly given to India, can be used for the economic development of our state also". He went to Moscow on 18 January to attend the Twenty-First Congress of the CPSU, due to open on 21 January.

352. Note to Cabinet Secretary, 23 Jan. 1959. File No. 35 (9)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

353. This concerned the retirement age for scientists, technical personnel and Government servants in general.

adequately if promotion had been by some rule of seniority. In science it is generally thought that great discoveries have been made or someone has put forward a brilliant idea normally not before he reaches 40 years of age. It would be desirable, therefore, for this matter to be considered by the Cabinet.

115. To Humayun Kabir³⁵⁴

I entirely agree. The charges brought against Shri Moti Lal Dhar³⁵⁵ are, in any event, not serious. It would be rather absurd for us to condemn a young man forever because he subscribed a petty sum for Communist periodicals or like purposes. If this procedure was adopted in every case, then we would lose for good many suitable and promising young men and women who would have no chance of reforming.

2. Therefore, I am definitely of opinion that Moti Lai Dhar should continue in service.

116. To Sri Krishna Sinha

January 23, 1959

My dear Sri Babu,

Your letter of the 15th January. I am sorry that our Chief of Protocol³⁵⁶ made the silly mistake to which you refer. The mistake, I suppose, was not due to his ignorance of the position of Jamshedpur. He was writing to the West Bengal Government because of the visit to Durgapur and carelessly he added Jamshedpur. I am pointing this out to him.

The Duke of Edinburgh's visit to India is not a State visit in the ordinary sense of the term. Nevertheless, because of his position, we are giving him every honour. Also he is a charming and interesting man.

It is not necessary for you or the Governor³⁵⁷ to go to Jamshedpur just for a few hours that he will be there. Certainly you need not take the trouble. The

354. Note to the Vice President, CSIR, 23 Jan. 1959.

355. (1914-2002); chemist and science administrator; worked in Drug Research Laboratory, Jammu, 1940-50; Director, Central Drug Research Institute, Lucknow, 1950-72; Chairman, Board of Governors, IIT, Kanpur; Vice Chancellor, BHU; Member of the Governing Body of the AIIMS, New Delhi, 1979-83.

356. R. K. Tandon.

357. Zakir Husain.

Duke will be in Jamshedpur on the 3rd February from 11.15 a.m. to 4.15 p.m., that is, just five hours. He will be lunching with J.R.D. Tata and most of his time will be spent in visiting the Steel Works, etc.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

117. Meeting with Douglas Houghton³⁵⁸

Whitley Council
British M.P.'s Talks With Nehru

New Delhi
Jan. 23, 1959

Mr. Douglas Houghton,³⁵⁹ a Labour Member of the House of Commons, has had a busy programme in Delhi since his arrival on Monday from Colombo. On Tuesday, he addressed a joint meeting of all the staff councils in the different Ministries of the Government of India and the Welfare Officers attached to these Ministries. He also addressed a meeting of the Institute of Public Administration on the Whitley Councils.³⁶⁰

The morning, Mr. Houghton had an interview with the Prime Minister and it is believed that that discussed the feasibility of starting Whitley Councils on more or less the same lines as are functioning in Britain today. Mr. Houghton has expressed the view since his arrival in Delhi that staff councils as at present constituted, are only advisory bodies with no real powers to discuss or to decide anything of importance. Similar staff councils were proposed to the members of the British Civil Service 40 years ago and were promptly rejected as inadequate. Mr. Houghton, who for many years was Chairman on the staff side of the national Whitley Council, is a firm believer in all service problems

358. Report from the *Hindu*, 24 Jan. 1959.

359. Douglas Houghton (1898-1996); Secretary, Inland Revenue Staff Federation, 1922-60; Broadcaster, BBC, 1941-64; Member, General Council, TUC, 1952-60; Chairman, Staff Side, Civil Service National Whitley Council, 1956-58; MP, Labour, Sowerby, 1949-1974; Chairman, Parliamentary Labour Party, 1967-74.

360. So-called after J.H. Whitley, who recommended their formation in 1916-1919, these Councils of employers' and employees' representatives originally dealt with labour relations, later white collar also.

being settled in a spirit of conciliation and negotiation by the two sides meeting together.

118. To N. Sanjiva Reddy

January 24, 1959

My dear Sanjiva Reddy,

Your letter of the 23rd January about the gifts received from President Tito and Madame Tito.³⁶¹ Our usual practice is that small token presents which serve as souvenirs may be kept by the person to whom they are given. Others should be treated as State property. They may be bought for any specified sum by the person to whom they were given.

Broadly speaking, I would suggest that of the presents given to the Governor³⁶² and Shrimati Sachar, the following should be treated as belonging to Raj Bhawan:

- 1) One coffee set with tray
- 2) One silver platter

As for the other presents given to the Governor and Shrimati Sachar, it would depend on their value. If they are not expensive, they can be kept by the Governor and Shrimati Sachar.

This would apply to the presents you have received also, that is, the cigarette case and the bracelet. They may be kept by you as souvenirs if they are not of great value.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

119. To Govind Ballabh Pant: Official Wanderlust³⁶³

As our governmental structure grows, all kinds of additions to it also grow and expenses tend to grow in a geometric fashion. Each officer wants a staff. The staff wants junior staff. The junior staff want peons and so on and so forth.

2. Also, the number of conferences and committees that are being held today is prodigious. Officers of various degrees are constantly travelling about.

361. Tito and his wife Jovenka Broz were touring India, 13-19 Jan.

362. Bhimsen Sachar.

363. Note to Union Home Minister, 25 Jan. 1959.

This applies to international conferences. Also, I believe that most of the world's airlines are kept going today by official delegates travelling to and fro.

3. I would imagine that the amount spent by us in India on paying travelling expenses and allowances must be a very large one and it tends to grow. Probably, there is a tendency to have such meetings and conferences even when they are not quite necessary. This tendency is probably encouraged by the fact that such travelling is to some extent a source of income, apart from the expenditure involved. While we should pay the expenses of course, it hardly seems right to make that an additional source of income and thus an inducement to travel, even when it may not be quite necessary.

4. Any rules framed for our senior officers are immediately applied to all our connected or semi-official establishments with the result that there is an all round and progressive addition to expenditure. Thus, all our autonomous, semi-autonomous and associated organisations, industrial, scientific and the like, adopt the same rules.

5. I do not know what the present rules are and I believe that some reduction has been made recently. It used to be one first-class fare and a half. How this applies to air fares I do not know. Probably, it is one fare and a third now or even a quarter. Even so, this leads to a substantial surplus. A person goes to Bombay or Madras to attend a meeting. He comes back the next day. The quarter of the fare would be fairly considerable, far more than any possible daily allowance could be. Why then should we not pay the actual fare and an adequate daily allowance?

6. In fact, it would be still better to give vouchers which can be changed for travel tickets and, in addition, a daily allowance.

7. I am mentioning this because my attention has been drawn to it by some senior officers who told me that the present arrangements have a certain demoralising influence on them. They tend to convene meetings when such meetings could be avoided, simply because this becomes a source of income. Further, people charging Government for the higher class sometimes travel by the lower class which also has a certain demoralising effect on them and on others.

8. I suggest that the Home Minister might give some thought to this matter.

120. To M. A. Rauf

January 30, 1959

My dear Rauf,³⁶⁴

I understand that you are taking leave in March next and are likely to come here. Your wife and daughter are expected here in two or three days' time and I am looking forward to their visit.

I have had another discussion with senior officers of our Ministry about the purchase of the house in your wife's name in Canada. They have seen your letter to me of the 15th December. I need not tell you that all of us are anxious, as far as possible, to meet your wishes in this matter. If there was some technical flaw, such as not asking for permission previously, that would be removed, but something that is against our rules and practice will naturally be objected to by the auditors and later perhaps in Parliament. The purchase of the house in your wife's name, while you were High Commissioner in Canada,³⁶⁵ does contravene our rules. If you had mentioned this matter previous to the purchase and asked for permission, that permission could not have been given because of this rule. The rule, I think, is a good one although naturally there may be sometimes hard cases. In a slightly different context the rule applies to India also.

The question, therefore, is not so much of the past and what has been done, but what should be done about this matter now and in the future. In your letter of the 15th December you have said that you might be allowed to get the property transferred to your son Saleem. That certainly is possible and would get over the difficulty.

We do not want you to sell the property in a hurry to an outsider and thus lose in the transaction. But, if Saleem can become the owner of it, that would be a suitable way out.

Anyhow it is not necessary for you to take any immediate step about it. As you are coming here in March we can settle the matter then. I am writing to you now to point out what appears to be a course which will satisfy you and at the same time be in conformity with our rules.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

364. Rauf was India's Ambassador to Belgium from September 1958 to November 1961.

365. He was High Commissioner to Canada from 1954 to 1958.

121. To K. Ram³⁶⁶

Please reply to this letter as follows:

Dear Sir,

The Prime Minister has received your letter of the 29th January, forwarding a copy of a resolution passed at a public meeting held in Delhi.³⁶⁷ He desires me to say that he has always looked upon the ex-INA people with the greatest sympathy and in the past has tried to help them to the best of his ability. In fact they have been treated with a great deal of consideration.

2. As for people who had joined the INA on the civil side, it is not quite clear what is proposed in the resolution you have sent. To say that they should be treated as political sufferers does not convey very much information. There are vast numbers of political sufferers in India connected with our independence movements, many hundreds of thousands of them, who are not assisted or helped by Government in any way. A small number who were in difficulty have been given some help in the shape of either some land or a very small allowance.

Yours sincerely,

366. Note to PPS, 2 Feb. 1959.

367. The letter was from L.C. Talwar, General Secretary, Netaji Birthday Celebration Committee.

122. To Subimal Dutt³⁶⁸

I agree that we should reduce the quotas of foreign exchange allowed to Haj pilgrims and bring them to the Pakistan level.³⁶⁹ The pre-Ramzan sailings might be treated on the same levels. If, however, individual cases of hardship in regard to the pre-Ramzan sailings are brought to our notice, perhaps, we might be a little lenient to individuals. You can do in this matter as you think best.

2. In the press note to be issued, stress, of course, should be laid on our foreign exchange position and on the fact that we are fixing the same figures as Pakistan. Perhaps, if you think it right, it might [be] mentioned that the value of the Indian rupee is higher than that of Pakistan. I am not quite sure if such a mention will be right or not.

123. To Morarji Desai

February 15, 1959

My dear Morarji,

About a year or two ago, we discussed in Cabinet, I think, some proposal in connection with returns of income-tax. It was suggested that Government should have authority to disclose the returns in any individual case if this was considered necessary. As far as I remember, we agreed to this. What has happened subsequently, I do not know.

Two or three days ago, I had a talk with Dr. Gunnar Myrdal³⁷⁰ He told me that for a long time past, more than half a century ago, Sweden has made

368. Note to FS, 5 Feb. 1959. File No. 17 (4)-IAT/59, p.9/notes, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

369. On 4 February 1959, J. K. Atal, Joint Secretary, MEA, had recommended reducing ceilings on quotas of foreign exchange for Haj pilgrims as follows:

Air and First Class: Rs. 1,700 per adult; Deck class: Rs. 1,200 per adult.

On 13 November 1958, ceilings had been reduced as follows:

Air and Cabin Class: Rs 5,000 and Rs 3,000 respectively for pre- and post-Ramzan
Deck Class: Rs. 3,500 and Rs. 2,000 respectively for pre- and post-Ramzan

The Saudi Arabian Ambassador had confidentially told Atal that India's foreign exchange quotas were high and could be lowered to the Pakistani level of 1959. He also confirmed Atal's suspicion that these pilgrims were being used for the illicit export of foreign exchange. The Indian rupee in Saudi Arabia was valued 33% higher than the Pakistani rupee, which was to the advantage of Indian pilgrims. Atal suggested issuing a press note and informing the Central Haj Council in Bombay on 17th February.

370. Swedish economist and politician.

available all income-tax returns to the public. Not only that, but returns of wealth. This has been a common practice there and, in fact, someone—whether official or private, I do not know, actually publishes a full alphabetical record of all people who pay income-tax with their returns and total wealth. He said that this was found to be a very good provision and often prevented much mischief.

I am rather attracted to this, though perhaps it may not be feasible to introduce it fully. Could we not make a beginning in this direction?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

124. To Sri Prakasa

February 19, 1959

My dear Prakasa,

Your letter of the 17th February. As for my programme in Bombay, I shall accept the visit to see the Charlie Chaplin film. I shall already written to the Rotary Club expressing my inability to go there. Partly this is due to my not having any free time, but partly I do not particularly like addressing the Rotary Clubs. I address public meetings or, on special occasions, some function, scientific or other. The Rotary Clubs have often invited me, but the only time I addressed them was about thirty years ago in Rangoon.³⁷¹

As for the Soviet party, you will no doubt receive their programme. President Voroshilov is not coming because he is recovering from a severe attack of pneumonia. Therefore the protocol to be observed when the President comes will not be necessary. Two important men, however, are coming with the party. One is Andreev,³⁷² who will be the leader of the party.³⁷³ He is one of the

371. Nehru visited Burma from 6 to 20 May 1937. For his public speeches, see SWJN/FS/8/pp.650-661, though no record of his address to Rotary Club is available in *Selected Works*.

372. Andrei Andreevich Andreev (1895-1971); Soviet politician; Secretary, Central Committee of Communist Party, 1935-46; Deputy to Supreme Soviet USSR, from 1937; Chairman, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, 1938-45; member, Politburo, 1932-53; member, Committee for Economic Rehabilitation Liberated Areas, 1943; Commissar for Agriculture, 1943-46; Deputy Chairman, Council of Ministers, 1946-53; member, Presidium of Supreme Soviet of USSR, 1953-62.

373. The four-member Soviet delegation, led by A. A. Andreev, arrived in New Delhi on 24 February 1959 on a three-week goodwill visit to India.

old revolutionaries who was connected with Lenin and is greatly respected and our Ambassador³⁷⁴ says he is a charming man. He has a high status in their hierarchy, equivalent to the Vice President. The other is Mukhitdinov³⁷⁵ (I forget how the name is spelt correctly). I think he is from Azerbaijan. At the last Party Congress at Moscow, he spoke highly of India.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

125. To B.C. Roy

February 19, 1959

My dear Bidhan,

Your letter of the 18th February about the Rajmata of Mayurbhanj.³⁷⁶ I am sending this to Morarji Desai to look into this matter and see what we can do.

It will be rather difficult to justify, according to our rules, a further payment to this lady. She is getting, according to you, a fairly generous monthly allowance of rupees three thousand. She is living with her son, the present Maharaja.³⁷⁷ This should be more than adequate, even if she is ill, I do not know what the Maharaja is getting as his privy purse.

Perhaps, it may be possible to send a small lump sum. Anyhow, I am consulting Morarji Desai.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

374. K. P. S. Menon.

375. Nuritdin Akhramovich Mukhitdinov (b. 1917); Soviet government official and diplomat; member, Central Committee of the CPSU, 1952-66; Deputy Chairman, Central Cooperative Alliance, 1961-66; First Vice President, Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, USSR Council of Ministers, 1966-68; Ambassador to Syrian Arab Republic, 1968-77.

376. The Rajmata was a daughter of Keshub Chandra Sen and B.C. Roy was close to him and his family as he belonged to the section of the Brahmo Samaj led by Sen. According to B. C. Roy, she received a monthly allowance of Rs. 3,000 and was living with her son, the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj. As her medical expenses exhausted her allowance, Roy asked Nehru to grant her an additional Rs. 500 a month.

377. Pratapchandra Bhanj Deo (1901-1968); Maharaja of Mayurbhanj from 1928; his privy purse was Rs 327,400.

126. To K.C. Reddy

February 22, 1959

My dear Reddy,³⁷⁸

You will remember my writing to you last year about Satish Gujral, the artist. This was in connection with his stay in Constitution House and paying the rent which I think officials and the like pay. You agreed to this. I now find that this concession was for a year only, and it is going to expire. I do not think that would be right.

We give concessional rates to newspapermen. I think artists and writers are far more entitled to them. We should make a rule to this effect, that is to say, that recognised writers and artists may be given accommodation in Constitution House at the concessional rate.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

127. To Subimal Dutt³⁷⁹

I really do not understand why we should be so anxious to avoid answering some questions. It is quite easy to answer these questions relating to the visit to Moscow of the Chief Minister of Kerala.³⁸⁰ Not to answer them surrounds them with mystery. There is no mystery.

2. Therefore, I am perfectly prepared to answer them and you may send the Lok Sabha Sectt. the draft answer as given below.

3. There are three questions more or less dealing with the same subject matter. I am answering No. 7741 by Shrimati Ila Palchoudhuri.³⁸¹ More or less the same answer would fit in for the other questions.

378. Union Minister of Works, Housing and Supply.

379. Note to FS, 24 Feb. 1959.

380. E.M.S. Namboodiripad who had gone to Moscow on 18 January to attend CPSU's 21st Congress, returned before the beginning of the budget session of the Kerala Assembly on 21 February 1959.

381. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Nabadwip, West Bengal.

ANSWER

(a) & (b). The Chief Minister of Kerala has not submitted any report to the Government of India. He met the Prime Minister on his return and mentioned that there were considerable possibilities of increasing trade between India and the USSR. With this viewpoint the Prime Minister agreed.

The question of expanding trade with the USSR is constantly under consideration of the Government.

128. To N.R. Pillai and B.N. Chakravarty³⁸²

It seems to me that in the circumstances mentioned and because of our rules on this subject, we cannot go further than we have done. The Finance Ministry has been consulted, and they have said the same thing. It would be embarrassing and hardly proper for me to ask the Finance Minister for further relaxations. Some rules may sometimes be relaxed in particular cases, but we have always to keep in mind that many people are affected by rules, and discrimination in the case of one person would be unfair for others.

129. Speech at Chandigarh³⁸³

ROLE OF GOVT. SERVANTS
NEHRU'S ADVISE

Chandigarh, Feb. 28.-Prime Minister Nehru today deprecated what he called the "caste system" amongst Government servants and said that was a legacy of the British rule in India.

The Prime Minister was addressing 3,500 Government employees in the forecourt of the nine-storeyed Punjab Civil Secretariat building, the first skyscraper in the State. Mr. N.V. Gadgil, the Governor, Sardar Swaran Singh, the Union Minister of Steel, Mines and Fuel, and Sardar Partap Singh Kairon, Chief Minister of Punjab, were present.

382. Note to SG and SS, 24 Feb. 1959.

383. PTI report of speech to Government employees at the Punjab Civil Secretariat, 27 Feb. 1959. From *The Hindu*, 1 Mar. 1959.

Mr. Nehru said in the changed circumstances every Government servant had ample opportunities to show his worth and become a partner in the great projects and schemes for the development of the country. During the British rule, top class civil servants performed certain duties and the hierarchy of other officers were responsible for less important functions. He was happy that such a caste system was crumbling and a sense of responsibility was developing among all categories of Government servants.

Mr. Nehru said: "If this sort of caste system is sought to be perpetuated, it will be a bad thing. Every Government servant is being put to task before the bar of public now. In fact he is at the mercy of the public. During British rule, public opinion did not count much as the Civil Service rules were such that the officers were allowed to have their own way."

The Prime Minister said that merit and ability should be the main criterion in the matter of promotions of Government servants. Although the outmoded service rules ensured security of service of an employee, it would be wrong thing if one went on committing mistakes and got promotion on the basis of seniority in service. The ability and capability of doing things would also to be taken into consideration in this regard. Everything would fall flat in the administrative set up if only seniority was taken in to the matter of promotion.

Mr. Nehru said the work turned out in offices in India was not up to the mark compared to the work done in progressive countries. The output of five employees in India was equal to that of one worker in office and factory in advanced countries. This position must change, he added.

The practice of circulation of files from one office to another, without yielding tangible results, was shocking indeed. He said methods were evolved to pin responsibility for lapses in office work. "I want the employees to realise that they are engaged in a historic task of uplifting the country. They will have to work with efficiency and speed," he added.

Referring to complaints of corruption in Government offices, Mr. Nehru said that evil of corruption and nepotism must be eradicated; otherwise the Government would have to revise the service rules and in such a contingency some innocent and honest officials might to suffer. The officials would have to conduct themselves in such a manner that the masses, who were the ultimate rulers, should have no reason to complain.

Mr. Nehru struck a note of stern warning that if Ministers and legislators did not present a good account of their honesty and integrity, it was natural that the public feeling would be roused against them.

Mr. Nehru suggested that Government officials should identify themselves with work in such a concentrated way that they should not think of anything else. "I had the privilege of working under the hard task master, Gandhiji. We

had forgotten all other things and concentrated ourselves on winning the freedom under his leadership. I do not boast but I can say that I work in my own way and I think I can work with competence and quickness," he said.

(ii) Resignation of M.O. Mathai

130. To M.O. Mathai³⁸⁴

18 January 1959

My dear Mathai,

I have your letter of today's date. I think you are right in what you say. In view of what has happened it is right for you to offer your resignation and I have to agree to it.³⁸⁵

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

131. To Satish Chandra

January 28, 1959

My dear Satish,³⁸⁶

I have your letter of the 20th January.³⁸⁷

I am sorry about this fuss regarding some incidents connected with Mathai. He has been of great help to me because of his efficiency, integrity and loyalty. He occupied a rather special place in my establishment which was not any regular post in the governmental apparatus. I do not intend filling that particular post. I expect, however, that in many personal ways Mathai will still be of great help to me.

384. From M. O. Mathai, *My Days With Nehru* (New Delhi, India: Vikas Publishing House PVT LTD, 1978).

385. M.O. Mathai, Special Assistant to Nehru, resigned on 12 January following press reports of corruption. On 17 January, newspapers published Mathai's resignation letter and Amrit Kaur's letter of 11 January about the Chechamma Memorial Trust, named after Mathai's mother. They were released by the PM's Secretariat.

386. Union Deputy Minister of Commerce and Industry.

387. Having been Parliamentary Secretary to Nehru in 1952-53, he wanted to return to the same position given M.O. Mathai's departure.

Thank you for suggesting that you might revert to Parliamentary Secretaryship. I am not clear in my mind as to whether it will be desirable for you to leave your Deputy Ministership for this. You are, I understand, doing good work. A Parliamentary Secretary's work inevitably is rather limited in its scope, as you have found yourself.

Come and see me some time later, preferably after Parliament has met.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

132. To Y.B. Chavan

January 28, 1959

My dear Chavan,

Thank you for your letter of the 23rd January.

I know S. G. Barve³⁸⁸ and I agree with you that he is not merely a conventional Civil Servant, but has enthusiasm and certain ideas of his own. As such, he would be valuable in many posts,

Mathai was of great help to me in a variety of ways. He was with me long before I joined Government. I found him to be a man of integrity, loyalty and efficiency. His work did not directly deal with governmental problems. It was partly to organise my office, which he did very efficiently, and partly to process papers which came up to me. This saved me a good deal of trouble. It was not the kind of work which would normally be done by other Secretaries. In fact, I have today a Principal Private Secretary who is a senior ICS officer,³⁸⁹ apart from a number of other Secretaries, who do various kinds of work for me adequately. I do not at present intend having anyone in place of Mathai, because I do not think that particular type of work can be done by anyone else that I know of. My other Secretaries who are with me, including the PPS, discharge competently official work I have to deal with. In any event, I want to see how my work progresses in the future.

Thank you for writing to me.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

388. Secretary, Government of Maharashtra.

389. K. Ram.

133. To A.C.N. Nambiar

February 8, 1959

My dear Nanu,³⁹⁰

Thank you for your letter of the 4th February. As suggested by you, I enclose a letter to Dr. Gisela Bonn³⁹¹ which please forward to her.³⁹²

The so-called Mathai episode has distressed me considerably. But there was no help for the subsequent developments. Unfortunately, Mathai published a letter which has made matters rather worse and irritated many people in Parliament and outside.³⁹³ I ought to have had the good sense to stop publication, but I was foolish enough not to do so.³⁹⁴ I hope that we shall get over this episode.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

134. To M.O. Mathai

February 9, 1959

My dear Mathai,

I understand that a Question might be put in Parliament about your Life Insurance policies. In your letter addressed to me, which was published, you had said that you had two Insurance Annuity policies, the annual premia on these two policies amounting to Rs. 18, 290.62 Naye Paise.

390. Diplomat and journalist.

391. Gisela Dohrn alias Gisela Bonn (1909-1996); German journalist; studied musicology and dramatics, German philosophy, history of art and French philosophy; worked as foreign correspondent in Moscow, 1937-41; interned on the outbreak of War and then exchanged at the Soviet-Turkish border; wrote two reports on her Moscow stay; concentrated on Asia, editor-in-chief, *IndoAsia*; wrote several books on the countries of the Third World, a travel guide about India, several other books and a biography of Nehru; also wrote and directed about 20 documentaries on these topics; ICCR instituted an annual Gisela Bonn Award in 1996 for exceptional efforts in the domain of German-Indian relations.

392. On 8 February, Nehru thanked Gisela Bonn for sending her book on India and wrote that those who had read the book in German told Nehru that it would help people in understanding India.

393. See pp. 377-389.

394. For Mathai's letter of 12 January and Amrit Kaur's letter of 11 January, see Appendices 1 and 2.

The Question that is likely to be asked in Parliament is that you have a third policy, also in the nature of an Annuity. I should like to have full particulars of this in case I have to answer these questions.

What is stated is as follows :-

- (1) Policy for an annuity of Rs. 3, 600/- per annum. Commenced 1957. Premium paid Rs.48, 546/-. Annuity starts after five years.
- (2) Policy with the New India Assurance Co. Began in 1954. Deferred annuity for fifteen years. Yearly premium Rs.13, 293/-. Five instalments paid thus far.
- (3) Policy taken in 1955. Deferred annuity for fifteen years. Yearly premium Rs.4,996/-. Four instalments paid thus far.

The figure you have given in your letter apparently covers the two policies with the New India Assurance Co. taken in 1954 and 1955. What is said to be a third policy dated 1957 appears to be a separate one, if it exists. Please let me have particulars.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

135. Lok Sabha Debate on M. O. Mathai³⁹⁵

Shri Vajpayee:³⁹⁶ Sir, I rise to seek your leave to raise a matter involving a breach of privilege of the House. Shri M.O. Mathai, former Special Assistant to the Prime Minister in the course of his letter to the Prime Minister has made certain remarks which constitute a serious breach of privilege of this august House. The remarks are as follows:

“But the ever-mounting tendency in our Parliament and our Press to attack public servants without caring to verify facts is having a devastatingly demoralising effect. Under such deplorable conditions very few self-respecting persons will care to enter Government service or public life.”

May I submit in this connection that Shri Mathai has made a wild charge against this House. Let us consider the implications of what he has said. He has accused the House — (an honourable Member: You also) — of growing tendency to attack public servants without even caring for

395. Motion Regarding Breach of Privilege, 10 February 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XXV, cols 140-142, 146-148, 155-156, 168-170 and 172.

396. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Jan Sangh, MP from Balrampur.

facts. I think this House is seized with a matter of another privilege motion when the Chief Minister of Kerala accused some Members of this House. But, now the whole House has been accused. And that letter has been circulated by the Press Information Bureau of the Government of India and with the permission of the Prime Minister who is the leader of the House and is expected to safeguard the dignity and honour of this House. I appreciate the frankness with which the hon. Prime Minister during his Press Conference accepted that a mistake was committed and Shri Mathai caught him in a wrong mood, in an angry mood.³⁹⁷ I do not know on how many occasions the Prime Minister was caught by Shri Mathai in a wrong mood. He is also reported to have said that he has been committing foolish things. I think this is the most foolish thing that Shri Mathai has committed. Without going into the merits of the case.....

Mr Speaker: Order, order. The hon. Member will note that under rule 225 it is said:

“....before the list of business is entered upon, call the member concerned, who shall rise in his place and, while asking for leave to raise the question of privilege, make a short statement relevant thereto”.

The general conduct of Shri Mathai is not in question here. If he had not made that statement, he would not be a subject before the House at all. It is only with respect to the statement, and he has said enough.

If he wants to say anything more with respect to the statement, how the statement in the press ought to be accepted as genuine or any further remarks that this amounts to contempt of the House and so on, they are allowed. After that, I shall hear if there is any opposition to this and follow the rest of the procedure. Only one question can be raised at a time.

Shri Vajpayee: I think the statement is quite clear, self-evident, and it amounts to a breach of privilege of this House, and I request you and the House to take into consideration the breach that has been committed.

[Exchanges between the Speaker and various Members have been omitted.]

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Mr Speaker, Sir, the hon. Member has raised, as he has put it, a question of privilege involving a contempt of the House. Now, I should like to distinguish, if I may, between an impropriety and a question of privilege.

397. See pp. 153-154.

Speaking for myself, I think that the wording referred to is regrettable and not proper. That is a different matter. And, as a matter of fact, I am given to understand that Shri Mathai some time ago addressed you on this question expressing his deep regret that in a moment of whatever it was he wrote something without ever intending anything against the dignity of this House.

What I am suggesting is that we must not get mixed up between two things—the impropriety of a thing or the undesirability of something written and the question of privilege. Of course, they are two separate things. Personally I regret that this was written and Shri Mathai as I said, I understand also expressed his deep regret for it. I do not myself see, apart from the question of impropriety, where the question of privilege comes in into this matter—on that point only—and because there was some....(Interruption)

Shri V.P. Nayar:³⁹⁸ He also said he had no intention.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am merely expressing, because, naturally, when this matter was referred to rather casually, I did not even know it was coming up now; otherwise, I would have perhaps brought up some papers in this connection, because, when I heard that this was going to come up, I was interested to find out some precedents previously as to how such a thing is dealt with, and so I had the matter enquired into from a parliamentary, constitutional and legal point of view to satisfy myself, and that satisfied me at any rate that anything like this could not be considered a breach of privilege or contempt of the House. I am merely stating this fact for the knowledge of the House. I do not venture to give any opinion myself except to say that apart from the impropriety of it I do not myself see where any breach of privilege comes in the remarks made. It certainly does not apply to the House or, as one hon. Member has said, to you, Sir. It says—I have not got even the words before me at the present moment; I have no papers, but I remember the words.....(Interruption)

Shri Goray:³⁹⁹ Shall I quote?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: But I remember the words namely that there is a growing tendency in Parliament for remarks or statements to be made without due inquiry. I do not think that....

398. CPI, MP from Quilon.

399. N.G. Goray, PSP, MP from Poona.

Shri Jaipal Singh:⁴⁰⁰ And the Chair permits the remark, by implication. (Interruptions).

Mr. Speaker: He said:

“But the ever-mounting tendency in our Parliament and our Press to attack public servants without caring to verify facts is having a devastatingly demoralising effect.”

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: If I may say so, the answer to the hon. Member is this. I do not wish to enter into any argument in this matter. I would only make my submission, the submission I had made to you, that while these remarks are unfortunate and regrettable, and for my part, I regret them, and Mr Mathai also is deeply sorry, as he has expressed it to you, Sir, yet, so far as the question of privilege is concerned, I do not think that is raised, and as far as I know, whenever something even much stronger than this has been said on these lines, it has been held elsewhere that no question of privilege is raised. I merely make this submission to you; it is for you to decide.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:⁴⁰¹ Does it mean that the Press Information Bureau is also absolved of its responsibility? They have also committed a breach of privilege. (Interruptions).

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. There is nothing more. Let us now proceed with this.

Shri H.N. Mukerjee:⁴⁰² I would beg of you to let me have my say in regard to this matter.

Mr Speaker: No hon. Member will be prevented from having his say legitimately. The hon. Member will kindly resume his seat. Under the rules, I have to ask if leave is objected to. That is what the Prime Minister says. Is not so?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know about objection. I am merely placing certain things before you. It is not for me to object, and I would not like to

400. Jharkhand Party, MP from Ranchi West.

401. PSP, MP from Kendrapara, Orissa.

402. CPI, MP from Calcutta North East, West Bengal.

object or to agree. I am merely placing certain considerations before you for you to decide.

[Exchanges between the Speaker and various Members have been omitted]

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

“That the attention of the House having been drawn by some honourable Members on February 10, 1959 to a letter written to the Prime Minister by his Special Assistant Shri M.O. Mathai and made public on January 17, 1959 through press release by the Prime Minister’s Secretariat and the Press Information Bureau of the Government of India in which he said Shri M.O. Mathai, inter alia, remarks:

‘But the ever-mounting tendency in our Parliament and our Press to attack public servants without caring to verify facts is having a devastatingly demoralising effect. Under such deplorable conditions very few self-respecting persons will care to enter Government service or public life’.

The House resolves that the matter be referred to the Committee of Privileges for investigation and report whether the above mentioned remarks of Shri M. O. Mathai made public through the Prime Minister’s Secretariat and the Press Information Bureau of the Government of India constitute an adverse reflection on the dignity of the Members of Parliament and the Speaker of the Lok Sabha and whether they constitute contempt of Parliament and also to recommend what further steps the House may take in the matter.”

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I only wish to say that I do not oppose this Motion, that is, the Motion to refer this matter to the Committee of Privileges.

I ventured to express my opinion that so far as I could understand it, there was no breach of privilege. But since this Motion has been admitted by you, I think the right course would be to send it to the Committee of Privileges for them to consider it fully.

[Exchanges between the Speaker and various Members have been omitted]

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr Speaker, it is not quite clear to me whether there are two motions before the House or three. Raja Mahendra Pratap’s suggestion...(Interruptions.)

An Hon. Member: There is no motion.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Mr. Speaker: He raised a point of order.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: You were pleased to say, Sir, that there were three motions. (Interruptions.) May I be spared gestures from the other side, Sir? I was enquiring of the Speaker. I can understand his language; he need not enforce it by gestures.

Mr. Speaker: Though Raja Mahendra Pratap raised it as a point of order, in substance he wanted the proceedings to be dropped. I wanted to treat it as a substantive motion ...(Interruptions.) (Order, order.) He has not subsequently followed it up. He could have easily said that he wanted these proceedings should be dropped. He did not follow it up and therefore, I am not placing it before the House ...(Interruptions.)

Some Hon. Members rose—

Mr. Speaker: I have called the hon. Prime Minister. (Interruptions.)

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not going to give in to anybody. Since Raja Mahendra Pratap's suggestion has not taken the form of a definite proposal, I need not say anything about it. But, I would like to say this that in a matter of this kind, as has been rightly pointed out, it should not be treated as a party matter or group matter. I have ventured to say it on an earlier occasion. Some words of mine have been quoted. I would say that when a considerable section of the House has a feeling that something should be done, it is hardly a matter for a majority to override those wishes. I look upon it from this point of view. Therefore, when a number of Members of this House felt this way, I immediately agreed to a reference of this question to the Privileges Committee of the House and at that stage any suggestion to drop this matter would, I think, not be a right one because it would almost appear that an attempt was made somehow to hush matters or hide matters. It is not a good thing for such an impression to be created. Therefore, I would have opposed Raja Mahendra Pratap's proposal to drop this at this stage... (Interruptions.)

Mr. Speaker: Order, order, Hon. Members must follow the English. He says: "I would have opposed".

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: As things are, I think the proper course is to send it to the Committee of Privileges.

There is another proposal that has been made. I do not even understand it

in the sense how things are to be done in the House. I think it would be otherwise too, not only unnecessary but not very desirable. After all the dignity of the House may suffer in various ways and it may suffer even by attaching too great an importance to trivial matters. It is not merely a question of another person or other persons saying. What other persons say may affect the dignity of the House but how we treat it also affects the dignity of the House.

I beg your leave to read a few lines from the report of what I said on a previous occasion because a reference has been made to that. On that occasion when the telegram from the Chief Minister of Kerala became the subject of argument here, I said this and I hold by it today:

"I am a little anxious that we should not enter into a path of conflict in such matters, because this kind of thing might be overdone. There are things said, often enough, which are not desirable and things said in the heat of the moment which a person thinking more coolly would not have said. If we pursue every person who makes a statement like that, I do not know how many of us will be completely innocent of never making any remarks which might not be held up against us. We are all human beings, and I know that I err sometimes, Sir, though I hope not too often. So, from that point of view, if my mind was quite clear that if it was a deliberate flouting of the dignity of Parliament or of any individual Member of Parliament, then, of course, there can be no doubt that that challenge has to be met. But where in other contexts in the heat of the moment or in a controversy something is said, I would personally prefer this House not to take too much notice of it. But, as I said, this is my personal reaction which I place before this House."

I hope I have been consistent in this matter, not with any idea of avoiding this reference because I support this reference to the Privileges Committee; but, quite apart from this, for the future, I may submit that it is a matter of maintaining the dignity of the House by not attaching too much importance to every odd word that some outsider says.

[Exchanges between the Speaker and various Members have been omitted.]

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. The hon. Member is irrepressible. I am exceedingly sorry. The other motion is for reference to the Committee of Privileges. The question is:

"That the attention of the House having been drawn by some honourable Members on February 10th, 1959 to a letter written to the Prime Minister by his Special Assistant. Shri M. O. Mathai and made public on January 17, 1959 through Press release by the Prime Minister's Secretariat and the Press Information Bureau of the Government of India in which the said

Shri M.O. Mathai, inter alia, remarks:

'But the ever-mounting tendency in our Parliament and our Press to attack public servants without caring to verify facts is having a devastatingly demoralising effect. Under such deplorable conditions very few self-respecting persons will care to enter Government service or public life.'

The House resolves that the matter be referred to the Committee of Privileges for investigation and report whether the above mentioned remarks of Shri M.O. Mathai made public through the Prime Minister's Secretariat and the Press Information Bureau of the Government of India constitute an adverse reflection on the dignity of the Members of Parliament and the Speaker of the Lok Sabha and whether they constitute a contempt of Parliament and also to recommend what further steps the House may take in the matter."⁴⁰³

136. Rajya Sabha Debate on M. O. Mathai⁴⁰⁴

SHRI M. O. MATHAI'S LETTER TO THE PRIME MINISTER

Dr. Z.A. Ahmad:⁴⁰⁵

Shri Bhupesh Gupta:

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) when he actually received the letter of his Special Assistant, Shri M.O. Mathai, dated January 12, 1959, which was published in the newspapers on January 17, 1959;
- (b) whether he gave consent to the release of the said letter to the press; and if so, when; and
- (c) whether he instructed the Press Information Bureau to release this letter to the Press?

The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) I am not quite sure of the date, but probably it was the afternoon of the 12th January.

403. The motion moved by Hiren Mukerjee and seconded by Parvati Krishnan was adopted.

404. Discussion on Mathai's assets, 11 Feb. 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXIV, cols 215-221.

405. CPI, MP from Uttar Pradesh.

(b) and (c). When Shri Mathai asked me if he could release his letter to the Press, I said he could do so if he so wished. I did not issue any instructions to the P.I.B. myself. But Shri Mathai asked me if he may give it to the P.R.O. for release. I said I had no objection.

DR. Z. A. Ahmad: May I know, Sir, whether while giving consent to the publication of the letter, the Prime Minister carefully noted the information Mr. Mathai gives about his two insurance policies and whether it is a fact that Shri Mathai had a third insurance annuity policy taken in 1957 and that the entire premium on this policy amounting to Rs. 48,546 was paid outright in one lump sum to yield at maturity in seven years Rs. 57,000 in block amount or Rs. 3,600 per annum until death? If the Prime Minister was aware of this fact, may I know whether he made enquiries from Mr. Mathai as to why that was omitted in the letter?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member has put a detailed question. The brief answer to that question is that I rather hurriedly read the letter and did not enquire any further about other matters. But these various things had come up before me in different forms from time to time. I had not wholly enquired into them and I cannot off-hand say straight off if this particular matter which the hon. Member has referred to had been before me at some stage or other. I will enquire into that.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: While giving consent to this letter I hope the Prime Minister noted where Mathai makes reference to his personal assets; "I had enough to live on and I was not in need of paid employment". Is the Prime Minister aware that in 1946-47 Mr. Mathai was acting as a special correspondent of the "*Daily Vande Mataram*", published in Lahore, on Rs. 200 per month or so usually remitted to him in bank draft for special assignments of certain sorts? If he knew of it, may I know whether he enquired from him as to why this particular fact had been omitted by Mr. Mathai while he was speaking about his substantial assets?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: When Mr. Mathai came to me about 1945-46—I think in 1945 I met him—he gave me an account of his assets which were very considerable. I do not remember the figure—I forget it—two or three lakhs, something like that—because at that time I told him that I could not afford to pay any salary to anybody, big salary. But he had been getting a large salary from an American establishment, Red Cross, and subsequently too on various occasions he gave me information of his various assets. On two or three

occasions I enquired into them because some development had taken place. He bought some property in the Kulu Valley or something. I enquired and he gave me a list again. I cannot remember this petty incident which the hon. Member mentions. There were bigger sums involved which he told me about.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: May I know whether the Prime Minister has been good enough to recollect that when Mr Mathai joined him, he told him that he had a life insurance policy of only Rs. 2000? May I know whether, before he joined him, that fact was mentioned to the Prime Minister?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: How can I remember what happened eleven years ago? I have definite knowledge that he informed me of his investments which were considerable.

Shri Sonusing Dhansing Patil:⁴⁰⁶ What were the special qualifications of the Special Assistant and what was his pay?

Mr. Chairman:⁴⁰⁷ This question relates to the release of the said letter and whether he instructed the Press Information Bureau. We are now going beyond the release into the details of the content of that letter.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: Sir, on a point of order. A letter has been released by the Prime Minister, and we are informed by the Prime Minister that the contents had been gone through by him hurriedly in a wrong mood. Naturally we would like to know whether the Prime Minister of the country carefully looked into the implications of the letter even when hurriedly he gave consent for its release to the Press. We are entitled to know this from the Leader of the other House, the Prime Minister of the country and one of the great personalities of India.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: What exactly is the hon. Member entitled to know? He said so much that I forgot the point of it.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: I am very sorry the Prime Minister could not catch it. I am very sorry, and I apologise to the Prime Minister. All that I would like to know from him is whether the Prime Minister was conscious of the fact that this letter apart from containing nasty allegations against us,

406. Congress, MP from Maharashtra.

407. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan.

contained certain very important statements, such as the Prime Minister protecting somebody perpetually and others periodically, some such insinuations, and all that; whether the Prime Minister carefully considered the pros and cons and the implications of a document of this kind before consenting even hurriedly to its being released through the Government agency.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The answer is obvious. If I had considered it carefully, I would not have given the permission.

RESIGNATION OF SHRI M.O. MATHAI

Shri V.K. Dhage:⁴⁰⁸ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that Shri M.O. Mathai, Special Assistant to the Prime Minister, has resigned his post and if so, why?

The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Shri Mathai sent me his resignation which I accepted. He is at present on two months' leave prior to the resignation taking effect. The reasons for his resignation are stated in the letter he issued.

Mr. Chairman: It is the same question as the previous one. So, Mr. Dhage, don't repeat the old questions.

Shri V.K. Dhage: I take it that the letter that has been released by the Press Information Bureau is the letter which the Prime Minister is referring to. Mr. Mathai has said: "When I joined you in Allahabad in January 1946, at a time when it was not monetarily profitable to do so, you were aware of my background." May I know what was his ground that the Prime Minister was aware of?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: His financial background, Sir.

Shri V.K. Dhage: May I know whether he was a steno-typist drawing Rs. 200 or Rs. 300 a month?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir. He was getting a very high salary—I do not remember exactly—from the American forces in Assam. Americans, especially in war time, pay very high salaries.

408. Independent, MP from Maharashtra.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: When the Prime Minister was considering his letter of resignation, was he aware of any demand from any section of the public that Mr. Mathai's case warranted a public judicial enquiry, and if so, may I know whether he gave thought to this proposition; and what is the Government's position with regard to the demand for a public enquiry? Now, Sir, I ask this question because it seems...

Mr. Chairman: You don't explain.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I believe that something had appeared in some periodicals about it. Apart from that I was not aware of any demand for a public enquiry.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: May I know . . .

Shri V.K. Dhage: This is my question, Sir, and I must be allowed to put supplementaries. The Prime Minister stated that the assets that were there with Mr. Mathai were considerable. May I know if he could give me a rough idea of the extent of those assets?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, in fact I have got them actually. I cannot repeat them from memory. He gave me in writing and I have got papers with me. Broadly speaking, I believe they were Rs. 2 to 3 lakhs invested in shares, debentures, etc., in well-known companies.

Shri V.K. Dhage: The Prime Minister in his Press Conference had stated that Mr. Mathai offered to serve with him and that he invited him to stay in his house as a member of the family. In spite of the fact that Mr. Mathai possessed Rs. 2 to 3 lakhs of property. May I know why it was necessary for him to come and stay with the Prime Minister? Could he not stay apart?

Mr. Chairman: Many people with a lot of money can do that.

Shri V.K. Dhage: My point is that if his means were so very high, must he have to accept the hospitality of the Prime Minister to stay in his house?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no question of hospitality. As a matter of fact he did not stay with me. But it was done for convenience of work. He was working for me and it was much more convenient for me if he stayed with me than if I had to send for him.

Shri Jaswant Singh:⁴⁰⁹ The Prime Minister has just now referred to the fact that Mr Mathai drew a large sum of money by way of salary from the Americans during the war time. Is the large fortune which he has got due to the fact that he received money from the Americans or was it inherited by him? Was it with him even before he joined the Americans?

Mr Chairman: How does he know all these?

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: The Prime Minister has been good enough to give us an idea of the quantum of the property held by his Special Assistant, may I know whether at any time it occurred to him that he should tell his Special Assistant to file the necessary statement with regard to those properties with the Home Ministry?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The question never came up before me at any time. As a matter of fact, he was obviously filing very detailed statements in regard to wealth tax, expenditure tax and all that. All these statements were filed.

137. To M.O. Mathai

February 14, 1959

My dear Mathai,

I have just read your letter of the 12th February.

So many people have been talking about various charges and insinuations, and references have been made in newspapers repeatedly, that it seemed to me improper for me to remain passive. Also, from the point of view of the public, I felt that all necessary facts should be placed before them so as to remove any doubts in their minds. There was no question of my being satisfied or dissatisfied. There were no doubts in my mind at any time. But we have to look at these questions always from the public point of view and set correct precedents.

Therefore, after a great deal of consideration and consultation with friends, I decided asking the Cabinet Secretary to ascertain facts. I had no intention of having the kind of enquiry that the Communists asked for. The present enquiry is not any kind of a formal enquiry or a departmental enquiry according to rules. It has nothing to do with being a police enquiry. The Cabinet Secretary,

409. Independent, MP from Rajasthan.

as the senior Civil Servant, has been asked by me to ascertain the facts and report to me. I could, of course, have done it myself directly, but that did not seem to me the proper course.

There is nothing about this type of informal enquiry which should prove in the least humiliating. Of course, the whole affair is distressing. That is another matter.

Apart from informing the Speaker and the Chairman about the step I have taken, I have not made this public.

The Cabinet Secretary should meet you and also Rajkumari and get all the relevant facts. Probably it will not be necessary for him to meet anyone else, but it might be necessary perhaps to elucidate some particular fact.

What the Communists have done or may do, has no relevance in this connection so far as I am concerned. I have only to deal with public effects and public reactions and correct procedures.

When you see the Cabinet Secretary, you will give him the information about the third insurance annuity policy as well as the two minor insurance policies which you took years ago. These questions have been specifically raised in Parliament.

So far as the question of privilege is concerned, there is nothing in it. But when such a question is raised by a number of people, it is not usually opposed. Unfortunately, the letter you had written to the Speaker and the Chairman was not well drafted. So far as I know, all that is necessary is for you to write a brief letter to the Speaker and the Chairman expressing your regret. Anyhow, before you return to Almora, you should dispose of both these matters, that is, in so far as the Cabinet Secretary is concerned and the Parliament privilege matter.

You will, of course, see me before you return.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

138. To Vishnu Sahay⁴¹⁰

I understand that Shri M.O.Mathai has come to Delhi this evening.⁴¹¹ He is staying with Rajkumari Amrit Kaur. I think that you should take advantage of

410. Note to Cabinet Secretary, 14 Feb. 1959.

411. Mathai had gone to Almora with Boshi Sen on 27 January 1959.

his visit here to ascertain facts about the various charges and allegations made. He is likely to be here for three or four days. The sooner you see him, the better.

2. I suggest that you see him at Rajkumari Amrit Kaur's house and not in the Secretariat.

3. You will, of course, request Rajkumari also to give you such facts as she knows to clear up any doubts that may have arisen.

4. Shri Mathai has written to me, in answer to a letter I had sent him previously about the third insurance annuity policy. He says this is quite correct. He had not referred to it in his previous letter because he was not paying any premia on it. He had already paid it up fully. The bulk of the money for the third policy came out of the compulsory Provident Fund which he had withdrawn from Government, plus some money from his current account. He tells me that he had informed the Finance Ministry on the subject of his withdrawing the money from the Provident Fund account and of his putting it in the Life Insurance Corporation for an insurance annuity policy. If necessary, these papers can be obtained from the Finance Ministry or the Accountant-General, Central Revenues.

5. He also says that he had two other small normal insurance policies which he had taken long ago, amounting to rupees two thousand and rupees five thousand.

6. I suppose you can have full particulars about these matters from Shri Mathai directly.

(iii) All India Institute of Medical Sciences

139. To Amrit Kaur⁴¹²

February 1, 1959

My dear Amrit,⁴¹³

Your letter of January 24th. You refer in this to a gift to us from the United States of funds for a hospital in the campus of the All India Institute of Medical

412. File No. 40 (134)/59-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

413. President, Government Body, All India Institute of Medical Sciences.

Sciences.⁴¹⁴ If such an offer is made, I think we should accept it. But the offer should be a spontaneous offer by the US authorities. We should not ask for it or even appear to ask for this aid.

Yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

140. To Jivraj Mehta⁴¹⁵

February 8, 1959

My dear Jivraj,⁴¹⁶

Thank you for your letter of the 3rd February about Professor Duraiswami⁴¹⁷ and Dr. Sankaran.⁴¹⁸ I have not been in intimate touch with these various developments concerning these two persons, but the broad facts have been brought to my notice repeatedly by various persons.⁴¹⁹ Sir Harry Platt⁴²⁰ also came to see me by himself and had a fairly long talk with me. In the course of this talk, he told me that Duraiswami was a brilliant Orthopaedic Surgeon who would be a credit to any institution. About Dr. Sankaran, he was definitely of opinion that he was immature and lacked judgement. But he added that it is possible that he may improve by greater experience. He also said that a reference made to him about some cases previously was not a fair reference as all the facts were not brought out. Therefore, he had to revise the opinion he had previously expressed. This I think referred to some reference made to him probably by Dr. Dikshit.⁴²¹

414. Amrit Kaur had reported receiving such offers of donation through the Fund for International Health on a recent trip to USA.

415. File No. 2 (280)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

416. Minister of Finance in the Bombay Government, and a member of the Governing Body of the AIIMS.

417. Dr P. K. Duraiswami, Professor and Head, Department of Surgery, AIIMS.

418. Dr B. Sankaran, orthopaedic surgeon, Assistant Professor, AIIMS.

419. See SWJN/SS/44/pp. 358-361.

420. (1886-1986); Professor of Orthopaedic Surgery, University of Manchester, 1939-51, and then Emeritus Professor; President, International Federation of Surgical Colleges, 1958-66; Consultant Adviser, Ministry of Health, 1940-63, Ministry of Labour, 1952-64, President, British Orthopaedic Association, 1934-35, Royal College of Surgeons, 1954-57, Central Council for the Disabled, 1969; wrote monographs and articles on orthopaedic surgery, medical education, hospital organisation etc.

421. Dr B. B. Dikshit, Director, AIIMS.

This opinion of Sir Harry Platt naturally carried weight with me. To some extent, he repeated that, though in some moderate language, in the brief report he has given to the Director of the Institute after examining a number of cases treated by Dr. Sankaran. Sir Harry Platt also suggested to me that even though Dr. Sankaran was not mature enough to be given full charge, it would be desirable to give him a further opportunity of gaining experience, but this could only be done if there were full cooperation in the Department and Dr. Sankaran worked loyally under the supervision of Professor Duraiswami.

As a result of what Sir Harry Platt told me, it seemed to me that the proper course would naturally be for this matter to be settled on the line suggested by Sir Harry Platt. That would mean that Dr. Sankaran should not be confirmed at this stage, but should be given a further period on probation.

From what you have written to me, it appears that Duraiswami has sometimes taken up a rather difficult attitude. That may be so. But I have a feeling, and certainly Duraiswami has this feeling, that he has not always been treated fairly. You will remember the fantastic charges brought against Duraiswami a year or two ago when he was actually accused of taking credit for some researches which he had not done. This was being talked about and reached many people's ears. In fact, I was informed of it myself. Sir Harry Platt referred this to me and expressed his great regret that any such thing should have been said about Duraiswami, who had done very fine work and was quite brilliant.

There has been this background for a long time past in the Institute, and it almost appears, though I cannot be sure of it, that Sankaran has been complaining against Duraiswami and, perhaps, there has even been an intrigue. This would have been bad enough whoever was involved in it in the Institute, but for an Assistant Surgeon to be suspected of it against his senior made it much worse and certainly a breach of normal discipline and even decorum. I can understand the reaction of any such thing on Duraiswami.

I have been told that Duraiswami has been asked to choose immediately or very soon between two courses of either to opt completely for the Institute or leave it. I do not see why this kind of peremptory choice should be given to him, and that too at short notice. A man of Duraiswami's eminence deserves to be treated better. If he leaves the Institute, it is unlikely that a man like him will be found to replace him. There would also be a measure of public dissatisfaction. I should have thought that the better course would be to continue the present arrangement for a further period, say, of three years. At the present moment, with all the unfortunate tensions that have arisen in the Institute, any final decision about these matters would not have been desirable and would have given rise to objection.

While I think that in the main Duraiswami has been in the right, I agree with you that he has taken up a difficult position occasionally.

I think that these inner conflicts should end now and Dr. Sankaran should be given another year's probation. It should be made clear, of course, that he should function with complete loyalty to the Chief in his Department.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

141. To Amrit Kaur⁴²²

February 14, 1959

My dear Amrit,

Your letter of the 14th February.⁴²³ I have spoken to Karmarkar about Dr. Wig. He tells me that it was decided long ago to continue Dr. Wig till he had attained the age of sixty.⁴²⁴ Perhaps, some confusion has arisen because his original services were with the Punjab Government. Anyhow, there is no question of his retiring at the earlier age.

I was surprised not to find you present at the Conference on Planned Parenthood today.⁴²⁵ On enquiring from Karmarkar,⁴²⁶ he expressed his surprise too. Apparently, the Conference Secretariat was issuing invitations. He is enquiring into the matter.

Yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

422. File No. 40 (134)/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

423. Amrit Kaur informed Nehru that Dr Wig, Professor of Medicine at the AIIMS, was greatly relieved to hear of Nehru's assurance of retaining him until the age of 60.

424. Dr K. L. Wig was Principal of Medical College & Dean of Medical Faculty in Punjab University and had joined the AIIMS in 1958. He went on to become Director of AIIMS in 1964. See also SWJN/SS/41/pp.464-465.

425. Amrit Kaur explained in the same letter that she had been neither informed nor invited, but she wished it all success.

426. Union Minister of State for Health.

(d) Passport and Visa**142. To Subimal Dutt**⁴²⁷

I have spoken to the Home Minister about this matter.

2. For the present there is nothing pending before us as this case has already been disposed of.⁴²⁸ However, as the Deputy Speaker⁴²⁹ mentioned this matter to Deputy Minister Lakshmi Menon, I suggest that the Deputy Minister might speak to him on the subject. She might tell him that naturally we attach importance to any recommendation that he might make, but this case has been disposed of. If, however, the Deputy Speaker wishes us to reopen it, we are prepared to do so if a fresh application is made. Our reluctance in issuing a passport previously was chiefly conditioned by our desire to avoid communal questions being raised among Indians in other countries such as Malaya, etc. The position of Indians there is, none too happy. The only way they can pull their weight is by functioning together. Unfortunately, this is not always done and communal questions come in the way. This weakens the Indians abroad and even brings them into some measure of disrepute. We are, therefore, anxious to avoid this question being raised there. This was our reason for not issuing the passport previously. We should like the Deputy Speaker to consider this matter and then advise us. We shall abide by his advice.

143. To M. J. Desai⁴³⁰

General Akbar Khan of Pakistan came to see me on the 30th January. We talked about various matters. In the course of this talk he mentioned the difficulties he had had like others in getting the visa for India and how he has had to visit Police Stations and the like in India after coming here. Even that day he said a constable had come to his house to see his passport. His wife had also to suffer in this way about visas.

427. Note to FS, 20 Jan. 1959.

428. This refers to refusal to grant passport facilities to Giani Bhupinder Singh.

429. Hukam Singh.

430. Note to CS, 1 Feb. 1959. File No. 20/40/59-F-III, p. 1, MHA.

I do not know why this kind of harassing practice is still being pursued. Cannot we do anything to improve it?⁴³¹

144. To M.J. Desai⁴³²

Whatever the policy of Pakistan might be, I do not see why we should have any rules which harass people who come here.⁴³³ It is one thing to be strict. That need not mean harassment.

2. General Akbar Khan was not complaining to me about Indian practice, but referring to Indo-Pakistan relations generally and how on both sides there are harassing rules.

(e) Administration of Public Trusts

145. To Vishnu Sahay⁴³⁴

I am sending you a question for the Rajya Sabha. Is there any rule or convention or practice in regard to Ministers becoming Trustees of Charitable Trusts? I imagine that there is no such rule. But it will not be quite proper for them to be Trustees of some Trusts. That would depend on the nature of the Trust.

2. I am at present a Trustee of the Jallianwala Bagh Trust. That is by an Act of Parliament. I think I am also a Trustee of the Gandhi Ashram, Meerut. I have been a Trustee of this for twenty years, although I have not had much to do with it except annually to see their accounts and sign the paper. I think I am also a Trustee of the Swaraj Bhavan Trust. So far as I can remember, I am

431. M.J. Desai informed Nehru on 7 February that General Akbar Khan's case had to be referred to the Ministry by the High Commissioner as the issue of visas to military and ex-military personnel from Pakistan had to be regulated with some care. He also stated that except once, on 24 January 1959 for obtaining residential permit, the General did not have to visit any office or police station, and no constable called on him.

432. Note to CS, 7 Feb. 1959. File No. 29/40/59-F.III, pp. 5-6/n., MHA.

433. Desai had written that while Pakistan Government's treatment of Indian nationals visiting Pakistan, particularly East Pakistan, left much to be desired, the Pakistanis had a way of glibly hinting at all sorts of hardships.

434. Note to Cabinet Secretary, 2 Feb. 1959. File No. 12/66/59. Public I, p. 1., MHA. Also available in JN Collection.

not connected with any other organisation as Trustee, though there is a proposal for me to become a Trustee of the new Gandhi Peace Foundation Trust.

3. I imagine some other Ministers are also Trustees of such Charitable Trusts. For instance, the Finance Minister is, I believe, a Trustee for the Navajivan Trust, which is a press in Ahmedabad. He may be a Trustee of other funds too.

4. If you think it necessary, you can ask the Ministers about this.⁴³⁵

146. To Vishnu Sahay⁴³⁶

I should have liked to answer this question myself. However, the Home Minister can now deal with it. I do not want a Minister of State or a Deputy Minister to deal with it. In any event, I should be especially informed when this question is likely to come up as I would like to be present on that occasion.

2. I do not think it is necessary at this stage to lay on the Table of the House a long list of all the Trusts with which Ministers are concerned. We should, however, prepare such a list and keep it ready, and if later it is decided to place it on the Table of the House, we shall do so.

3. The answer to the question I would suggest is as follows:

(a): Yes. There is no rule or convention preventing Ministers from becoming Trustees of Charitable Trusts. Normally such Trusts are created from donations from private individuals. The question of correct conventions which should be observed by Ministers, both at the Centre and in the States, in connection with their membership of commercial or other corporate bodies, has been examined by the Ministry of Home Affairs from time to time and communications addressed to the State Governments on the subject. According to these directions, a Minister should not hold any office such as directorship, honorary or remunerative, or active membership in private companies or public corporations, trade unions, local self-governing institutions and like organisations. There is no objection to a Minister holding ex-officio membership of such bodies as a Senate, Syndicate, Court of a University, or Committees or local self-governing institutions. It has been stated that there is no objection to a Minister holding an honorary appointment of office-bearer of a philanthropic organisation.

435. K. P. Mathrani, Joint Secretary to the Cabinet, circularised Ministers on 4 February 1959 for details about their membership of trusts.

436. Note to Cabinet Secretary, 7 Feb. 1959. File No. 12/66/59, pp. 8-9, MHA. Also available in JN Collection.

A Minister may further own shares in joint stock companies in the same way as he may hold other property.

There is thus no objection to Ministers becoming Trustees of Charitable Trusts. The general rule applied is that a Minister should not hold any business appointment or directorship which might interfere with complete regard for his duties; nor should he have any commercial dealings of any kind which may give rise to the suggestion that he is preferring personal advantage to State interest.

(b): Many Ministers of the Central Government are Trustees of Charitable or educational Trusts or Endowments. The Prime Minister is a Trustee of

- i) The Gandhi Memorial Fund,
- ii) Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel Memorial Fund,
- iii) The Rafi Ahmed Kidwai Memorial Fund,
- iv) Swaraj Bhawan Trust, and
- v) Gandhi Ashram, Meerut.

He has been a Trustee of the Swaraj Bhawan Trust and Gandhi Ashram for over twenty-five years.⁴³⁷

Information about other Ministers can be collected and, if so desired, will be laid on the Table of the House.

437. On 8 February 1959, K. Ram suggested, and Nehru agreed, to add the name of Harprasad Siksha Nidhi, Banaras to this list. The next sentence was modified: "He has been a Trustee of the Swaraj Bhawan Trust, Gandhi Ashram and Harprasad Siksha Nidhi for over 25 years. The Prime Minister has also been appointed a Trustee of the Jallianwala Bagh National Memorial Trust under Section 4 of Act XXV of 1951."

III. DEVELOPMENT

(a) Economy

(i) Planning

147. Preparations for the Third Plan¹

Present

Chairman ²	Minister of Community Development
Member (IT&D)	
Member (NR)	Secretary/Special Secretary
Member (Agriculture)	Ministry of Finance
Member (Industry)	Deptt. of Economic Affairs.
Prof. P.C. Mahalanobis ³	
Dy. Minister of Planning	
Secretary	Advisers, Programme Administration
Additional Secretary	- Shri Nawab Singh
Joint Secretary (SS)	- Shri M.S. Sivaraman
Dr. S.R. Sen	- Shri M.R. Bhide
Deputy Secretary (IT&D)	Adviser (Planning)/Economic Adviser/ Adviser (I&P)
Chief (PP)	
Directors (PA)/(Ind.)/(E)	

Shri Pitamber Pant's⁴ note on "Certain dimensional hypotheses concerning the Third Five Year Plan" was taken up for consideration.

Shri Pant briefly summarised the main conclusions of his paper. In the paper he had tried to spell out the implications of a minimum programme of development which could meet the challenge of employment due to the increase in population, bring the economy to the 'take off' point and ensure continued development at a rapid rate without dependence on any substantial foreign aid beyond the period of the Third Five Year Plan. The problem of employment

1. Summary Record of an informal meeting of the Planning Commission, New Delhi, 3 Jan. 1959. File No. Plan/51/4/58, Planning Commission. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Jawaharlal Nehru was the Chairman of the Planning Commission.
3. P. C. Mahalanobis, Member, Planning Commission.
4. Head, Perspective Planning Division, Planning Commission.

could be tackled on an adequate basis ultimately only through rapid industrialisation, but the tempo of industrialisation in the initial stages would be governed to a considerable extent by the availability of foreign exchange. All along there would further be the need of raising agricultural production to levels necessary for supplying the full requirement of food and other industrial raw materials for a growing population and a developing economy. Development in any one sector is related to and conditioned by advance in many others and unless the whole economy is viewed in all its related aspects, in its dynamic course, consideration of basic policies and approaches might suffer in the absence of a tentative conceptual framework. Even at this early stage of deliberation, he therefore felt it was desirable to have rough idea of the relevant dimensions involved—physical targets and financial outlays—and to see these in their inter-relationship so that the discussion could be fruitful and realistic. The main purpose of his paper was to present some of these dimensions against the background of investment projections made in the Second Plan report. The figures given were based on certain preliminary studies and were sufficiently realistic to illustrate the problem at this stage, the actual figures for individual sectors might undergo revision as a result of further studies and subsequent examination.

He pointed out that recent surveys undertaken by the National Sample Survey showed that the rate of increase of population was nearer 2% rather than 1.25% per annum hitherto assumed. This would mean that for achieving the rate of growth of per capita national income of the order of 4% per year, as contemplated in the Second Plan report, national income should rise by 6 per cent per year rather than 5 per cent per year, aimed at in the Second Plan. In his paper, he had therefore assumed that the Third Plan might seek to raise national income at the rate of 6% per annum, giving a national income target of Rs. 17,000 crores in 1965-66 at present prices and involving a net investment of Rs. 10,000 crores over the plan period, (implying a net output-capital ratio of .45 for the whole economy). Agricultural output, including production of food grains, would have to increase by at least 5% per annum to keep in step with the rising level of the economy. Turning to the problem of employment, Shri Pant said that the minimum programme aimed at the modest goal of not letting the unemployment situation get worse during the Third Plan so that at least the additions to labour forces during the period were fully absorbed. A bigger investment would be necessary to take care of the backlog of unemployment. The nature of the problem was different in rural and urban areas. In rural areas the solution for under-employment and unemployment has to be sought in the increased productivity of agriculture rather than in the creation of specific jobs while in the urban areas it was necessary to approach

the problem from the point of view of identifying fairly specifically the job opportunities resulting from the investment in the economy. While in rural areas the rate of growth might be somewhat less than 2% in urban areas it might be as high as 4% taking into account both the natural increase in population and the continuing migration from rural to urban areas. The average annual addition to the rural labour force was estimated at 2.2 million and urban labour force at 1.1 million. If an increase of production of the order of 5% per year could be realised in the agricultural sector, the additions to the labour force in the rural areas would be provided for through all round increase in work and activity. Job opportunities had to be provided in urban areas either as employees or self-employed persons. It appeared necessary to provide 40% of employment in mining and manufacturing industries to ensure a balanced development and a minimum reasonable income to the worker and the balance of 60% to be absorbed in construction, public utilities, transport and communications, financing and trade, and professional and other services. Rs. 3300 crores represented the requisite order of investment in industries, the main sectors being machinery, metal, chemicals, besides power. The targets of industrial production had to be seen from the point of view of strengthening and broadening the industrial base as quickly as possible so as to make accelerated growth possible at later stages and the mechanics of this process had been set out in the industrial targets for 1960-75. The industrial programme would have to be a judicious combination of large scale and small scale, capital intensive and labour intensive units, so as to ensure maximum productivity with given capital and labour.

So far as agriculture was concerned Shri Pant felt that it was very important to make adequate provision for specific inputs, such as irrigation, fertilisers, insecticides, better implement, seeds, credit, etc. In his proposals he was not leaving it mainly to institutional changes to bring about increase in agricultural production. The object was to make sure that at least 5 per cent increase per annum in agricultural production was achieved and towards that end provision had been made for investment in irrigation, fertilisers, credit, etc. To the extent institutional changes enabled us to secure a large increase in production without diversion of further resources to agriculture, the economy would gain in strength and even bigger programme of investment could then be thought of. Turning to the over-all position, he estimated that investment in the public sector would be Rs. 6,700 crores as compared to Rs. 3,300 crores in the private sector. This ratio of 67:33 is a slight improvement in favour of the public sector when compared to the ratio 60:40 in the Second Plan. This would imply an increase in private sector investment in the Third Plan over that in the Second Plan of the order of 35-40 per cent while the public sector increase would be about 75

per cent, or double as much.

As regards the foreign exchange implications of his proposals, Shri Pant said that in terms of his hypotheses, net foreign assistance required should be progressively reduced and the proportion it bears to domestic savings would be brought down sharply. For instance, while in 1960-61 net foreign assistance would account for Rs. 350 crores out of Rs. 1400 crores of total net investment, which is as much as 25% of the net investment, in 1965-66 it should be only Rs. 100 crores out of Rs. 2400 crores which is only about 4% of the total investment. This foreign assistance would have to be in the form of long term credit, payment starting after 10-15 years, rather than in the form of short term, high interest bearing loans earmarked for specific projects. In this connection, Shri Pant referred to the suggestions made by Mr. Kust in a recent article in the 'New Republic' dated the 15th December, 1958.⁵ The figure of 3 billion credit over a period of seven years, considered reasonable by Mr. Kust, happened to correspond closely to the estimate made by him and Shri Anjaria⁶ independently. He felt that during the Third Five Year Plan about Rs. 700-800 crores should be invested in a large range of machine building industries which should produce an output worth Rs. 500-600 crores per annum at the end of the Plan period and help reduce imports. He also felt that about Rs. 100 to Rs. 120 crores per year could be found through the expansion of mercantile exports by 1965-66. There was large scope for expansion of traditional exports in new markets besides pushing new imports to older markets. But there would be also a need for some curb in consumption at home if this was to be achieved. So far as invisibles were concerned, he felt that there was need and scope for a large expansion of the shipping industry so that within a period of 10 years or so, it could take care of half of our shipping requirements.

So far as resources were concerned, Shri Pant said that there was little likelihood of getting any surplus from the current revenues on the existing basis during the Third Five Year Plan and therefore almost the entire investment plan would have to be financed by exploiting new sources. This was also the conclusion of Shri Anjaria's paper. In his paper 'Dimensional Hypotheses', he had dealt with the resources aspect more from the point of view of highlighting the areas which called for attention rather than to present a carefully worked out scheme of raising resources. These areas were (a) profits of public enterprises, (b) profits of state trading and or additional excises (c) taxes on

5. Matthew J. Kust, "US Aid to India—How Much is Enough?" in *The New Republic*, 15 Dec. 1958, Washington D. C.
6. J. J. Anjaria, Chief, Economic Division, Planning Commission, and Chief Economic Adviser, Ministry of Finance, 1956-61.

wealth, expenditure, estate duties etc., (d) surpluses from agriculture, (e) loans, small savings deficit financing etc. Any scheme of financing a big plan would have to depend primarily on these sources although the relative significance may vary depending on the realities of a situation. Shri Pant proceeded to discuss the rationale of the financial targets. He said he had put surplus of public enterprises at Rs. 1,000 crores. This would be true only if industrial production was steadily stepped up in accordance with targets laid down. In this connection Shri Pant emphasised the need for continuity of planning effort. It was essential to ensure that production was not bunched together at a certain scheduled date, but was continuously increasing. If it was desired to obtain a certain production in steel, a decision was necessary right now as to whether the plants at present under construction were to be expanded further. If this was not done, production would not materialise in time and the surplus taken credit of on the resources side will not be forthcoming. Thus, whether viewed from the physical or the financial side, planning must be dynamic and continuous and must be characterised by forethought. Profits of state trading and additional taxes on commodities could yield about Rs 1300 crores, implying an import of 6-7% on an average on marketable produce. As an off-set to this indirect tax, impinging mostly on the common man, and for other good reasons, there was a good case for stepping up of wealth tax, expenditure tax, estate duties etc. and this he thought could bring in about Rs. 400 crores, if earnestly attempted. He had originally estimated that taxation of agricultural production could give about Rs. 2700 crores. This would have meant a stepping of mobilisation of agricultural surplus to the level resorted to in Japan and China and other countries at the initial stages of industrialisation. On reconsideration he felt that this source might be made to yield only Rs. 600 or Rs. 700 crores, if it was possible to count on small savings and borrowings to the extent of Rs. 1800 crores as indicated by Shri Anjaria. Another source which deserved attention was compulsory life insurance of all employees. This could fetch Rs. 500 crores on the basis of a premium of about 7% of salary. Shri Pant agreed that all these measures would no doubt increase the absolute burden on the community but since production would be also going up, there would be no encroachment on existing levels of consumption. If production does steadily increase as planned, per capita consumption would expand by 15 per cent or more although the relative proportion of consumption to total income would suffer a reduction from 80 per cent to 75 per cent. All that is required is that half of the additional income is set aside for investment. The additional sacrifice implied is of the order of one anna in the rupee. All these figures were tentative, but the main thing was to take a view of the broad dimensions at this stage. Once that was done, the logic and consistency of the proposals would be developed in another

paper on the basis of further studies.

The Chairman felt that we should first assess the minimum requirements e.g., these resulting from factors like increase in population as mentioned in Shri Anjaria's note. The next question would be how much further we could go. There would come the question of choice. In that context both the perspective position as well as the inter-relations between different sectors would have to be kept in mind. After a broad view had been taken, all the important details would have to be examined very carefully. The question of financial resources was equally important. The volume and the manner in which they could be raised would present very difficult problems. The paper envisaged that foreign assistance of the order of Rs. 1,000 crores would be required for investment in the public sector and another Rs. 400 to 500 crores would be necessary for repayment of loans, making a total of Rs. 1400 to Rs. 1500 crores. Repayment of the new loans would have also to be taken into account.

Professor Mahalanobis explained that if these new loans were long-term loans and not short-term loans the problem of repayment would not present any difficulty during the Third and Fourth Five Year Plan periods. The Chairman expressed the view that in Shri Pant's paper food production was shown as improving at a rather low rate.

In reply to the question by the Chairman, Shri Pant explained that basic assumption was that there would be no food import during the Third Plan period and that food production would go up from (assumed) 75 million tons in 1960-61 to 95 million tons in 1966-67, the average rate of increase being 5% per annum.

The Minister for Defence felt that the programme presented by Shri Pant might lead to three spiral effects. Firstly, any scheme of compulsory life insurance would raise costs and that in turn would raise prices. Secondly, any attempt to raise revenue through State trading would also increase costs. Thirdly, if large loans were taken from other countries that would shift the emphasis from production within the country to production in other countries. The liabilities created by these loans would also raise costs in the ultimate analysis.

Shri Anjaria said that the main point for consideration was how much was proposed to be taken away from consumption for investment as such a transfer was bound to raise prices to some extent. If this transfer were effected by taxation, it could be planned and deliberately directed in desirable directions. On the other hand, if the transfer were affected by deficit financing, the rise in prices would be unplanned. So he felt that we should rely more on taxes and less on deficit financing. The Defence Minister was of the view that the prices of essentials would rise, and not merely those of luxuries or semi-luxuries. Professor Mahalanobis pointed out that deficit financing could be carried out

safely to a certain limit only and not beyond that. Hence indirect taxes would be a better alternative. The Defence Minister felt that the extent to which deficit financing would lead to a rise in prices would really depend on how production behaved under its impact. On the other hand, any indirect tax which was calculated to raise large revenue must be a tax on essential commodities and, therefore, would invariably raise the prices of these commodities. Professor Mahalanobis pointed out that under the proposals under consideration, although people might have relatively less for consumption, they would still have more for consumption in absolute terms. For instance, if production went up from 100 to 130 and the proportion going to consumption went down from 80% to 75%, the absolute amount available for consumption would still go up from 80 to about 100. The Defence Minister said that statistically it might be correct to say that in absolute terms consumption would increase, but it was necessary to consider different categories of commodities and also to see what the effect on different sections of society was going to be.

Shri Anjaria pointed out that year to year phasing was even more important than the magnitude for the over-all five year period. For instance, one could not say whether food production would go up next year and any sharp fall in production in a particular year was bound to create difficulties and had to be provided against. Again, more production was not enough. There was the question of mopping up the agricultural surplus which was extremely difficult in a country like ours where 50% of farmers had a gross income of less than Rs. 600 a year. Professor Mahalanobis said that even if one did not have to provide for increased consumption, it was essential to provide for the additional employment required and that was a basic question. The Plan must find employment for the increase in the labour force that was forecast.

Member (A) drew attention to page 2 of the note where it was envisaged that from shramdan, Rs 1,000 crores would be available. He wished to know whether this would be a part of the Plan. Shri Pant explained that what he had meant was that voluntary contribution of labour could make an effective contribution in building productive assets in rural areas. The figure of Rs. 1,000 crores was merely an arithmetical result of imputing certain value to an assumed volume of voluntary labour. It was not in the nature of a financial resource which could be made available for planned development. Its main role was of increasing the efficacy of investments in rural areas. In his hypotheses, the net investment did not take this into reckoning on the resources side although a favourable capital output ration was assumed for agriculture with this kind of effort in view. Besides agriculture, there was room for contribution of this type in construction works and the Plan may indicate separately as part of private sector investment, imputed value of voluntary effort of this type.

Member (I) emphasised that indirect taxes were bound to raise prices and if this was sought to be obviated by having selective indirect taxes, then those taxes would merely reduce consumption rather than raise revenue. Shri Anjaria agreed that taxes were bound to raise prices but he felt that a hard decision in that respect had to be taken. In fact even a liberal economist like Bernstein⁷ had hinted that taxes should not be taken into account in computing cost of living indices which show that a rise in prices due to taxes need not be considered as something very undesirable. The general feeling, however, was that no distinction could be made between rise in prices caused by taxes and by other factors.

Professor Mahalanobis felt that the relative merits of deficit financing and indirect taxes might be considered at a later date but it was important to take an early view on the order of investment for the Third Five Year Plan. He said that early decision should be taken as to how further work should be done in regard to the drawing up of the Plan. Should we prepare a fuller draft? Should we work on the basis of a total investment of Rs. 10,000 crores? Member (I) pointed out that Rs. 10,000 crores at present prices might ultimately become Rs. 12,000 crores or even more at current prices. Therefore, in considering this problem, projections should also be made of the trend in prices during the next few years. Moreover, he found that the figures of surpluses from public enterprises given by Shri Pant in his paper differed substantially from those which the Industry Division had and this required looking into carefully before any view could be taken.

The Chairman said that the main problem was how prices of food and cloth would behave. What happened to prices in other sectors was comparatively less important, but it should be our endeavour to keep prices of food and cloth down. Member (I) pointed out that even in production of food went up by 5% per annum as envisaged in the paper, prices might still continue to rise on account of other factors. He wished to know whether by State trading prices of food could be kept down. Shri Anjaria mentioned that the Committee of officials went into the question felt that the cost of handling foodgrains by Government agencies would not be less than that charged by wholesale traders in normal times, although State trading would certainly avoid the abnormal profits which wholesale traders made in abnormal years.

The Minister for Community Development felt that the target of 5% per annum fixed for food production was too low and that the production of food could and should be increased much more. The Chairman agreed with him. The Ministry for Community Development felt that from that point of view the

7. Peter L. Bernstein; well known contemporary economist, financial expert and historian; experienced in teaching and investment; wrote many books.

investment proposed by Shri Pant for agriculture appeared to be unduly low. Professor Mahalanobis said that the bulk of the investment required for agriculture was really short-term investment and could be stepped up at any time if necessary. Therefore, there should not be much difficulty about providing more funds for agriculture if that was really needed. Member (I) pointed out that as increase was at compound interest rate of 5% per annum the effective increase would be much higher than the average figure of 5% per annum.

Professor Mahalanobis suggested that at this meeting a broad decision in principle might be taken to the effect that further work on the Plan should be done on the basis of a total investment of Rs. 10,000 crores. Member (NR) said that if work was to be done on this basis, it would be desirable at the same time to work on an alternative basis, such as a total investment of Rs. 7500 crores. Shri Tarlok Singh said that while Shri Pitamber Pant's paper had provided a valuable starting point and further work should be done on it, he felt that figures had a way of becoming and leading to difficulties and that the stage for arriving at levels of investment would come somewhat later. At this stage it was necessary to give attention to those issues which lay behind investment magnitudes. In this connection, he felt that besides the question of resources which was already being considered the issues which needed early attention were (a) study of the restraints on consumption of commodities whose consumption could be reduced and who would be affected by such reductions, (b) study of the cost structure of industries, especially those providing exports, (c) wage and income policy and (d) price policies. Professor Mahalanobis said that these studies could proceed simultaneously with what he had suggested. The Defence Minister said that it was not correct at this stage to proceed in terms of what were essentially statistical aggregates.

The Chairman felt that the subject would naturally require further consideration and there should be another meeting after Deputy Chairman's return. He suggested that Shri Asoka Mehta's paper⁸ should also be considered.

The Minister of Defence suggested that a short one page summary should be added to every paper which was circulated for consideration.

8. See pp. 412-418.

148. To Morarji Desai

14th January, 1959

My dear Morarji,⁹

I hope you have completely recovered and that I shall see you in full health soon.¹⁰

Sometime ago Nicholas Kaldor¹¹ sent me a note on tax reform in India.¹² This was apparently based on an address he had given to the Informal Consultative Committee of Parliament.¹³ Very probably he sent you a copy of this note also. Nevertheless, I am sending you a copy.

Kaldor's ideas and many of the points he makes seem to me very well worth considering. Not all of them perhaps, but some certainly have great substance in them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. Union Minister of Finance.

10. After an operation to remove a stone from the kidney.

11. British economist.

12. Kaldor recommended progressive direct taxation both for faster economic growth and for social cohesion essential to democracy. The new taxes on capital gains, wealth, personal expenditure and gifts were a beginning, but they were "seriously defective" and so "heavily riddled with loopholes and exemptions that they bear only a superficial resemblance to the taxes" he had originally recommended; reforms in business and company taxation had not been tackled at all; and he warned that unless these were supplemented by other legislation and far-reaching administrative reforms, "this noble attempt at creating an egalitarian democracy will end in failure."

13. Nicholas Kaldor addressed the Informal Consultative Committee of the Parliament in New Delhi on 16 December 1958.

149. To V. Narahari Rao

January 16, 1959

My dear Narahari Rao,¹⁴

I received your letter of the 3rd January when I was away in Nagpur. I have been very busy since then, and hence could not reply to it.

In your letter, you have expressed your concern at Ministers and others in high authority making pronouncements on imminent taxation and allied matters.¹⁵

You have not given any particular instances. But it would appear from your letter that you were referring to the speech delivered by the Finance Minister recently in Calcutta.¹⁶

You refer to the practice in the United Kingdom and the U.S.A. and to the case of Dr. Dalton.¹⁷ It is clear that no indication should be given by anyone in a responsible position of imminent taxation, which might enable some people to take unfair advantage of it. But it is quite another thing for taxation policies to be discussed. I am not aware of a single case where anything has been said by any person in authority here in regard to the details of imminent taxation.

There is another point which has to be borne in mind. In the United Kingdom and, perhaps, also in the U.S.A. in the old days, the main structure of taxation was a fixed one. All that the Chancellor had to do was to raise or lower some taxes or duties. It was necessary that these should be kept completely secret.

But it seems to me essential in a democratic society and, more especially, where planning is taking place, for full discussions about the taxation system. The Finance Minister today does not function in this matter as he might have done in the nineteenth century in England. We are constantly discussing economic matters as well as broad taxation policies in the Planning Commission, in the Cabinet and even to some extent in public. That appears to me the essence of democratic working where planning is taking place. This does not mean giving any particular information which can be utilised for unfair purposes by

14. Comptroller and Auditor General of India, 1948-54.

15. Narahari Rao had complained of leaders making frequent pronouncements on taxation and related matters. He stressed the need for the utmost confidentiality in these matters, as was the practice in the UK and USA, in order to prevent speculation and tax avoidance.

16. On 5 December 1958, Union Finance Minister Morarji Desai spoke on ways of augmenting income; making an assessment of resources; attracting foreign capital; the population problem and so on.

17. Hugh Dalton, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had to resign on 13 November 1947 after an off-the-cuff remark on forthcoming taxes to a journalist just before this budget speech.

anyone. It does mean encouraging the public to think of certain basic problems which confront us. Unless the public mind is prepared in this way, it would never be possible to get out of a rut.

In England, the Labour Party puts forward its policy proposals involving all kinds of taxation in order to educate the public mind.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

150. To B.V. Keskar¹⁸

January 17, 1959

My dear Balkrishna,

Your letter of January 12th about a permanent exhibition of our Plan and developments.¹⁹

I agree with you that there should be such a permanent exhibition, and I do not think that the sum you have mentioned is at all excessive for this purpose.

As you indicate yourself in your letter, the Commerce & Industry Ministry might also be thinking of a permanent exhibition. I think that our science people are thinking on the same lines. Obviously, all this has to be co-related. An attempt should be made for the various Ministries concerned to meet together for this purpose. The Cabinet Secretary might take the initiative in this matter.

You suggest that the exhibition should be held at some more central place. I do not know of any place big enough for this other than the present exhibition grounds. I think the exhibition grounds are well known now for exhibitions and are not too far.

I am sending your letter and a copy of this letter to the Cabinet Secretary.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

18. File No. 43 (38)/56-64-PMS and Cabinet Secretariat Papers.

19. Keskar felt that besides films, exhibitions were the most effective means of publicizing the Plan. He proposed a permanent exhibition that would be constantly brought up to date and complemented by itinerant ones. His estimates for the permanent exhibition were: Rs 7 lakhs for 25,000 square feet of covered area and Rs 50,000 for recurring expenditure.

151. To V. T. Krishnamachari²⁰

I enclose a letter I have received from the Chief Minister of Kerala which will interest you.²¹ We are likely to consider in the Planning Commission the question of using idle labour. This letter might be considered then or earlier.

152. To V.T. Krishnamachari²²

20th January, 1959

My dear V.T.,²³

I think I mentioned to you once about a certain complaint made by the Kerala Government. This related to the Planning Commission not allowing their State to participate in private industries. You gave me some reply about it. I do not quite remember what the facts were.

I have now received another letter from the Chief Minister of Kerala on this subject and he spoke to me about it also yesterday. I understand that he is likely to meet you today. I am, therefore, sending his letter to you.

It is not clear to me why we should come in the way of such joint enterprises. We might say of course that the Planning Commission should be advised about them and their approval taken. In regard to participation with foreign firms or

20. Note to Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, 19 Jan. 1959. File No. 26(37)/59-PMS. Also available in File No. Plan/51/4/58, Planning Commission.

21. The Chief Minister of Kerala, E.M.S. Namboodiripad, proposed employment schemes through shramdan by which volunteers might work entirely or partially free but with Government supplying materials, technical advice and so on. He called for a non-sectarian appeal to all political parties and mass organisations to participate. He wanted that self-sacrifice be demanded from the rich as much as from the poor in order to generate enthusiasm, and complained that prolonged delays in implementing the land reforms impeded the mobilisation of voluntary labour in rural areas. Fortifying his arguments with citations from Charles Bettelheim, he claimed that "the investment in the rural areas through the Chinese variant of shramdan during the year 1957-58 alone comes to the value of Rs 9600 crores, i.e., double the target of investment envisaged for our Second Plan." But he suspected Nehru would dismiss his views as some "communist dogma".

22. File No. 17 (219)/56-61-PMS. Also available in File No. 26 (37)/59-PMS.

23. Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission of India.

governments, of course, other questions arise and each case will have to be carefully considered.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

153. Usefulness of Exhibitions²⁴

My good wishes to the All India Agricultural, Industrial and Cultural Exhibition to be held at Alwaye.²⁵ Such exhibitions do a great deal of good. We have recently seen the tremendous success of the "India 1958" Exhibition in Delhi which was visited by over 30 lakhs of people and which brought out vividly the great progress that India was making in all directions.²⁶

Such big exhibitions of course cannot be held frequently and in all parts of India. But it is a good thing for different States and parts of India to have such exhibitions for the education of the people. They help in bringing new techniques before the people and in informing them of what is being done in other parts of India.

154. Policies relating to the Third Plan²⁷

Present

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru (Chairman) was present in the meeting.

The following papers were for consideration:

- (1) A note by Deputy Chairman dated 2nd February, 1959.
- (2) A note by Shri Asoka Mehta on "Some thoughts on the Third Plan".

The Chairman said the meeting was in continuation of earlier meetings held to consider policies relating to the Third Plan. It would be necessary soon to work out further steps in terms of facts and figures. These could only be

24. Message to M. C. Varkey, Chairman, Municipal Council, Alwaye. New Delhi, 2 Feb. 1959. File No. 9/2/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
25. The exhibition was held from 5 to 22 March 1959.
26. The "India 1958" Exhibition was inaugurated on 8 October 1958 in Delhi. For Nehru's speech at its inauguration, see SWJN/SS/44/pp.64-69.
27. Summary record of an informal meeting of the Planning Commission, New Delhi, 3 Feb. 1959. File No. Plan/51/4/58. Planning Commission.

very rough to begin with. Facts and figures were, however, necessary to give body to the general directions along which work on the Third Plan was to be done.

The Chairman mentioned that a deputation of farmers from Rohtak had met him and had told him that they had been able to increase production by 50 per cent through cooperative farming. There had been some amount of misrepresentation on the subject of cooperative farming. What we had said was that first service cooperatives should be organised and then farmers could organise cooperative joint farming when they felt ready for it.

The Chairman then referred to the Deputy Chairman's note and said that some of the basic issues mentioned therein were important and required careful consideration.

2. Member (Industry) asked whether Deputy Chairman's point in para 2 that "the lesson of history was that an industrial revolution could be set in motion mainly by increasing agricultural productivity and transferring the fruits of productivity from agriculture to the development of industry" was really correct. He felt that in India there was greater prospect of surpluses emerging from industry rather than from agriculture. Indian agriculture was mostly of the subsistence type and could not be expected to produce much surplus. Deputy Chairman said that the views which he had expressed had been accepted widely and he had referred to authorities on this in earlier papers. Member (NR) pointed out that if as a result of industrialisation more people were transferred from rural to urban areas more food would have to be produced and in this case a larger agricultural surplus would be needed. The Chairman said that it was clear that if agriculture did not produce a surplus, how else would the surplus needed be obtained.

Minister of Food & Agriculture referred to the contribution from shramdan mentioned in para 4 of Deputy Chairman's note. He pointed out that unless there was an effective organisation to mobilise and guide the shramdan workers, shramdan could not produce substantial or lasting results. For instance, before soil conservation could be undertaken or roads built, a technical organisation had to give the necessary guidance about contour surveys, alignments, etc. In the past village roads were not properly built because such an organisation was lacking. Deputy Chairman agreed that proper organisation was essential for shramdan work and for this reason he had suggested five-year work programmes including shramdan prepared on the basis of development blocks. Deputy Chairman said that the fundamental problem in rural areas was under-employment. It was essential to deal with it through increase in agricultural production, provision of basic amenities and the building up of community assets. There had to be adequate incentives for inducing the rural population to

put in the efforts needed. Work undertaken through shramdan had to be planned on a block basis.

Member (Agriculture) referred to para 5 of Deputy Chairman's note in which he had made a reference to Shri Asoka Mehta's point regarding compulsory social service. He felt that such compulsory social service would have to be, by and large, local and the Panchayat would have to be the main agency for organising it. Member (Industry) felt that an effective organisation was essential for channelising the spontaneous enthusiasm of the people to really constructive and sustained work.

3. Referring to the basis on which a plan-frame for the Third Plan might be drawn up, the Chairman said that from the discussions that had taken place, it was clear that they would have to think in terms of a large investment, a substantial proportion of which had to come from abroad. It might be possible to accept a certain order of investment as a practical starting point and then work out other details. After further work, the original figures could be reconsidered and at the end one could arrive at the correct dimensions. Deputy Chairman said that the next phase in the preparation of the Third Plan would be to work in terms of physical targets and programmes. He had already asked Shri Pitamber Pant to provide a note indicating the basis of some of the major targets he had proposed, the assumptions made, estimates of cost etc.

The Chairman suggested that the Planning Commission might consider putting forward as a target that by the end of the Third Plan, broadly speaking, the country should become self-reliant in terms of industrial growth. This meant what we should be able to produce our own machinery, at any rate, so far as basic industries were concerned. It was important to place before the country a picture of the objectives of development, the benefits anticipated, the stages to be covered and the difficulties and sacrifices which were involved. At the end of the Third Plan, we should be able to pass the "barrier" beyond which there could be self-sustaining growth. The objective might not be achieved fully by the end of the Third Plan, but we should try our utmost to be self-reliant in those industries which would make our economy "self-generating" in the sense that in future the essential machinery needed could be produced within the country. It was also necessary to consider an objective of this kind from other connected points of view. For instance, industrial growth could not be achieved without a great deal of expansion in education. It was likely that a clear picture of the lines of development which it was proposed to follow would not only make for greater understanding on the part of the people within the country but would also be helpful to foreign countries which might be able to assist.

4. Professor Mahalanobis observed that the objective mentioned by the

Chairman implied that we should build up an industrial base which would enable us to manufacture certain essential capital goods.

Deputy Chairman said that it was necessary to develop in such a way that the country could increase its production and export enough to earn the requisite foreign exchange. The Chairman added that if we placed ourselves in a position to import less that would also conserve foreign exchange resources. When he spoke of self-reliance, what he meant was that the country should have the capacity to produce whatever it required and not that it should attempt to produce everything. In case of need, it should be possible for the country to do without imports. What he had in mind was a self-reliant peace-time economy.

Shri Anjaria observed that the kind of objective which the Chairman had in mind was likely to take much more than five years to reach. It was also important to work out the various implications carefully. One implication would certainly be that our dependence on foreign assistance would increase very considerably in the short period.

The Chairman said that the process could not of course be completed in a very short time. He suggested that Shri Anjaria should work out in greater detail the implications of the broad conclusions that he had drawn in his first paper. Shri Anjaria mentioned that a Working Group on Resources was being set up and after it had completed its work some definite conclusions might be available.

The Home Minister emphasised that the Third Plan had to be an integrated plan. While there were various other objectives e.g. the per capita income had to be increased, a certain volume of employment had to be secured, and there were various ways of achieving these objectives, what the Chairman had stressed was that the central objective for the Third Plan should be to make the country self-reliant to the maximum extent possible. Our targets should not be determined in an arbitrary manner. They should be fixed in such a way as to make the economy "self-feeding". Any other objective that we might have should be appropriately related to this central objective as far as practicable and should in no case lead us away from it.

Minister of Planning said that in the Second Plan a certain projection for the Third Plan had been attempted. He wanted to know whether we would be able to reach that projected level in actual fact.

The Chairman said that it might be possible to secure a certain growth in national income and yet the country might not achieve self-reliance. For instance, the per capita income of Ceylon was much higher than that of India. The economy of Ceylon was based largely on exports from plantations and was therefore a dependent economy. In India, our aim should be to achieve self-reliance, at any rate, in a few basic lines.

Minister of Planning agreed that a large proportion of our investible funds had to go to such industries, but the resources which could be made available for this purpose would depend on what other claims had to be met.

Shri Anjaria suggested that in undertaking a programme for strengthening the capital base, one inevitably took a view also of the Fourth and the Fifth Plan. It had to be recognised that in the internal increase in production would be less from fresh investment as from gains in productivity in existing industries unaccompanied by investment or by any considerable investment. Deputy Chairman observed that in order to get the necessary resources and to secure increases in productivity it was essential to ensure a proper balance between long-term and short-term investment. Shri Tarlok Singh felt that even in agriculture substantial gains in productivity could not be had without expenditure of resources and that for an interval of years there was a certain conflict between increase of national income and measures to self-reliance in industrial growth, and it would be necessary to arrive at a careful balance between these two aims.

6. Professor Mahalanobis pointed out that heavy machine building was not as capital-intensive as was sometimes believed. In the new heavy machine building factory which was to be built investment would be of the order of Rs. 72 crores while the gross output per annum would be about Rs. 70 crores, thus giving a capital-output ratio of roughly 1:1. On the other hand a steel plant required Rs. 150 crores of capital investment to produce a gross output worth Rs. 50 crores per annum, i.e. The ratio was 3:1. The difficulty in a free economy was that no private investor would build such a factory until he had a ready market, but that was not the case in a socialist economy where the demand could be built up by planning. There should be no difficulty in this country about using profitably all the machinery that could be manufactured in the proposed machine building factory. Deputy Chairman pointed out that that producer goods industries and industries which utilised their products had to go hand in hand. In the final analysis this raised the question of increase in purchasing power and demands for various goods.

Shri Pitambar Pant mentioned that a machinery building programme for Rs. 500 crores during Third Plan would make the country more or less self sufficient and would enable it to produce machinery worth Rs. 500 crores a year. Thus, it would not be difficult for us to get Rs. 2000 crores worth of machinery during the Fourth Plan period out of this order of investment in the Third Plan. The four really basic things were the metallurgical industry, fuel, electrical power and machine building and these, he felt, should be given the highest priority in the Third Plan. He was preparing a detailed paper on this subject. He suggested that the Working Group on Industry, Transport and

Power should be given the directive that they should try to plan for making the country self-reliant at the end of the Third Plan working within a target of Rs. 5000 crores.

The Home Minister felt that it was not necessary to have a figure of Rs. 5000 crores or any other figure for industries at this stage. The real question was what were the essential things needed to make the country self-reliant and what were the costs involved in providing them. The right figure should emerge at the end of this exercise rather than before it and thereafter we could decide on the period to be taken. Deputy Chairman suggested that in making the study the demand for the machinery to be produced and the costs should be assessed at each stage envisaged in the development. Member (Industry) suggested that heavy chemicals should be also included in the list of areas in which self-reliance was to be achieved. The Chairman observed that we should make attempt to attain the objective of self-reliance by the end of the Third Plan. That would mean a period of 7 years from now. This aim should be kept in view by the Working Group.

Shri B. K. Nehru²⁸ said that he shared the view that we should have self-reliance as early as possible. He felt that from the point of view of resources the period of the Third Plan might be too short for attaining the objective of self-reliance. He wondered whether for the Third Plan they could have a period of 7 or 8 years instead of 5 years, so that a definite stage in the development of the country could be indicated. He felt that in respect of resources it would be necessary to make determined efforts to mobilise the internal savings and to maintain an economy which could attract foreign capital investment.

8. Para 7 of Deputy Chairman's note was then taken up, Member (Agriculture) suggested that it would be useful if the Planning Commission could give an early indication of the food production target to be aimed at for the Third Plan. This would assist those concerned at the Centre and in the States in working out programmes and policies capable of achieving the proposed target. The target of 110 million tons of foodgrains suggested by Deputy Chairman was intended to be twice the output in the base year 1949-50 which had been selected for the First Plan.

The Chairman observed that the A.I.C.C. had thought in terms of food production being doubled by the end of the Third Plan which would have probably meant a total production of about 125 million tons or roughly twice the production of last year. After discussion it was agreed that detailed work at the Centre and in the States should be done on the basis of food production target of 110 million tons.

28. Commissioner-General for Economic Affairs to handle India's external financial relations.

The Minister of Food & Agriculture mentioned that the agricultural production programme had of course to be an integrated one and corresponding targets had to be fixed also for agricultural commodities other than foodgrains.

9. The Chairman referred to suggestion which had been made to him in favour of setting up large State farms in certain areas as a measure which would help in dealing with the food problem. The Minister for Food & Agriculture stated that this suggestion was being examined in his Ministry.

10. It was agreed that the next meeting of the Planning Commission should be held at 5 P.M. on Tuesday, February 17, 1959.

155. Speech at Bangalore²⁹

Self-sufficiency In Food By End of Third Plan

MR NEHRU HOPEFUL

Bangalore, Feb 5

Mr. Nehru yesterday hoped that by the end of the Third Plan the country would become self-reliant in the agricultural and industrial fields.

Addressing Congress workers here, he said by the end of the Third Plan period, in the agricultural field, the country should actually produce more than it needed, while in the industrial sector the production of indigenous machinery and development of basic industries should be undertaken with a view to stopping the import of capital goods.

Mr. Nehru also said that India should have another iron and steel plant during this period.

TREMENDOUS ADVANCE

The country, he said, had made tremendous advance since the First Plan was taken in hand. Future planning had to be so designed as to provide for the requirements of increased population expected to be about 410 million in the next seven years.

Mr. Nehru said the approach to the Third Plan would be discussed in detail shortly. The Third Plan, he added, could neither be weak nor small. If it was

29. PTI report of a speech to Congressmen, Bangalore, 4 Feb. 1959. From *The Hindustan Times*, 6 Feb. 1959.

so, with the expected population increase the country would become weaker and it would be difficult to catch up later.

Referring to the gravity of the problem posed by the population, Mr. Nehru warned that unless the people realised the consequences of the present rate of population increase, there was no alternative for the country except to shoulder bigger burdens during the Third Plan period.

BUMPER YIELD

Mr. Nehru said the country had “turned the corner” with regard to food and they could expect a bumper yield this year.

Production of wheat and other cereals was good, he told a gathering of farmers.

Mr. Nehru said the Government would be able to build a big reserve but that, however, would not carry them anywhere. Only by increasing production further it would be possible to stop completely the import of food grains. It had become an urgent necessity to increase production.

156. To Lal Bahadur Shastri

February 5, 1959

My dear Lal Bahadur,³⁰

I am enclosing two papers which might interest you. One is copy of a letter written by Professor Kaldor to Anjaria. Kaldor is the man who originally suggested the Expenditure Tax and wrote a book about it. He came here two or three months ago for a second time. The other paper is a note by Professor Wheelwright,³¹ an economist of the University of Sydney, Australia, on the “Role of Direct Foreign Investment in the Industrialisation of India”.

I have sent copies of these to Pantji and Morarjibhai also.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

30. Union Minister of Commerce and Industry.

31. Edward Lawrence Wheelwright (1921-2007); studied economics and politics at the University of St Andrews, Scotland; taught at Bristol University, 1950-52; at Sydney University, 1952-86; wrote several books on the Australian economy, and on the dangers of global capitalism, namely, dependence on foreign investment, economic inequality, environmental degradation, the power of transnational corporations, and the undermining of national sovereignty.

157. To K. P. S. Menon

February 9, 1959

My dear K.P.S.,³²

This letter is being taken by B. K. Nehru.

Some months ago, Mahalanobis, on the eve of his departure for Moscow, asked me if he could, entirely on his own account, discuss the question of large-scale aid from the Soviet Union to us. I told him that he must not on any account bring us or the Government into the picture, but that he was at liberty to mention this matter informally and find out reactions. I gathered from him on his return that he had spoken to the Chairman of the Planning Commission or some such person there. Later he was informed that the Soviet Government might be interested in this. Nothing definite, of course, was said, but he gathered an impression then and later that there was a fair possibility of this matter being considered favourably.

The Soviet Ambassador here came to see me about some other matter and asked me if he could have a talk with Mahalanobis. He did not mention the subject, but it was clear to me that this had something to do with this aid matter. I told the Ambassador that he was at liberty to talk to Mahalanobis. Mahalanobis told me that he had a talk with him. According to him, the Ambassador gave him to understand that this matter might be favourably considered.

I do not know if you were present at the interview that Mahalanobis had with the Chairman of the Soviet Planning Commission, but apparently he kept you informed of these talks.

All this is rather vague, and it is not clear to me how we can take any further step. As Bijju³³ was going back to Washington, we have asked him to go via Moscow. We want his visit to be rather a casual one, so far as the public is concerned. We have already suggested to you that he might meet some people there during his brief stay. He cannot say much at this stage and, it is obvious that this question of aid can only be considered at the highest level. When we have a little clearer ideas on the subject, we shall probably ask you to take it up. It is not desirable for any definite conversations on this subject to take place through Mahalanobis or anyone else. Of course, once the matter is ripe for any discussion, Bijju Nehru will have to go there. For the present, all he can do is just to talk vaguely and generally.

32. India's Ambassador to the USSR.

33. Nickname of B. K. Nehru.

I am anxious that the Soviet Government should not think that we have dropped this subject or that we do not propose to approach them. Bijju may also discuss broadly our future plans and the large sums required by us to implement them. This is not a question of relatively small sums for particular projects, but something really big. The matter has to be taken up very carefully, and I do not want others, even in your Embassy, to know about it. For the rest, you can discuss with Bijju and decide if any such vague approach is feasible at this stage.

I hope you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

158. In the Lok Sabha: Ceiling on Urban Income³⁴

Shri Rajendra Singh:³⁵ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) Whether it is a fact that nearly one hundred Members of Parliament handed over a memorandum to the Prime Minister urging effecting of ceiling on urban income simultaneously along with the ceiling on land in the countryside;
- (b) Whether the Prime Minister turned down suggestions of the MPs; and
- (c) If so, the reasons therefor?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan): (a) Yes.

(b) and (c). The Prime Minister agreed with the broad principle that there should be no discrimination and that our policy should aim at promoting progressively equality of opportunity. But he felt that this could not be achieved by the method suggested. He further made it clear that no ceiling was proposed to be placed on incomes in rural areas. What was being done was to place a ceiling on the holding of land which was an entirely different thing.³⁶ With better agriculture there would be greater production and higher incomes, and also it was proposed to have small cottage industries in rural areas. Urban, industrial or professional incomes are usually dealt with through taxation.

All progress depends on greater production and on the growth of science and technology. Every step, therefore, that is taken must keep this in view.

34. 26 Feb. 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXVI, cols 3079-3082.

35. PSP, MP from Chapra, Bihar.

36. See pp. 175-181.

Shri Rajendra Singh: The Prime Minister has agreed that there should be a ceiling on the holding of land. Naturally it means, whether you agree or not....

Mr. Speaker: We are not arguing it here. What is the question?

Shri Rajendra Singh: My question is, if a ceiling is to be imposed on the rural side, then a ceiling on income on the urban side should also be imposed. May I know whether the Prime Minister wants to impose it progressively or he wants to do it simultaneously?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Sir, it is rather a complicated question. As a matter of fact, I endeavoured in the written answer, which was read out, to deal with the broad aspects of the question. If I may say so, I repeat again, the objective is one on which there is agreement. Normally, there should be no discrimination, but the manner of reaching it is not hard and fast and simple method. One has to keep in view that while aiming at that progressively less discrimination one does not allow the productive apparatus of society to suffer.

Shri S.M. Banerjee:³⁷ Sir, there are wide gaps between the various income groups in the country. May I know whether there are any proposals to bridge these wide gaps?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Normally, these gaps are bridged by a variety of processes; chiefly, various types of taxation.

Shri Bimal Ghose:³⁸ The Prime Minister stated that there was broad agreement as regards objective, but in the answer it was suggested that the method was not favoured. I do not know what was the method suggested. If it is a ceiling on urban income, may I say that the Taxation Enquiry Commission had examined that question and proposed a ceiling.³⁹ Therefore, I should like to know why the Prime Minister thinks what the Taxation Enquiry Commission has thought possible is not feasible now?

37. Independent, MP from Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh.

38. PSP, MP from Barrackpore, West Bengal.

39. The Taxation Enquiry Commission, set up on 1 April 1953 with John Matthai as chairman, submitted its report on 30 November 1954.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am sorry, Sir. I have no recollection of the exact phrasing of the Taxation Enquiry Commission's Report. Unless I have it before me, I could not answer this question.

Shri Braj Raj Singh:⁴⁰ May I know whether in the distant or in the near future there are any proposals for having any ceiling on the urban income?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have not personally considered it. I cannot rule it out, anyway, because we consider these matters from time to time. I do not personally consider that a ceiling as such is feasible, but a reduction of the income to bring it to some ideological ceiling, of course, we can always try. But to say, for instance, that this is income and nothing more, I think, is not feasible without doing some injury.

Shri Mahavir Tyagi: Will the Prime Minister please make it quite clear that while placing a ceiling on the holding of agricultural land in the rural areas, Government do not mean to put a ceiling on the income of villagers or the residents of rural areas as such?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That is exactly what has been made quite clear. In fact, I will make it again clear that there is no question of a ceiling on income. In fact, all the processes are so as to add to that income, both by greater production on land and by the development of industry which may become part-time industry of the people who own the land.

40. SP, MP from Firozabad, Uttar Pradesh.

(ii) Community Development

159. Speech at New Delhi⁴¹

DEVELOPMENT OF VILLAGES
PANCHAYATS, COOPERATIVES AND SCHOOLS
MUST BE SET UP
NEHRU'S DESIRE: EMPHASIS ON SELF- RELIANCE

Addressing about 300 trainees and workers of the Bharat Sewak Samaj, who called on him at his residence today, Prime Minister Nehru said that they should strive to create an atmosphere among the villagers so that they could try to solve their own problems. He added that there was much to be done in the country and while the Government would help as best as it could, a great deal was left to be attended to by the people themselves.

The trainees, numbering about 150, nearly half of them girls and women, came from three camps—Jatauli, Gurgaon and Bamnikhera—in Gurgaon district of Punjab, where they underwent training for about 12 days. The Gurgaon camp was held for training the B.S.S. organisers, most of whom were trained graduates, while the Jatauli camp was meant for students. The Bamnikhera camp was exclusively meant for training girls.

The Prime Minister said that he wanted three things to be established in all villages. They were panchayats, cooperatives and schools. The panchayats, he added, should have larger powers than at present. The cooperatives should cover the entire economic life of the rural areas.

Reminding the trainees and workers of the aims of the Bharat Sewak Samaj, Mr Nehru said that they should rise above controversies and devote themselves mainly to constructive work. The country could march ahead only if the people showed courage and initiative. It was only through constructive work and avoidance of political controversies that we could prepare ourselves for bigger tasks. One of the main tasks before the country was to increase agricultural production. The Third Five Year Plan would be ready after some time and people would have to share more responsibilities, he said.

During their 12 day's stay, the campers were given training in village cleanliness, rural uplift, road construction, etc. At the conclusion of the camp, about 1, 000 villagers with great enthusiasms joined the campers to build a pucca road, squads of villagers have been formed to carry out monthly check-up of the work started by the campers.

41. PTI report of a speech, Teen Murti House, New Delhi, 4 Jan. 1959. From the *Hindu*, 5 Jan. 1959.

160. To Ajit Prasad Jain⁴²

In view of the great stress being laid on the formation of Cooperatives and the difficulties experienced under the present law of speeding up this process, I understand that some kind of a model law is being framed which could be sent to the States. I do not know which Ministry is doing it now.⁴³ Will you please let me know?

2. Provision has to be made for people who do not own property in the village also to join such a cooperative.⁴⁴

161. To V. T. Krishnamachari

January 19, 1959

My dear V.T.,

I enclose a letter, in original, from the Chief Minister of Bombay. I should like your advice on it.

We have suggested village cooperatives as well as unions of a number of village cooperatives. It might perhaps be possible for Government to help the unions with some funds. The unions then might assist the primary cooperatives wherever this is considered necessary.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

42. Note to Minister of Food and Agriculture, 13 Jan. 1959. File No. 17 (263)/57-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection and A.P. Jain Papers, NMML.

43. In December 1958, a Department of Cooperation was created within the Ministry of Community Development. Cooperation was previously handled by the Department of Agriculture.

44. Jain's note of the same day said the Ministry of Community Development would deal with the model law. At Nagpur some Presidents and Secretaries of the PCCs had fretted about possible legal difficulties to the formation of the societies, but he dismissed them as administrative, not legal, problems and cited the success of the cooperative movement in Bombay and Madras States in support.

162. To Ajit Prasad Jain⁴⁵

30th January, 1959

My dear Ajit,

I am sending you a copy of a letter⁴⁶ I have received from Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay.⁴⁷ This is about the Report of the Committee on Cooperative Law which your Ministry has circulated.⁴⁸ With this she has sent a review of this Report.⁴⁹ I have not read this review or the Report yet. But, apparently, some of the criticisms made by the Indian Cooperative Union deserve serious notice. The whole object of the cooperative movement, as we envisaged, is for non-officials to work it and for the present restrictions to be removed. I hope you will consider the criticisms made. The Planning Commission, I take it, will also do this.

I suppose you have received a copy of this review of the Report. If not, get it from the Indian Cooperative Union.⁵⁰

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

45. File No. 17 (339)/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection and A.P. Jain Papers, NMML.
46. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay had pointed out that cooperatives were to mobilize the independent initiative of the people, but there was every danger of their becoming mere extensions of the bureaucracy to judge from the recommendations of the Committee on Cooperative Law and its wholly official composition.
47. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay (1903-1988); social reformer, freedom fighter and pioneer in cooperative movement; Member, All India Congress Committee; Patron, All India Women's Conference, Founder, Indian National Theatre Centre of the International Theatre Institute; Fellow, Indian Council for Cultural Relations; received Magsaysay Award for Community Leadership, 1966; Chairman, Sangeet Natak Academy; Vice-President, World Crafts Council; published extensively on these subjects.
48. To standardize procedures, the Government of India appointed a Committee on Cooperative Law in 1956 under T.S. Raja. Its report of May 1957 proposed a model Cooperative Societies Bill, Rules and By-laws for various types of societies.
49. The Indian Cooperative Union complained that the cooperative law "lays down too many and too rigid rules for the conduct of cooperative business itself. It vests the Registrar and his department with too many statutory and non-statutory powers of interference in the internal life of societies."
50. Nehru informed Kamaladevi the same day that the Planning Commission would consider this matter; he asked her to send the copies of the review to A. P. Jain, A. K. Sen, Union Minister of Law; S. K. Dey, Union Minister of Community Development and Cooperation; and V. T. Krishnamachari.

163. To Asoke K. Sen⁵¹

30th January, 1959

My dear Asoke,

I am sending you a copy of a letter I have received from Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay. This is about the Report of the Committee on Cooperative Law. I do not know if you have seen this Report. I have not read it yet, but serious criticisms are made in it. The objective we have set before us is to spread cooperatives, remove restrictions on them and make them non-official. If the Report works in another direction, then it fails in its purpose.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

164. To V.T. Krishnamachari⁵²

February 16, 1959

My dear V.T.,

I wonder if you can let me have some information about (1) the number of village cooperatives in India and separately the number of small cooperatives and (2) the number of joint farming cooperative societies in India and any information about the success of their working.

I shall be speaking in the Lok Sabha on the 18th February in the debate on the President's Address, and I should like this information before then.⁵³

I have a vague idea that there are two thousand joint farming cooperative societies in India, but I cannot remember how I got this idea. A few days ago, some farmers from Rohtak came to see me and they told me they had six such joint farming societies in their district and they were doing well.⁵⁴

51. File No. 17 (339)/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

52. File No. 17 (263)/57-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

53. In fact, Nehru spoke in the Lok Sabha on 19 February 1959. See pp. 72-92.

54. Krishnamachari replied on 17 February 1959 that 2020 joint farming cooperative societies had been registered at the end of 1957-58; that total credit made available by cooperatives had increased from Rs 23 crores to about Rs 130 crores of which more than 80 per cent were issued by smaller village cooperatives; that between 1950-51 and 1958-59, the number of village societies had increased from 1.16 lakhs to 1.79 lakhs and their membership from 5.2 million to 13.8 million.

I have just received information of some tribal people in the plains of Assam having started joint cultivation.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

165. To Snehlata Kshirsagar

फरवरी 21, 1959

प्रिय स्नेहलता,

तुम्हारा पत्र मिला।⁵⁵ यह सुन कर कि तुमने एक Women's Better Farming Cooperative Society बनायी है और उसमें काम कर रही हो, खुशी हुई। तुम जानती हो कि इस काम को मैं कितना आवश्यक समझता हूँ। तुम्हारा और कामों को छोड़ कर इसमें लगना एक ऐसी बात है कि जरूर तुम्हें शाबाशी दी जाय।

मैं आजकल बहुत से कामों में फँसा हूँ और कई दिनों तक किसी से मिल नहीं सकता। बाद में कभी दिल्ली आओ तो जरूर मिलना।

तुम्हारा
जवाहरलाल नेहरू

[Translation begins:

February 21, 1959

Dear Snehlata,

Received your letter.⁵⁶ I am glad to know that you have formed a 'Women's Better Farming Cooperative Society' and you are working for it. You know how important I consider this work to be. You have left everything to devote your energies to this work for which you deserve all praise.

I am unable to meet anyone for several days on account of various engagements. Later when you come to Delhi, do meet me.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Translation ends]

55. Not traced.

56. Not traced.

166. Speech at Delhi⁵⁷

NEHRU FOR MORE POWERS FOR 'PANCHAYATS'

New Delhi, Feb. 26.—Prime Minister Nehru said here yesterday that the village panchayats should be entrusted with more powers and responsibilities.

The Prime Minister, who was speaking to about 400 sarpanchs and village headmen from Bihar at his residence, said that these primary units of democracy had an important role to play in the reconstruction of the country.

Pandit Nehru said he felt that the success of the community programme depended primarily on the cooperation of the panchayats.

He said some people were opposed to giving more powers to panchayats which were said to be feud-ridden. This was the case with every organisation. It was true that sometimes powers were misused. If the panchayats commit mistakes, they would bear the consequences also. However, panchayats should be made strong and given more powers, he added.

Pandit Nehru said that great responsibilities devolved upon 'sarpanchs' in the light of the Nagpur resolution of the Congress which sought to establish service cooperatives and cooperative farming. In India holdings were generally uneconomic. In cooperative farming, the farmers would have the benefit of the pooled resources. The main problem at present was to increase the farm yield.

Pandit Nehru said that every village should have a school and cooperative and a strong panchayat. All economic activities in village should be undertaken by cooperative societies.⁵⁸

57. PTI report of a speech, New Delhi, 25 Feb. 1959. From *National Herald*, 27 Feb. 1959.

58. *The Hindu* reported on 26 February 1959: "Mr. Nehru said nearly three lakhs villages had been brought under the Community Development Programme. However, he felt that the success of the programme depended primarily on the co-operation of the panchayats. Big plans could be implemented only with the co-operation of the panchayats and not through officials."

167. Sarvodaya Sammelan⁵⁹

I send my good wishes to the Sarvodaya Sammelan at Ajmer.⁶⁰ Sarvodaya is an ideal. But it is good to keep this ideal in view. Acharya Vinoba Bhave who is the embodiment of Sarvodaya and who has carried its message to innumerable villages of India represents something that is vital in India's message. In the troubled world of politics, he stands out as a beacon which sheds light on the darkness which often surrounds us.

168. To Jag Pravesh Chandra⁶¹

February 27, 1959

Dear Jag Pravesh,⁶²

Your letter of February 26.⁶³

(1) Our objective is to spread cooperative farming widely in India. This can only be done with success after the principle of cooperation has been well established all over rural India. We have to win over the peasantry to this approach. Therefore, [sic]

59. Message, New Delhi, 25 Feb. 1959. File No. 9/2/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

60. At the 11th annual session of the Sarvodaya Sammelan at Ajmer, Rajasthan, on 27 February 1959, Vinoba Bhave included the concept of Shanti Sena within Sarvodaya, declaring its work to be not only national, but also international.

61. File No. 17 (263)/57-59-PMS.

62. Jag Pravesh Chandra (1916-2002); Congress leader, freedom fighter and journalist; founder editor of *Monday Morning*, an English weekly from Lahore, 1938; Member, Delhi State Legislative Assembly, 1952-56; President, Delhi State Refugees Association, 1957; Chairman, Interim Metropolitan Council, 1966-67; Deputy Chairman, Metropolitan Council, 1972-77; Chief Executive Councillor and Leader of the House, 1983-89.

63. Jag Pravesh Chandra had sought some information before recommending cooperatives to villagers around Delhi. Since, according to him, Nehru was "the original source of all socialistic thinking in India", he wanted to know (i) whether cooperative farming was a national aim or a specific programme; (ii) whether there would be joint cooperative farms or cooperative farming societies; (iii) whether cooperative farming was to induce social change or to increase agricultural production; (iv) whether the cooperative farm would be independent of the Gram Panchayat; (v) whether a member of a cooperative could freely sell his land without reference to the cooperative management; (vi) whether a member would get his share of the produce according to the size of his land or the needs of his family; (vii) whether the productivity of different pieces of land pooled together would be considered while sharing the produce; (viii) whether widows, children, or absentee owners could use substitutes and otherwise be entitled to a share.

(2) The immediate work to be done is to have Service Cooperatives in every village, which will deal with practically all economic matters affecting the farmers. But separate farms will continue and will be cultivated separately. We have fixed a period of three years to complete this process of establishing Service Cooperatives all over rural India.

(3) It will, of course, be open to any Service Cooperative at any time to have joint farming. In fact, there are already several hundred such joint farming societies in India.

(4) As to the exact nature of this joint farming, we need not have any rigid pattern and we shall welcome different approaches. We are not imposing anything on the people, and therefore, we have to be guided by their reactions.

(5) Cooperative farming, we think, will increase agricultural production. At the same time, it is an important institutional change with social consequences.

(6) There is bound to be close relationship between the Village Cooperative and the Village Panchayat. Their functions will have to be defined. These functions will touch each other on many points.

(7) It would be undesirable for any person to sell his land or his share in the land to an outsider. The share may go to any member of the family and may be inherited in the normal manner.

(8) It has been stated that payment will be according to the share in the land plus according to the actual labour performed. It will thus not depend on the size of the family.

(9) I suppose some kind of an estimate will have to be made about the productive potential of different pieces of land.

(10) Presumably a farmer will be allowed to send a substitute if he cannot come himself. In the case of widows and minors, of course, this must be allowed. But in the case of adults it should not be generally encouraged unless some special reason is shown.

(11) These are my immediate reactions to your questions. The details, of course, will have to be carefully worked out. I do not think that we should lay down any very rigid rules. When we have formed the Service Cooperatives, it will be for these cooperatives themselves to decide many of the points affecting them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(b) Industry

168. To K. Kamaraj⁶⁴

Raj Bhavan, Nagpur
7th January 1959

My dear Kamaraj,⁶⁵

You may remember that some two years ago or more, I spoke to you about the Guindy Park. There was a proposal then for a large part of this park area being given over to a technological institute. It seemed to me a great pity to spoil that beautiful park area. Your Government was good enough to agree to my suggestion and I was told that only a small part, probably 100 acres or so, will be taken from the Guindy Park area for the institute.

I had further suggested that the Guindy Park should be made into a public park, leaving an area not exceeding 100 acres or so to the house itself. This would have meant a public park of about 900 acres.

I do not know what has happened about this, but someone told me that it is proposed to break up this park area with the result that the deer there will find it difficult to stay. That will be a great pity. It is never easy to build up a good deer park. If once this is spoiled, then it will hardly be possible to make another such park where deer could roam about at will. I hope, therefore, that such a step will not be taken.⁶⁶

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

64. File No. 40 (114)/57-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

65. Chief Minister of Madras State.

66. Kamaraj replied on 27 January 1959 that out of 1000 acres released by Raj Bhavan, about 400 acres had been transferred to the Higher Technological Institute, the Forest Department retaining the rest for a National Park; Raj Bhavan would free 200 acres for the Deer Park; and 14 acres was being developed as a public park with a children's corner.

169. To Vishnu Sahay⁶⁷

There are many State factories which are producing goods of various kinds. But, so far as I know, there is not much coordination between them and sometimes one Ministry or Department may not know what others may be producing. Because of this purchases are made from abroad or in the open market when they could be obtained from Government plant or factory.

Could we do something to bring about some coordination in this matter? The principal plants or factories producing goods could make a list of what they are producing or what they can produce and circulate it to the other Ministries and Departments. At the same time any Ministry or Department wanting something of that type might enquire from the producing Ministries if they can supply them.

Can you do anything in this matter?

170. To Shriman Narayan⁶⁸

22nd January, 1959

My dear Shriman,

When I met Vinobaji, he spoke to me about licences being given for salt manufacture. I told him that I would enquire about this. On my return, I wrote to Lal Bahadur. He has sent me a reply, a copy of which I enclose.⁶⁹ Perhaps you could bring this to the notice of Vinobaji.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

67. Note to Cabinet Secretary, 17 Jan. 1959.

68. *Letters from Gandhi Nehru Vinoba* by Shriman Narayan. Also available in JN Collection.

69. Referring to Nehru's letter of 25 December 1958 (SWJN/SS/45/p. 554), Lal Bahadur Shastri explained on 21 January 1959 that after the abolition of the duty on salt, a system of licensing was introduced. To help small-scale manufacturers, holdings of 10 acres or less were exempted from this; as the production of salt by then was adequate for current consumption, the issue of new licences had been stopped. This meant that while the small-scale producer could still manufacture salt, no new large firms could do so. According to Shastri, the Development Commissioner of Kandla Port had granted leases about 600 acres for manufacture of salt without consulting the Salt Department, but the Salt Commissioner correctly refused to issue licences. Lal Bahadur assured Nehru that all new development was taking place in the small-scale sector only.

171. Reply to David Munzni⁷⁰

January 22, 1959

Dear Sir,⁷¹

The Prime Minister has seen your letter of the 14th January 1959.⁷² He regrets to learn that there is still some dissatisfaction among the Adivasis. It is Government's policy to pay special attention to the interests of the Adivasis. But it must be remembered that the steel works at Rourkela are far too vital for India's interests to be subjected to periodical trouble. Government have, therefore, to protect them and to take such other steps as may be necessary for this purpose.

The Prime Minister is communicating your letter to the Orissa Government who are responsible for the safety of the steel works as well as for looking after the Adivasis.

Yours sincerely,
Private Secretary to the Prime Minister

172. To Manubhai M. Shah⁷³

January 31, 1959

My dear Manubhai,

I had a visit this evening from S. R. Sathe from Poona who has made an improved Charkha. This appears to be broadly designed on the model of Ambar Charkha, but it certainly is a much improved article. I had met Sathe previously

70. Reply dictated by Nehru.

71. David Munzni [Munjni in the original] (1924-1987); political worker; President of the (i) Adibasis Unnati Samaj, Rourkela, (ii) Murava Mazdoor Union, Nildungri District Sambalpur, (iii) Jharkhand Mazdoor Sahyog Sangh, Rourkela (iv) Unnati Samaj, Pathal-Kudwa, Ranchi; Legal Adviser, Municipal Mazdoor Union, Purulia; represented India in the World Conference of the Moral Re-Armament at Caux in Montreaux, 1950; Congress Member, Lok Sabha, 1962-1967.

72. Munzni referred to Nehru's previous visit to Rourkela on 15 December 1957 (see SWJN/SS/40/p.133-141), when Hare Krushna Mahtab, the Chief Minister of Orissa, was asked to meet Munzni to redress the grievances of displaced persons. Instead, Munzni was detained for four months and the police terrorized the people. He urged Nehru to ensure compensatory land and housing, and jobs in the Hindustan Steel Private Ltd.

73. File No. 17 (338)/59-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

and he had shown me what he was doing. I had taken no great interest in his work and had referred him to our Khadi Board, etc. Today, however, I examined his Charkha with some care and saw it work. I also examined a carding machine he had made which was supposed to be what is called an "equaliser". Both of these small machines struck me as considerable improvements on what we normally use and on the Ambar Charkha especially.

I enquired from him if he had shown these to the Khadi Commission people. He said he had done so and a long correspondence was going on about it. It was not quite clear to me why Sathe had not been encouraged in his work as it was obviously very promising. I gathered a vague impression that his new Charkha was perhaps objected to on the ground that it was too mechanised. I do not understand such an objection if it was made. If this Charkha proves to be what is claimed for it, it is a very considerable improvement on any Charkha that we have now and so is the equalising carding machine. Production from these is far more and the labour involved appears to be much lighter. Why then should we not try this? Of course it has to be tested fully by competent people. If we succeed in getting this improved pattern of Charkha and are satisfied with its working, then surely it is a great gain for us.

I do not know if you have seen this. I think you might enquire from the Khadi Commission what their difficulty is about it.⁷⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

173. To B.P. Chaliha⁷⁵

February 1, 1959

My dear Chaliha,

I have received your letter of January 25th about the location of the refinery in Assam.

I was informed of this matter earlier and told that the Ministry concerned here, having considered it fully, was of opinion that the refinery should be located at Gauhati. Certain reasons for and against were placed before me. It

74. Nehru also wrote to Y. B. Chavan the same day asking why the Bombay Government had not yet tried out this improved design. He suggested trials at the Ahmedabad Textile Industry's Research Association.

75. File No. 17 (290)/58-69-PMS.

seemed to me that the reasons for the location at Gauhati were stronger.⁷⁶ In the main any other location would not only have cost much more right at the beginning, but also would have delayed the project considerably. I am convinced that the most important consideration is to start this refinery working as early as possible. Every day's delay is a loss to Assam and to India.

I did not go deeply into this question. I have given you what my opinion was after *prima facie* consideration of the matter. I am inclined to think that the figures you have given are not correct. However, since you have been good enough to write to me at length, we shall certainly discuss this matter with Sardar Swaran Singh, Keshava Deva Malaviya⁷⁷ and other colleagues.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

174. To Vishnu Sahay⁷⁸

During my brief visit to Bangalore, I made it a point to go to the Hindustan Machine Tools Factory. My object in going there was so much to see the place, as I did not have much time, but to congratulate the staff and workers on the very good work they had done in increasing production greatly.

2. It struck me then that it would be a good idea to give some kind of a Certificate of Honour to such plants in the public sector as show a significant increase in production. This should only be given where there is a very marked increase. It would be an encouragement to all the staff and workers and a desirable way to show our appreciation.

3. This can be possibly a shield or, preferably, a Certificate on parchment suitably inscribed and framed, say in silver. I would prefer the framed Certificate. This need not be given only to one plant, but to any which have done very well in production. Every year, we can decide whether any plants have come up to this standard or not. If they do not come up to it, then there will be no Certificate.

4. I should like you to consider this in consultation with others. Presumably, it is the Commerce and Industry Ministry that will be mainly concerned with such matters, but there are some other Ministries also.

I am sending a copy of this note to the Minister of Commerce & Industry.

76. The Guwahati Refinery, built with Rumanian assistance, was commissioned in 1962.

77. Union Minister of State for Mines and Oil.

78. Note to Cabinet Secretary, 4 Feb. 1959. File No. 17 (388)/60-64-PMS. Also available in File No. 17 (21)/56-PMS and JN Collection.

175. In the Rajya Sabha⁷⁹

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: May I just say a word, Sir? As the question itself shows,⁸⁰ this relates to small industries and petty industries. There was a very fine exhibition here which perhaps the honourable Members opposite did not go to. It was an American exhibition relating to small industries. It was a fascinating one showing a large number of small machines which could be made here or which could be obtained from there. Therefore, Sir, we encouraged the mission which came from America.⁸¹ I encouraged them personally. I think we certainly like these small machines to be made here or to be brought here, because we want to develop our country. There is a great difference in dealing with a major industry and a petty one, of course, not on a cottage scale, but on a village scale. We want to encourage them in every possible way, and we did encourage them. And it is obvious that when these people go there, to the exhibition, they discuss with them and ask "Can we have these machines, and, if so, on what terms? Can we make these machines here?" So, Sir, all these discussions take place all over the place. These are not big industrial matters, but as I said, they are only petty industries on a village scale.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: Sir, I think my question has not been understood at all. I am not concerned with the import of machinery. Here the impression is given to the press that joint undertakings are proposed to be started between some Americans on the one hand and some Indian industrialists on the other. I want to know whether the Prime Minister would like to encourage such undertakings.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, I would, Sir. But it all depends on the nature of the industry concerned. We would not come in their way, and sometimes, we would even actively encourage them.

79. 17 Feb. 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXIV, cols 899-900. Extracts.

80. Bhupesh Gupta, CPI, West Bengal, had referred to a report in *The Statesman* (Calcutta edition) of 7 January 1959 that over 100 joint industrial ventures by Indian and American businessmen may soon be established, and asked whether Indian citizens had made proposals.

81. The US Small Industries Exhibition was held in New Delhi on 6 January 1959. Nathaniel Knowles, the Deputy Director of the US Bureau of Foreign Trade and leader of the 6-member American Trade Mission, told a press conference that day that the investment climate was good in India as was evident from their six-week tour of the industrial towns of Punjab, UP and Rajasthan.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: Do I understand, Sir, that these joint undertakings—one hundred or so—between Americans and Indians will be permitted in this country, so that they can take away the profits out of our country?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, this is a way to prevent profits from being taken away. It is the other way round. The honourable Member has not understood the position.

176. Role of the Railways⁸²

I send my good wishes to the Annual Convention of the National Federation of Indian Railwaymen.⁸³ The Railways are our greatest State Undertaking and we must therefore make every effort to make them a model undertaking in regard to progress, efficiency and integrity. The Railway authorities and Railwaymen in general have to shoulder a great responsibility in this matter. This undertaking is essentially one of public utility and the public come into the picture at every stage. While Railwaymen should have a fair deal, they should also remember that they are essentially servants of the public and have to serve their convenience as well as do credit to their great organisation.

There are often complaints about corruption in various sections of this great organisation and complaints from the public come to us frequently. I trust that this blot on the fair name of Railwaymen will be removed by their own efforts.

177. To Keshava Deva Malaviya⁸⁴

18th February, 1959

My dear Keshava,

Chaliha, the Chief Minister of Assam, has sent me a copy of his letter to you dated February 15th. In this he suggests that the Assam Government should be given an opportunity to subscribe part of the share capital in the Oil India Private Limited.

82. Message to S.R. Vasavada, President of the National Federation of Indian Railwaymen, New Delhi, 18 Feb. 1959. File No. 9/2/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

83. The third such; at Patna, 5-8 March 1959.

84. File No. 17 (290)/58-69-PMS.

As this matter raises some issues of importance in regard to the participation of State Governments, I think we should consider this fully before sending an answer.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

178. To Jagjivan Ram⁸⁵

18th February 1959

My dear Jagjivan Ram,

I spoke to you today about certain machine tools being obtained from America when these could be obtained or made by the Hindustan Machine Tools Factory. Dange in the course of his speech in the Lok Sabha on the President's Address said⁸⁶ as follows:

"You may know, Sir, that we recently had a fine gift from the Americans. Machine tools were just given away freely to India because their heart is bleeding for us. Machine tools worth rupees seven crores were given away. Do you know the effect of this gift? The effect is that the Hindustan Machine Tools Factory is in danger because the Railway Ministry is now falling in for these second-hand machine tools....These second-hand machine tools have come here as a danger gift. The Hindustan Machine Tools' production will go down. There is a lay-off. There is a danger that our precision tools which we are building for our Government will be shut down with this American aid and second-hand machine tools."

Dange has used extravagant language. But when I visited the Hindustan Machine Tools Factory a short while ago, I was told by the Manager there that the disposal of their machine tools would certainly be affected by this free gift from the U.S. and for some months they will suffer because of it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

85. File No. 17 (21)/56-58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

86. On 13 Feb. 1959.

179. To S.K. Patil⁸⁷

February 28, 1959

My dear S. K.,

I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter of February 12 about the Shipping target.⁸⁸

I entirely agree with you that we should make every effort to increase our ships. From every point of view this appears to be desirable. I would like it included in the core of the Plan.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(c) Food and Agriculture

(i) Agricultural Production

180. To Sampurnanand

January 3, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,

I am distressed to find that in spite of repeated efforts on our part, the UP Government has not yet been able to help Kailash Nath Kaul⁸⁹ in his scheme of reclamation of usar land.⁹⁰ As this work is of high importance, I gave him originally a loan of rupees five thousand. Subsequently, I gave another rupees five thousand. I had hoped that the UP Government would take this matter up. But, as they have not done so thus far, I am compelled to advance more money as I do not want this work to be held up. As it is cheaper to order material on

87. File No. 17 (5)/59-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

88. Patil wanted India to take full advantage of declining prices of ships. He suggested (i) including shipping in the core of the Plan; and (ii) paying only 20% of the cost from the free resources with the rest coming from the ship's own earnings in three to five years; by this method, only Rs 5 crores would be required over the next two years.

89. Director, National Botanical Gardens, Lucknow.

90. For Kaul's Banthra Formula for reclamation of usar land, see SWJN/SS/42/p. 160.

a larger scale, I am now giving him rupees forty thousand more. That is, I have advanced him in all rupees fifty thousand for this work of reclamation of *usar* land.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

181. To Govind Ballabh Pant⁹¹

The Soviet Ambassador came to see me this evening and spent nearly an hour and a quarter with me. Most of this time was taken up by his telling me about the Suratgarh Farm in the Ganganagar District of Rajasthan.⁹² He also spoke to me about an oral message that had been conveyed by the Soviet Ambassador in Pakistan⁹³ to the Pakistan authorities conveying their grave concern at the talks going on for a Military alliance between Pakistan and the USA.⁹⁴

2. The Ambassador had recently visited the Suratgarh Farm. Mr Khrushchev had made a gift of agricultural machinery of various types some three years ago. It had been decided to start a large scale mechanised farm with the help of this machinery and this farm was started at Suratgarh in August 1956. The farm consists of a compact block of 30,000 acres, of which 23,000 acres was Government waste land. It was decided not only to grow foodgrains there but also to develop horticulture, poultry keeping and cattle and sheep breeding. Water is supposed to come to it from the canals from Bhakra-Nangal.

3. Of the 30,000 acres constituting the farm, 22,670 acres will be under agricultural crop, 2000 acres under orchards and 15,000 acres under animal husbandry activities and was proposed to utilise the rest for building roads, channels etc. Thus far 14,000 acres had been brought into crops. 3000 acres had been brought under partial irrigation by means of a link channel taking water from the Ganganagar Canal in Rajasthan. It is expected that by the end of 1959 the farm will receive 62% of its total irrigation requirements from this source. When the Rajasthan Canal Project is completed, the balance of the irrigation requirements will be completed.

91. Note to Union Minister of Home Affairs, 4 Jan. 1959.

92. Suratgarh Central State Farm, established in the Thar Desert under the State Farms Corporation of India Limited, with machinery gifted by the USSR.

93. I. F. Shpedko.

94. See p. 571.

4. As this farm is wholly a State farm and the entire produce is directly available to Government. To begin with, a team of six technicians came from the Soviet Union to assemble the equipment and train personnel in handling the machinery. Two more experts came later. At present there is apparently only one expert tractor-engineer at Suratgarh.

5. The Soviet Ambassador recently visited Suratgarh. He told me that he was greatly pleased to see the progress made by this farm and how the machinery was being handled properly by the Indian personnel. He was particularly pleased to see the crops that had been raised there and which were bigger and higher than he had seen elsewhere. He was sure that this farm would be a great success and would produce a large quantity of foodgrains for us. What struck him most was the enormous potentiality of the area round about Suratgarh for growing foodgrains.

6. He then told me of his own experience. He is apparently an expert in such agricultural matters. He had been put in charge of a large number of State farms in Kazakhstan in the Soviet Union. There were apparently over a hundred such State farms there, each more or less of the size at Suratgarh.

7. In the early days of the Soviet Union, much difficulty was experienced over supplies of foodgrains. It was with a view to remedy these deficits that it was decided to start these State farms in Kazakhstan. Some leading members of the Soviet Government then, including Molotov, had opposed this, as they said that this was contrary to their policy of building up collective and cooperative farms. But it was pointed out to them that there was no conflict and collective and cooperative farms would be encouraged in various parts of the Union and at the same time these State farms would be built up at Kazakhstan. This policy had succeeded to a greater extent than expected. The Kazakhstan State farms started producing large quantities of wheat from the first year onwards. In fact this ever-growing produce made a great difference to the food situation in the Soviet Union. They were no longer worried there about the food problem. At present about one third of the total foodgrains production of the Soviet Union came from Kazakhstan. (I am not quite sure about my figures).

8. Because of this abundance of foodgrains they could use land in other places in the Union for orchards and commercial crops, especially cotton.

9. With this example and personal experience before him, he suggested with some earnestness that we might solve our food problem quickly by building up a number of large State farms like Suratgarh in that area of Rajasthan which is eminently suited for them. All the produce of these farms would help Government in building up large reserves. The investment made in them would be quickly recovered within two years or so. The exact period would depend on the price factor. But in any event the total investment could be recovered

easily in three years and we would be getting these foodgrains from the end of the first year onwards. We could easily produce some millions of tons of foodgrains in that area which was excellent for this purpose. After visiting Suratgarh, he was satisfied that this could be done without difficulty and without much delay. If we decided to follow this line of action, we could build up a number of State farms like this which would be ready for the new irrigation supplies that would come a little later.

10. He spoke at some length about his own experiences at Kazakhstan and how this venture there had changed the face of Soviet agriculture⁹⁵ and indeed powerfully affected their economy for the good. The production in these farms had been greater and better in every way than the collectives.

11. He then referred to the present state of Indian agriculture. He said that being connected with agriculture, he had tried to understand what we had done and what we were doing. There was a lot of criticism about the slow progress made here in agricultural production. He did not think this criticism was justified. Some people judged by bad season and complained bitterly, others judged by a very good season and complained bitterly, others judged by a very good season and then were disappointed if this was not repeated. As a matter of fact, so far as he knew, Indian agriculture had made consistent progress in the last few years. He referred especially to jute cultivation which had grown so greatly since partition. He also referred to the increasing production of foodgrains. The result of the efforts we had put in the initial years would now bear fruit.

12. He told me that he knew quite well what our land and agricultural policy was. We wanted to develop cooperative farms. Setting up State farms, as he suggested, would in no way come in the way of such cooperative farms. In fact it would help them in many ways. Above all, that would put an end to our anxiety about food production. As I mentioned above, he spoke with a great deal of earnestness and warmth about this matter and being himself an expert, he spoke with knowledge. Indeed he said that he was sorry he did not know the English language and had to speak to me through an interpreter. This came in his way of talking to me fully as he would like to do.

13. I thanked him for his taking the trouble to see me and explain all this to me from his great experience. We would certainly give thought to it and we would welcome in future any suggestion on agricultural matters that he could make to us.⁹⁶

95. Referring to the Virgin Lands Programme, started in 1954.

96. On 7 January 1959, Nehru asked Vishnu Sahay to place this note before the Cabinet; he also wanted the Food and Agriculture Ministry to report on the Suratgarh Farm and to comment on this note.

182. To Ajit Prasad Jain⁹⁷

January 4, 1959

My dear Ajit,

Your letter of January 2nd about Suratgarh Farm. This evening, the Soviet Ambassador came to see me. I have written a note about his talk with me,⁹⁸ a copy of which I enclose.

I must say that his talk and manner were convincing. Above all, his personal experience in Kazakhstan carried weight. We may not be able to do all that he would like us to do, but certainly what he said is worth considering.

He made a clear distinction between the normal collective farms all over the Soviet Union and this particular area in Kazakhstan which was still under State farms and which provided a vast quantity of foodgrains to the Soviet Government.

I do not think this has anything to do with our small holdings. This would not be a holding at all, but a large area under State management, providing a very considerable quantity of foodgrains for our reserves. This may make us independent of the vagaries of the weather and enable us to have a firmer grip on the food situation and prices. It may indeed solve that problem for us. The Ambassador pointed out that the Soviet Union was faced by similar difficulties and it was Kazakhstan farms that finally solved them.

The question of the import of a large quantity of farm machinery for this purpose would, of course, create difficulties about foreign exchange. Indeed, we cannot import it in the normal way. The only possibility is for us to take it on easy credit terms from the Soviet Union. I did not mention this to him, of course.

I am sending a copy of my note to the Planning Commission, the Home Minister, the Finance Minister and one or two others.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

97. File No. 31 (23)/56-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

98. See the preceding item.

183. To Panjabrao Deshmukh⁹⁹

January 13, 1959

My dear Panjabrao,¹⁰⁰

Thank you for your letter of the 13th January.¹⁰¹ I am not looking at the reports you have sent me as that will take much time and at present I am rather fully occupied. But you will no doubt get them examined and extract any ideas that are suitable for us. We can circulate these ideas to the State Governments. I think that the State Governments are now at long last alive to this subject and are trying to do something. I think also that we are likely to have some kind of fertilisers produced in some quantities in a small scale.

I have looked through the proceedings of the I.C.A.R.¹⁰²

184. Use of Local Manures¹⁰³

I am glad to learn that an All-India Seminar is going to be held soon in Madras to consider the wider use of local manures. I think that this is a subject of high importance. Too much attention has been paid to chemical fertilisers and not enough to various types of local manures. Chemical fertilisers are good and their manufacture and use should certainly be encouraged. But too great a reliance on them is not good and in any event it is essential that we develop and use these local manures.

In our campaign for greater agricultural production, local manures should form an important part. In particular, our Community Development and NES Blocs should lay emphasis on them.

It is fitting that this Seminar should be held in Madras which, I believe, has made the most progress in regard to the use of local manures.

99. File No. 31 (32)/58-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

100. Union Minister of State for Agriculture.

101. Deshmukh had sent translations of two Chinese pamphlets on mechanization in agriculture. He recounted his discussions with V. S. Chetty, the Indian Consul General in Shanghai, on Chinese action to raise agricultural production; they encouraged popular initiatives, impossible to conceive of in India.

102. Deshmukh had sent Nehru the proceedings of a conference called by the ICAR on 20 and 21 December 1958 about what was being done in India in this regard.

103. Message, New Delhi, 13 Jan. 1959. File No. 17 (335)/59-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

185. On Japanese Agriculture¹⁰⁴

13 January 1959

I am sending you a note I have received from our Ambassador in Tokyo, Shri C.S. Jha, on some aspects of Japanese agriculture. The note is interesting and I am sure you would like to read it. Indeed, I hope that we can profit in many ways by Japanese examples in agriculture and cooperatives.¹⁰⁵

Jawaharlal Nehru

186. Proposal for an International Rural Institute¹⁰⁶

Some years ago, Dr. Peter Manniche¹⁰⁷ met me and he told me of his idea of establishing an International Rural Institute in Denmark. He felt that the experience of the cooperative movement and the folk schools in his country provided an example which could be utilised with profit by many of the economically less developed areas of the world. The majority of Danish farms are, I understand, three acres or less in area, and very few of them are mechanised in any high degree. But, by the application of the cooperative principle on an extensive scale and an intelligent use of the available manpower and scientific knowledge, Denmark has succeeded in achieving one of the highest yields in agriculture and dairy farming. In fact, the Danish agricultural system offers one of the best examples in the world of combining individual initiative with collective effort.

104. This letter and the note were sent to all Chief Ministers; all Cabinet Ministers; Union Minister of State for Agriculture, P. S. Deshmukh; Union Deputy Minister for Food and Agriculture, M. V. Krishnappa; all Members of Planning Commission; Pitambar Pant; SG, N. R. Pillai; FS, S. Dutt; CS, M. J. Desai; Congress President, U.N. Dhebar; and Union Minister of Community Development, S. K. Dey.

105. For C.S. Jha's note, see Appendix 4.

106. Message to Peter Manniche, New Delhi, 15 Jan. 1959. File No. 40 (98)/56-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

107. (1889-1981); Danish adult educator, worker for peace and international understanding, and expert on folk schools and rural colleges; founder-Principal, International People's College, Elsinore, Denmark, 1921-54; founded Rural Development College, Holte, Denmark, 1964; wrote several books on these subjects such as *Rural Development and the Changing Countries of the World* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1969).

Denmark is a country small in area and not powerful in a military sense. Nevertheless it has succeeded in giving to its people a very high standard of living. Countries of Asia and Africa can benefit by drawing upon the experience of Denmark. We in India are especially interested in this as we have a multitude of small farms which we are trying to link together through cooperation.

I told Dr. Peter Manniche that I liked his idea. Such an International Rural Institute could render real service and help in developing cooperative methods and rural education in the countries of Asia and Africa. I further said that if such an Institute were established, India would be glad to cooperate by sending from time to time students and observers to its courses. I am, therefore, glad to learn that Dr. Manniche, with the cooperation of his government, is organising an international conference to plan the establishment of such an Institute. I wish him success in his endeavour.

187. To Ajit Prasad Jain

January 24, 1959

My dear Ajit,

I enclose a note that Dhebarbhai¹⁰⁸ has sent me. It is by Parashar.¹⁰⁹ Reading it, I gather the impression that the man knows what he is talking about. His proposals are definite and precise and not, as is usually the case, vague. I think, therefore, that we should take immediate steps to give effect to such of them as are feasible soon.

I presume you will be seeing Parashar and you will take such steps as you think necessary. In view of the importance of some of his proposals in the immediate future, I am sending copies of Parashar's note to the Chief Ministers of States as they could immediately pay attention to some of the recommendations. You will no doubt follow this up with further advice.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

108. W. N. Dhebar, President of the Indian National Congress at this time.

109. K. K. Parashar, an agricultural scientist in Sonapat, Punjab, had proposed doubling crop production by (i) washing out the salts of alkaline (usar) land for three successive days at 30 degree centigrade in summer, as demonstrated in Rajasthan, Delhi, U P and Punjab; (ii) increasing production of compost; (iii) deep ploughing of land; (iv) using the idle land for growing catch crop on the fields of ratoon crops such as growing maize on ratoon sugarcane or cotton crop fields.

188. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹¹⁰

January 28, 1959

My dear Ajit,

I had a visit from Professor T.C.N. Singh, who is Head of the Department of Botany in Annamalai University in South India. He spoke to me about certain experiments he had been carrying on as to the effect of music and other kinds of vibrations on the growth of plants. He showed me a number of photographs which he had taken to show this effect. The subject was an interesting one. His idea was that by some method of broadcasting special musical themes over a wide area in the fields, growth could be encouraged greatly and produce increased.¹¹¹ I do not know if you can see him, but it would be worthwhile your meeting him. I have told him to see the Agriculture Secretary Damle.¹¹²

I enclose two papers he gave me.

After seeing his papers, perhaps you might pass them on them on to S.K. Dey.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

110. File No. 31 (30)/56-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

111. Nehru wrote to T. C. N. Singh on 16 February 1959: "I am interested in your experiments, but you will realise that to bear fruit on a large scale it would mean enormous and very expensive organization all over the country and training millions of farmers. That is no easy matter. However, you can certainly carry on your experiments through our Food and Agriculture Ministry."

112. K. R. Damle (b. 1906); joined ICS; served in UP and Ajmer, 1930-44; Secretary to High Commissioner of India in Australia and Acting Commissioner, 1944-48; Joint Secretary and Officiating Secretary, Government of India, 1949-55; Member & later Vice President, ICAR, 1949-55; Chairman, Tariff Commission, 1955-58; Secretary, Ministry of Food & Agriculture, 1958-62, Ministry of Petroleum & Chemicals, 1963-64; Secretary to the President, 1964-65; Lt. Governor of Goa, Daman & Diu and Administrator, Dadra & Nagar Haveli, 1965-67; Chairman, UPSC, 1967-71.

189. To B.C. Roy¹¹³

30th January 1959

My dear Bidhan,

I have your letter of the 26th January in which you ask me about the International Institute for Land Reclamation and Improvement.¹¹⁴ From the leaflet that you have sent, it would appear that agricultural organisations, including agricultural universities, are members of this Institute and not the countries as such. I would, therefore, suggest that instead of the West Bengal State becoming a member, the University of Calcutta or any other university might become a member of the Institute.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

113. File No. 31 (91)/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

114. B.C. Roy had written about discussions with a representative of the International Institute for Land Reclamation and Improvement during his visit to Holland in October 1958. The Institute operated under the Kellogg Foundation of the USA, with its headquarters at Wageningen, Netherlands, and it dealt with matters like drainage, irrigation, desalination, reclamation of submarginal lands, developing methods of producing crops on difficult soils, land consolidation of fragmented holdings, etc. As West Bengal faced these problems also, he wanted the state to become a member of the Institute.

190. An Example of Cooperative Effort¹¹⁵

The accounts I have had about the Cooperative Society of farmers and others at Ram Raj in District Muzaffarnagar, UP, have impressed me.¹¹⁶ People who have gone there have also told me of the fine work done there by this community and the great progress made in agriculture as well as in various amenities run on a cooperative basis.

I have been invited to go there at the time of the cattle fair in March next.¹¹⁷ I would indeed have liked to go because I am attracted by good work wherever it is done and more especially, to the spirit of cooperative effort which this community at Ram Raj has shown. I am sorry, however, that during the sessions of Parliament it is not easy for me to go there. I hope that at some future time I shall be able to visit this progressive and enterprising community. Meanwhile I send them my congratulations for the work they have done and my good wishes for the future.

115. Message to the farmers of Ramraj Khadar in Muzaffarnagar District (UP), New Delhi, 2 Feb. 1959. File No. 9/2/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

116. After Partition, a few thousand farmers were rehabilitated in jungle land called Ganga Khadar, on the banks of the Ganga. A new colony called Ramraj Khadar was built at the junction of the three districts of Meerut, Muzaffarnagar and Bijnore in Uttar Pradesh, and was connected by metalled roads. About 20,000 acres over about 30 square miles were brought under cultivation of wheat, paddy and sugarcane. Sampuran Singh and other farmers of Ramraj, in an account of their work given to Nehru on 23 January 1959, spoke of their Cooperative Cane Development Union Ltd to sell their produce to the sugar mills and cooperative shop at Khatauli in Muzaffarnagar. They supplied seed grains to the Governments of UP and other States through the Government Seed Stores. They had a housing cooperative society, a modern school, brick kiln, road development, road transport, small savings schemes—all run cooperatively. They had also started a weekly bazaar. After electrification, they proposed small scale industries, cooperative stores, seed stores, dairy, poultry, piggeries, fisheries, rural dispensaries etc. They had about 75 tractors and 10 trucks.

117. Scheduled for 4-11 March.

191. Cooperative Farming & Land Ceiling¹¹⁸

Your Highness,¹¹⁹ Chief Minister¹²⁰ and young farmers and friends, I am sorry I cannot speak in your language, Kannada and I have to speak in English. I have come here today to this beautiful city of Bangalore as you perhaps know (what is it supposed to be for), I have come here for the Silver Jubilee, Golden Jubilee, in fact, Session of the Indian Institute of Science here¹²¹ and my stay is a very short one but I am glad that this opportunity has been given to me to meet the young farmers from all over the State and to say a few words to them. Bangalore is not only a beautiful city but it has become one of the chief centres in India of science and scientific research as well as of industry. It is right therefore that it should take a leading part, not Bangalore I mean but the whole State, in agricultural improvement.

You hear a great deal about our various great schemes, of great projects and schemes for us for the country to advance. But you know or ought to know that the basis of all advance in India is prosperous, productive agriculture. Without that firm foundation of agricultural progress all our industrial progress will be hampered, will be delayed and in fact will hardly take place. It is true that in order to solve the problems of India we have to industrialise, we have to build up our industries, big industries, middle industries, small industries, village industries. That is true, without that there is no hope of raising the standards of the people of India. Without science and technology, there is no hope for us to advance. That is true; but the industrialisation of India depends greatly on a stable agricultural economy and agricultural economy depends on, first of all, on productivity, on producing more and more, as we can and as we should. Secondly, on such organisation of agriculture and land which is fair to the people which brings happiness to the largest number. These are the basis of agricultural advance.

Now, we have talked a great deal about more food production, more agricultural production, and we have made a good deal of progress also all over India. People forget sometimes the very considerable progress that has been made in the last 10 years. And yet that progress that has been made is not as much as we wanted to be. We want to advance much faster not only in agriculture but in industries and so many other things. Therefore, we must pay

118. Speech at the Mysore State Farmers' Forum, Bangalore, 4 Feb. 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

119. Jayachamaraja Wodeyar, Maharaja of Mysore, and Governor of Mysore State.

120. B. D. Jatti, Chief Minister of Mysore.

121. For Nehru's speech on the occasion, see pp. 537-544.

particular attention to increasing agricultural production and more particularly the yield per acre. Our yield in India per acre is one of the lowest in the world. That is not good. In other places the yield is sometimes doubled, trebled and even four times what we have. Wherever we have tried, as you are trying here, we have doubled and trebled the yield easily. So there is no doubt in my mind that we can in India easily double our yield of our production as well as of other crops, provided we organise ourselves and provided we work hard in the right way.

To see you young farmers of Mysore State and to hear what you have been doing in the last very few years inspires and encourages me and I have no doubt it will do so to others. Because this is the kind of thing we want done all over India to produce good results. Of course there is great variety in India—great variety I mean of methods of land systems and the like—some coming in the way. One of the first things we did after independence all over India was to attack the old land system in India where there were big landlords, talukdars, jagirdars, zamindars and all that. That system was out of date. Even a good system becomes out of date, in different times. It was not a question of our having any ill-will against the old talukdars or jagirdars, but the system was out of date and land and agriculture could not progress much under that system. Therefore, that system had to go. And that system has gone. Even now many things remain to be done in regard to land reforms and they will no doubt be done.

I want to speak to you a little today about certain decisions that our government has taken and that the National Congress took at Nagpur recently.¹²² It is not necessary for me to tell you how important this question of raising production is, because you are all convinced of that and you are energetic farmers doing that. But I want to speak about those decisions that have been taken because there appears to be some doubt in some people's minds about them and there has also been some criticism about them. Criticism is always good—constructive criticism, because it makes us think more. It makes us discover any faults that may have occurred and then we can remedy them. So, I welcome criticism. But that criticism is much more helpful if that is constructive criticism.

Among those who have criticised these recent decisions are some greatly respected leaders of India and whom I honour and respect.¹²³ Among them is one of our oldest and most respected leaders, Shri Rajagopalachari. Now, I

122. See pp. 164-261.

123. See pp. 11-12 and 148.

have respected him and I had great regard and affection for him and I would not venture to have a polemical argument with him on this or any other subject. But I would venture to suggest to submit to him some of the reasons that have lead us to this decision. I am afraid sometimes it is not easy to convince each other by logical arguments or reason. Because all of us hold, get to hold rather firm opinions not today only but in the past many years before independence, there were also differences of opinion, as they often are even among the closest of colleagues. Now to come to these Nagpur Congress resolutions about agriculture, about land.

Before the Nagpur Congress met, many months before, a committee was appointed to consider this very question. A committee was appointed by the All India Congress Committee and that committee consisted of experienced leading Congressmen from all over India. That committee met many times and discussed these matters thoroughly. They discussed them not only amongst themselves but with leading members, leading economists, members of our Planning Commission and many other people; and they come to certain decisions, certain recommendations, which were placed before the Nagpur Session of the Congress. I am mentioning this so that you might remember that the decisions taken at Nagpur were not suddenly taken, they had been thought about for months, and indeed years before, and finally a high level committee considered them, consulted experts and others and made their recommendations which were broadly adopted by the Nagpur Session of the Congress.

What were these decisions and what were they based on? They were based essentially on, first of all, to bring about a measure of economic justice. Secondly, on opening our opportunities for a scientific advance of our agriculture. Because without the application of science and modern techniques we are apt to remain backward. Now it is possible for a very large farms, say about 1000 acres or 500 acres, to be very scientifically advanced. Of course it is possible. But then that conflicts with our ideas of economic and social justice, and so we have to help both social justice and scientific advance leading to a much greater productivity and much greater, therefore, prosperity for the farmers and the peasants. We did nothing very new. We have the example of many countries in the world. I am not referring for the moment to the Communist countries because their thinking is based often on different foundations. But I am referring even to non-communist countries where they have had land reforms, they have had ceilings on land, they have had cooperatives and all the other things that we have recommended. Take even a country like Japan which has a very prosperous agriculture, a high yielding one. Of course that is due, partly, to the fact that the Japanese work hard, they are a disciplined people. But also because of land reforms there. Among the land reforms that the

Japanese—and the Japanese are not Communists—they fixed a ceiling on land and they did it almost at the recommendation of another country which is certainly not Communist or even socialist. That is the United States of America. It was during the years of American occupation of Japan that the ceiling on land and other far reaching land reforms were introduced into Japan.¹²⁴ And Japan has done very well and made great progress. So do not get mixed up into thinking with these things, ceiling on land or cooperation or other things are sometimes associated with a particular gospel. This is the modern approach to this problem all over the world, whatever the economic policy adopted. Take cooperation. The whole principle of cooperation is of course an essential one for the modern world whether in land or industry or government or anything that one does. I am not going to speak much about that but only to remind you of this that essentially we have to develop in the modern world more and more of cooperation.

Do you remember that our Congress Constitution for long years had the objective in Article I of it which laid down that our objective was a “Co-operative Commonwealth in India” and not a new idea. True the specific application of it to land is not clarified. But the whole conception has been a cooperative approach. We want to apply it to industry, we want to apply it as far as we can and I hope a day will come when there will be some kind of cooperative world commonwealth, to put an end to national rivalries and national conflicts. Why is it then that people are surprised when we talk about cooperatives in land?

So far as India is concerned there is no other way for us, I venture to say. Why, apart from cooperation being good in itself there is another aspect of it. That is if you have large farms you can, as I said, introduce scientific techniques fairly easily. The resources are greater. But a few here as in India, by and large, very small holdings, one acre, two acres, sometimes less, sometimes a little more because 95% or something like that are very small holdings in India. Those holdings cannot progress much; they have not the resources to adopt scientific techniques and therefore our agriculture will never really progress because it will not have the opportunity of adopting new scientific techniques. What are we to do then? We have rejected the big jagirdar and the big zamindar as a system that is quite out of date today, in the world—not only in India only even in Pakistan they are following this example, so the only other way was maintaining the small holdings as they are and bringing in the principle of cooperation, so that the people in the village could cooperate together in common tasks thereby having larger resources at their disposal, thereby being able to introduce better and more improved techniques. Of course, helped by the

124. See p. 124 fn 121.

government wherever possible. So, there was no way out and there is no way out and I say this with a good deal of confidence and emphasis that if we do not have cooperation in land, the cooperative movement in land, agriculture may improve a little, I do not say it won't. It will improve if people work hard, if people get fertilisers, if people get good seeds, it will improve undoubtedly a little, but it cannot improve much, because those patches of land are too small. Therefore, you are inevitably driven to this; that there must be cooperation in land.

Now, cooperation can be of many kinds and the step that we have suggested immediately is what is called service cooperatives. That is to say that people will hold, continue to hold their land in separate holdings, farm them separately but through their cooperative do all other service functions together. That is to say, whatever it may be, selling, buying, getting seeds, getting fertilizers, and anything else, even machineries, small machines, etc., which they can jointly use. Therefore, service cooperatives is what we have recommended and what we have said should take place all over India. Now again we can have cooperatives in a big way or in a small way. There has been a tendency, there was a tendency to build up big cooperatives 20, 30, 50, 100 villages. We did not think that that was the right approach. Why, because when the cooperative becomes too big it has certainly some advantages in resources, but it loses the intimate touch which is the essence of cooperation. Cooperation is not merely an economic doctrine. It is a way of looking at things, a way of life. Now, if you bring in 20, 30 villages, the villagers do not know each other very well. They do not have that sense of a larger family and they are usually bossed over by some official. Now, I think that official bossing is entirely opposed to the very spirit of cooperation. Official help, yes. Governmental help, technical advice, all that. But where the official comes in, however good the official may be, it ceases to be to that extent cooperation. In the old days the cooperative movement in India consisted of largely credit cooperatives; and credit is very necessary. Now, we think of all service cooperatives that is everything that the farmer has to do in the economic domain should be done through a cooperative. What is our ultimate objective? Ultimately, we hope that each farmer should contribute something, not only in physical labour, but should be self-reliant, should stand on his own feet. Therefore, a cooperative is a good cooperative which is run by the farmers themselves without external or official interference except when something goes wrong or something that is a different matter. It is better for a small village farmers cooperative to make mistakes, because through those mistakes they will learn, than a big cooperative where the intimate sense of cooperation and self-reliance is absent. In India today one of the very bad habits that has grown up is for people always looking up to this Government

or that, to this official or that for help. Government must help of course. Officials are there to serve the people but India will never progress unless people help themselves and the farmers will not progress unless they help themselves. Therefore, a small village cooperatives is better than the larger one because the village is a larger family, people know each other, people know who is the good man and who is the bad man, they can trust or not trust and they can function, therefore, more intimately. As I said they will make many mistakes very often they quarrel, very often they have parties even the villages. I know that of course. But if because of that we do not give them the opportunity to develop self-reliance then you will always remain in that condition. Therefore, we said a small village cooperative may be if there are small villages round about they may be joined but, broadly speaking, a village cooperative. And again for other purposes 10 villages, 12 villages, 15 villages depends on the size of the villages. Those village cooperatives 10 to 12 villages joined together to have a union of cooperatives, a federation if you like. That gives you the advantage of a bigger cooperative for resources and yet makes each village cooperative self-reliant. That is the scheme chalked out.

Now, as I have said what we have asked in the first instance is that these cooperative should be service cooperatives that is to say each person should maintain his separate holding, separate patch of land. Now, we have also said something which goes a step further. Although we have not asked for that to be done now unless people want to do it that is to say we have said that the ultimate objective aimed at should be a cooperative with joint farming. That is the village cooperative all of them jointly farming all the lands of the individual farmers. But even then each farmer will have his separate share according to his land, although they may work them together his share will remain what it was his individual private share and out of the results out of what is produced he will get his full share. So, we have tried to bring about two things. We have maintained as you will see that the individual private share but we have suggested that in the village area farming should be a joint common concern because that has great advantages. It has great advantages because then it is far easier to bringing in your scientific techniques. Suppose you want to use a tractor, you may or may not, for obviously it is much easier to do it all over there than in separate patches. I am not anxious that you should use a tractor, where it is possible I don't object. Secondly, the amount of labour required in having this joint work is less as you don't waste labour. There can be no doubt that from the point of view of efficiency, of technical progress and of greater production the joint farming is desirable. But we have said I repeat that first of all there should be service cooperatives not joint farming. Then if those people agree and by their consent they can change their service cooperative into joint

farming—nothing more to be done except their agreement. Nobody is forcing this down upon them. I know that farmers and peasants are usually rather conservative people, they do not like jumping in into new experiments and that is right. At the same time if you are so conservative that you do not like change, then you make no progress, you remain where you are, stuck in the mud. So one has to find a middle way, and I venture to suggest that what we have recommended is the satisfactory middle way of preserving the individuality of the peasant and at the same time bringing in this essential spirit of cooperative effort which make scientific and technical progress much more easy; and further develops a habit of joint working, cooperative working which is so essential in a modern nation.

As I have said there are many people who have criticised this. Some because I think they have not understood what has been said, some because perhaps they disagree. But I should like to tell you of the reactions of the people who have tried this. Three days ago in Delhi I had a deputation of farmers from the Rohtak district of the Punjab. And they came and I was surprised to find that in their areas they had, I forget—about 8 or 10—joint farming cooperatives which they had started last year of their own accord. And they told me that they were so pleased with them because their production had gone up by 50% since they had got this joint farming cooperative. They were all better off and are happy. Some of them were a little doubtful in the beginning but they had done so and they had done so of their own accord. Nobody had forced or compelled them. Because they have succeeded in this and because their production has gone up so much others wanted to do it too round about. Because while a peasant or a farmer is conservative once he is satisfied that a thing is good for him he does it quickly enough. So I had ventured to explain to you in a few words what the National Congress recommended.

As a matter of fact the National Development Council has also been thinking on these lines and I have no doubt that this is going to be, and is, the future policy in India in regard to land, and I want you young farmers to appreciate that, to understand it, and to explain it to others, because we are determined to go ahead with production in land, we are determined to make agriculture a success. We are determined to raise the level of the hundreds of millions of farmers and peasants in India. Great cities may progress as they are progressing, but ultimately it is the village in India which will be the test of India's progress. We must raise the village and the villager and we must give him opportunities of rising. There are many things of course to be done and the community development movement with its blocks and all that is a tremendous and revolutionary approach to the problem of rural India.

Today the community development movement has spread out to over

300,000 villages in India that is in six years' time; it covers a population of 165 million in the villages. This is truly a revolutionary advance. I do not say that wherever the community development movement has gone it has been successful. It has not been successful everywhere, in some places it is doing very well, in some places well, and in some places not well, that is true. But the movement is essentially a revolutionary movement changing the whole structure of our countryside and I have no doubt it will produce that revolution. In fact, we see it even now, but that movement also is not a movement of government doing something or officials doing this or that, but of the people taking charge of it and doing this.

I have laid stress on this because I am convinced that progress of India or any country, specially big scale social progress depends on the individual becoming self-reliant not on the official not on the government, therefore, let all governments realise the government job is to encourage self help to encourage self-reliance and not to do this or that. To be as in old English days as they used to say in North India, a *ma-baap* Government, a paternalistic Government, which does things, looking upon the people as incompetent children who cannot do anything. That is not our ideal. People must take charge and do things for themselves, and once the people do things for themselves, things get done all over the country with extreme rapidity. No government can do what the people can do in their own villages quickly. If every village did some little thing, the people in 500,000 villages of India, well things get done quickly. If we pass an order, the Government in Delhi, that this be done in the 500,000 villages, it will take years and years and nothing much is done, it cannot reach them. Therefore, this community development movement is essentially a movement to create self-reliance. Now you know that our biggest task is greater food production. It has been a most painful thing to all of us to have to import foodgrains from outside India. It is really like pouring out India's blood outside, India's small resources going outside to get foodgrains for us when we want all the resources and money that we have for industry and other development. Therefore, we must stop this drain and this import of food stuffs from outside. That means you must and all the farmers and peasants in India must produce more. It has become a matter of the most extreme and urgent importance.

Fortunately, I believe, we have turned the corners, we have had three bad years, bad harvests sometimes in the North, sometimes in the South, terrible years. I think we have turned the corner. This present harvest is a very good one, we expect to have a bumper rice crop. All the indications for the next harvest, wheat, etc., are good and we hope to build up big reserves in the course of this year. But that apart it is not the reserves that will carry us on, it will be the yearly production and peasant or farmers who produces double the

amount or treble the amount, not only does good to himself but does good to his country, serves his country, and all these other things that I have spoken about the Congress Resolution or the National Development Council or the community development movement are all intended to do that to raise production in the land of India to ensure therefore prosperity for the farmer and prosperity for the Nation.

I congratulate you young farmers on the excellent work you have done in the State of Mysore and I hope you will progress more and more in future.

Jai Hind!

192. To Partap Singh Kairon

February 25, 1959

My dear Partap Singh,¹²⁵

I have often referred to the Joint Farming Society in Rohtak district and praised its efforts which have met with success.¹²⁶ I am told that far from receiving encouragement from your Cooperative Department, it has rather suffered from neglect. I suggest that you tell your Cooperative Department that they must encourage all such efforts.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(ii) Food Prices

193. To Bhupesh Gupta

Raj Bhavan, Nagpur
7th January, 1959

Dear Bhupesh Gupta,

I have your letter of the 5th January.

When we formed a small All-Parties Consultative Committee on Food etc. in Parliament, I expressed the hope that the states would do likewise. I wrote to them on this subject also. The question of district committees being formed

125. Chief Minister of Punjab.

126. See for example, p. 466 in the preceding item, Nehru's speech at the Mysore State Farmers' Forum in Bangalore on 4 February 1959.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

for this purpose did not arise at any time, nor did I give any thought to it. Of course the larger the sphere of cooperation in this matter, the better. But in regard to these details, it is for the State Government and specially the Chief Minister to make arrangements.

Such committees deal with policy matters chiefly and these can obviously be considered by the state committee. Wherever it is possible to arrange for larger cooperation in these matters, it will be good. But the decision should rest with the Chief Minister concerned.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

194. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹²⁷

Raj Bhavan, Nagpur
7th January 1959

My dear Ajit,

I read in the newspapers that the atta situation in Delhi is pretty serious and long queues are to be seen in search of atta which is difficult to obtain. I hope that this matter is receiving your attention.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

127. File No. 31 (85)/58-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection and A. P. Jain Papers, NMML.

195. To C.D. Gautam¹²⁸

Raj Bhavan
Nagpur

8th January, 1959

Dear Shri Gautam,¹²⁹

Thank you for your letter of the 7th January, 1959, together with two samples of paddy.¹³⁰ I have passed them on together with your letter to Dr. Katju, Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh.

We have given a great deal of thought to this matter of price fixing. The price fixed, I think, is fair, though it is quite possible that in the interior, a lower price may be paid. The Government should look into this matter. If at the time of a very good harvest prices are fixed at a higher rate, then we shall never be able to face the consequences of this lack of planning.

As for removing the ban on export to Bombay, if that is done, it may benefit some traders but it will mean the price going up all over Madhya Pradesh.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

128. File No. 31 (25)/56-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

129. (1901-1983); Congressman from Madhya Pradesh; agriculturist and advocate; President, Balaghat District Cooperative Growers Association, 1945-53; Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-62 and 1967-77.

130. Gautam raised the issues of stabilisation of foodgrain prices, purchase of grain, etc., by the Government.

196. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹³¹

Raj Bhavan, Nagpur
January 10, 1959

My dear Ajit,

I think I wrote to you about the report I had had about some queer dealings in Agra. I wrote to Seth Achal Singh¹³² to enquire confidentially about them.¹³³ He has now written to me. I enclose a copy of his letter.¹³⁴

From this letter it appears that the firm in question made a great deal of money by cornering Arhar and Gur. Apparently he was helped by Government policies. Can we not do something in this matter as well as in the future in regard to such deals?¹³⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

131. File No. 31(35)/56-64-PMS. Also available in A.P. Jain Papers, NMML.

132. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Agra, Member, Parliamentary Consultative Committee for Food and Agriculture.

133. On 30 Dec. 1958. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 45, pp. 514-515.

134. Seth Achal Singh informed Nehru on 3 January 1959 that the firm in question took advantage of official policies to engage in satta (forwarding delivery business) in arhar and gur and smuggling between zones had greatly increased.

135. Jain replied on 13 January 1959 that on enquiry he was told that the normal practice was to settle the transactions at the rates prevailing at the time of the ban; that the Forward Trading Commission was likely to to ban future trading in gur; and that he had suggested the settlement at the price of pulses prevailing before the ban.

197. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹³⁶

I agree with you. I think it would be completely wrong for us to accept this offer and import this rice. Apart from the fact that, in all likelihood, we will not need it, any such import will have a bad psychological effect. The price is also high.¹³⁷

2. It seems to me rather absurd for the US authorities to want us to import rice when we do not require it. If they are unhappy at our not accepting the offer, we cannot help this.

3. Nor can we say anything about the latter half of 1959. The most we can say is that we can consider this question then.

4. You will remember that these imports under P. L. 480¹³⁸ were mentioned in the Cabinet. They are a great burden on us in various ways which have not been fully appreciated in the past merely because we do not have to pay any dollars. We should try to avoid them in so far as this is possible.

198. To Hare Krushna Mahtab¹³⁹

19th January, 1959

My dear Mahtab,¹⁴⁰

I am rather worried to learn that in spite of our decision and the arrangements arrived at, you have had a private deal with the West Bengal Government to sell rice to them at a higher price than that was fixed, that is, at Rs. 15/8/- per maund. This may be temporarily profitable to Orissa but any breach of this kind may have bad consequences everywhere. We have to observe a certain discipline in this matter and always think of the larger consequences.

136. Note to Union Minister of Food and Agriculture, 13 Jan. 1959.

137. B.B. Ghosh of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture had reported on 10 January 1959 on his meeting with the US Agricultural Attache, Eskildsen, about the US offer of 150,000 tons of rice under PL 480 at a price of \$ 140 a ton. Considering (i) the good rice harvest in India; (ii) the Ministry's decision to build up stocks by internal procurement; and (iii) the storage problem, Ghosh concluded that the American offer could not be accepted. Eskildsen asked whether India would take the rice later in 1959 as US law permitted it up to the end of 1959. Ghosh felt that rejection would make the US unhappy. A.P. Jain said on 13 January that he was keen to accept.

138. Commonly known as Public Law 480 (PL 480), the Agricultural Trade Development Assistance Act of 1954, was a funding avenue for the use of US food for overseas aid.

139. File No. 31 (25)/56-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

140. Chief Minister of Orissa.

You promised me, when I went to Orissa, that you would adhere to the new policies and make available four lakh tons of rice to the Centre. I hope you will stick to this promise.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

199. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹⁴¹

When we were at Nagpur,¹⁴² a sudden outcry rose in Delhi about wheat. Prices shot up and even so it was not available and long queues formed and all that. Thereafter, you took some steps which brought the situation under some kind of control. It was stated that this was due to the activities of some traders and their tendency to hoard etc., etc.

2. I think that when this kind of thing occurs, there should be a clear analysis made as to why it occurred. We cannot trust the luck in these matters. In a great city like Delhi there should be fool-proof arrangements. I should like, therefore, to have a note prepared on this subject. Indeed, this may be done by your Ministry. It will be even better if an outside authority prepared it.

3. Who is ultimately responsible for Delhi's distribution and how was that responsibility discharged at that time? What is being done about it now?¹⁴³

4. There seems to be a great reluctance to deal with cooperatives in this matter, even though it should be known that we want to develop cooperatives.¹⁴⁴ In any event we cannot be at the tender mercy of some shopkeepers and others who can exploit the food situation from time to the detriment of the people of Delhi.

141. Note to Union Minister of Food & Agriculture, 24 Jan. 1959. File No. 31 (85)/58-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

142. Nehru was in Nagpur for the INC session, 5-12 Jan. 1959.

143. A.P. Jain replied on 25 January 1959 that the Food Ministry had been inquiring and he would forward the report when ready. As for Delhi, general policy was discussed with the Food Ministry, but administration was handled by the Chief Commissioner. However, he had recommended to G. B. Pant that the Chief Commissioner should investigate. While imported wheat and its products were being sold cheap in Delhi, domestic wheat was costlier, with rates higher still in UP, Madhya Pradesh etc.

144. Jain assured Nehru that arrangements had been made for supplies to Subhadra Joshi's cooperative and some other existing cooperative societies.

200. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹⁴⁵

January 24, 1959

My dear Ajit,

I enclose a letter, in original, from Dr. B.C. Roy.

I gathered from what you said the other day that the decision we had taken would only apply to future deals. What is the position?¹⁴⁶

Please send back Dr. Roy's letter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

145. File No. 31 (25)/56-64-PMS. Also available in A.P. Jain Papers, NMML.

146. The matter concerns an agreement for Orissa to sell rice and paddy directly to West Bengal without reference to the Central Government. A.P. Jain replied on 26 January 1959 that Orissa and West Bengal had struck such a deal on 23 November 1959; but when the Orissa Supply Secretary arrived in Delhi with the agreement, he was told that the Food Ministry disapproved of such bilateral deals. On 29 November 1958, the Cabinet decided that the prices fixed by the Central Government shall be final. B.C. Roy was aggrieved and claimed that the Centre had been fully consulted. His letter of 23 January 1959 explained that after Orissa and West Bengal had discussed such a deal, "I immediately telephoned to the Food Ministry and also talked with the Food Minister and his Secretary. Then I sent the actual terms to them and there was no opposition to our buying rice from Orissa at the prices mentioned, except that they thought that in one or two instances, the prices charged by the Orissa Government were rather high." He concluded: "But you will observe that we had entered into an agreement with the Orissa Government with the full knowledge and consent of the Central Government. It is very unfair that the matter should be taken up to your Cabinet without our point of view being placed..." But A. P. Jain's letter of 26 January 1959 to Nehru pointed out: "Dr. Roy is not quite correct in stating that he had entered into an agreement with the Orissa Government with the full knowledge and consent of the Central Government." He then provided the chronology of the discussions and agreement.

201. To Ajit Prasad Jain

January 31, 1959

My dear Ajit,

I sent on to you today a deputation from the Meerut District Congress Committee. They spoke to me both about cane prices and wheat. I suppose you have had a talk with them.

I must say that I was disturbed by what they told me about wheat scarcity and prices in Meerut. According to them, while the big cities were provided for, the small towns and some of the rural areas were in a very bad way and there was strong feeling against Government because of the lack of wheat at reasonable prices. The prices had indeed risen recently. Meerut district has suffered a good deal from water-logging and bad harvest etc. They will no doubt recover after the next season, that is, presumably from April onwards. But the next two months are bad. On the whole, I suppose that the next wheat harvest all over India will be a good one, and recent rain has assured that. But we have to pass through February and March somehow, and we should try to lighten the burden of people in affected areas as much as possible. I do not know what is possible, but it would be desirable to open some fair price shops in Meerut rural areas.

Then there is the Punjab, where also, owing to a combination of events and perhaps to bad handling by the Punjab authorities, this trouble has arisen about wheat. Considering that they gave us a lot of wheat for other States only some months ago, they deserve to be helped. I understand that you have today promised to give them some wheat. So the AIR news announced today.

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received from Shyamacharan Shukla¹⁴⁷ about Chhatisgarh.¹⁴⁸ This really affects the Madhya Pradesh Government. I

147. (1925-2007); Congressman from Madhya Pradesh; MLA, MP, 1957-77; Leader of Opposition, MP Legislative Assembly, Chief Minister, MP, 1969-72, 1975-77, 1989-90; Lok Sabha MP, 1999-2004.

148. Shukla's letter of 25 January 1959 warned of "the terrible plight of the kisans of Chattisgarh who in spite of producing a bumper harvest have been cheated out of their due, due to incompetence and senselessness of our administrators." Officials would purchase only 10% of the produce claiming they could not store any more, and cultivators were forced to sell the rest to traders at 2-3 rupees below the Government price. Burdened with taccavi loans and land revenue, they were cursing the Congress and its Government. His rhetoric soared: "Literally the grave of Congress is being dug in this part of the country. With what face do you expect us to go on Padyatras and exhort them to produce more." He wanted Nehru's intervention because the CM was fully informed of the situation but was doing nothing.

am sending a copy of this letter to Kailas Nath Katju. I gather that Dhebarbhai has also received a similar letter. I hope that something will be done about this. If the Madhya Pradesh Government cannot buy this rice, the Central Government should take it. We cannot afford to create acute discontent among these people in Chhatisgarh.¹⁴⁹ This will mean their lack of effort for the next season. Something has to be done, and that [too] quickly. Could you not send somebody there from your Ministry?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

202. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹⁵⁰

February 21, 1959

My dear Ajit,

I enclose a letter from Kamaraj.¹⁵¹ The difficulties he is facing appear to be real. I can quite understand our not permitting any ban on rice going from Madras

149. Nehru wrote to K. N. Katju on the same day: "Perhaps he (Shukla) exaggerates, but still I have a feeling that the situation is not at all good in Chattisgarh. Apparently this is mainly due to administrative difficulties in purchasing the rice in the market. This will have a bad effect not only in creating acute discontent, but also on future harvest because there will be no incentive to produce. I think that urgent steps must be taken to buy up all the rice that is available for sale."

150. File No. 31 (85)/58-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

151. On 20 February 1959, K. Kamaraj asked Nehru to "inject a dose of realism into Government of India's food grains price and movement control policy," by (i) fixing the price of rice for Kerala; (ii) banning the export of paddy from Madras State to Kerala; and (iii) allowing the movement of paddy from Tanjore district to other districts in Madras only by permit.

152. A.P. Jain replied on 23 February that he had discussed these matters on 7 February 1959 with the Food Ministers of the four Southern States comprising the Southern Rice Zone. The Zone had been created in July 1957 for the movement of surplus rice to deficit areas freely and had functioned satisfactorily. It was agreed on 7 February that prices would be fixed in Kerala, so the Kerala Government's proposals were awaited. He was puzzled to hear about large movements of paddy from Madras to Kerala as he had been told that Kerala had few rice mills, and they were tied in fully to local production. As for paddy moving from Tanjore district, he claimed the Madras Government could monitor it through their Licensing Order on the movement of stocks with traders. He disapproved of the Madras Government's demand for restrictions on paddy movement within the Southern Zone.

to Kerala, but would it not be advisable to consider such a ban in the case of paddy.¹⁵²

I am also enclosing a copy of a letter from T.T. Krishnamachari.¹⁵³ I am rather worried about these developments in the food situation especially in the South. We appear to be waiting for a turn for the better by the end of March. But four weeks is a long period to wait when conditions are deteriorating.¹⁵⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(d) Education

(i) General

203. To K.L. Shrimali

January 17, 1959

My dear Shrimali,¹⁵⁵

I am sending you a letter from Manuben Gandhi.¹⁵⁶ On the second page of the letter, she refers to her being invited by our Education Ministry to visit some schools, etc. Now she is further invited by various schools and colleges. I do

153. T.T. Krishnamachari pointed out to Nehru on 20 February 1959 the anomalies of State trading in food grains. The control price of rice was one rupee four annas per Madras measure in February 1959 but ten annas three pies in February 1952. Hoarding of stocks limited State procurement. Tanjore district should have had a marketable surplus of 300,000 tons but had less than 10,000 tons of rice, even so, after the harvest. The price fixation policy in the Southern Rice Zone was curious, for a popular variety was sold at Rs 17 per maund in Madras, at Rs 20.25 per maund in Andhra, and no price had been announced for Kerala. Like Kamaraj, he also asked Nehru to "inject a dose of realism" into these price and movement policies.

154. Responding on 28 February 1959, A.P. Jain pointed out several factual inaccuracies in Krishnamachari's letter and assured Nehru that restrictions on the export of paddy from Madras State as also from Tanjore district to other districts within the State were being announced. He repeated that the Kerala Government's proposals for prices were still awaited.

155. Union Minister of State for Education.

156. Grandniece of Mahatma Gandhi and his companion in his last years.

not know what you can do in this matter. It is a fact, however, that her visit does a lot of good. She speaks simply about Gandhiji's life, and this produces a considerable effect.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

204. To Sadath Ali Khan

January 23, 1959

My dear Sadath,¹⁵⁷

Your letter of the 22nd January about the Fatehpuri Muslim High School.

The Prime Minister's National Relief Fund is meant for special purposes of giving relief such as relief from natural calamities etc. Sometimes this has been stretched a little, but it is not used for normal help to educational institutions in India, and I do not think it will be quite proper to use a relief fund for this purpose. Also the PM's National Relief Fund itself is at a low ebb.

I am sending your letter to the Education Minister. I do not know if it will be possible for him to do anything in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

205. National Awards for School Teachers¹⁵⁸

राष्ट्रपति जी,¹⁵⁹ डॉक्टर श्रीमाली और सज्जनो,

मैं यहाँ आज आया इसलिए कि मेरी राय में यह एक बहुत शुभ काम शुरू हुआ है आज, और अपनी हमदर्दी और सहानुभूति देने के लिए इसके लिए। एक ऐसा सवाल है जिसमें आप सब जो जमा हैं और यकीनन और बाहर सभी इसको पसन्द करेंगे, कोई बहस का सवाल नहीं है। शायद ही किसी बात में इतनी इत्फ़ाक़ राय हो कि जो हमारे टीचर्स हैं, उपदेशक हैं, खास कर

157. Parliamentary Secretary to Nehru in the MEA; and Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Warangal, Andhra Pradesh.

158. Speech at a National Awards function for school teachers, New Delhi, 25 Jan. 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

159. Dr Rajendra Prasad.

प्राथमिक, प्राइमरी सेकेण्डरी एजुकेशन में, उनकी हालत अच्छी नहीं है और बहुत ज़रूरी है कि वह ज़्यादा अच्छी की जाय। इसमें तो कोई शक नहीं है, सब मानते हैं और यह भी जानते हैं कि पढ़ाई अच्छी है कि बुरी है, यह टीचर के ऊपर है आखिर में, और आपके क़ायदे, क़ानून पर इतनी नहीं है। तो ये सब जान कर भी हम पेंच में पड़ जाते हैं कि क्या करें? ख़्वाहिश है, चाहते हैं करना और फिर पेंच, पैसे के खर्च का, एक तरफ़ से यह ख़्वाहिश कि हमारे यहाँ स्कूल बढ़ें, फैलें सब में, हिन्दुस्तान भर में, एक-एक बच्चा जाय, उसका खर्चा होता है बहुत, दूसरे तरफ़ से कि उनकी अन्दरूनी हालत अच्छी हो, पढ़ाने वाला अच्छा हो और हो। अब इधर बढ़ें कि उधर बढ़ें। अब दोनों नहीं बढ़ सकते। यह पेंच हरेक के सामने रहता है। करना दोनों है।

आप जानते हैं कि हमारे संविधान में लिखा था कि दस बरस के या पन्द्रह बरस के अन्दर सब बच्चों को, लड़के और लड़कियों को छै बरस से कि सात बरस से और चौदह बरस तक सभी की पढ़ाई का इन्तज़ाम होना चाहिए। यानी मजबूरी है उनको जाने की और मुफ्त में पढ़ाई हो, फ्री ऐन्ड कम्पल्सरी एजुकेशन। अब काफ़ी वक़्त हो गया वह बात हुई, तरक्की बहुत हुई है माना, लेकिन जितना हम समझते थे नहीं हुई, बहुत दिक्कतें हमारे सामने, कुछ पैसे की, कुछ सीखे हुए पढ़ाने वालों की, फिर इस पे कुछ ग़ौर हुआ, कुछ महीने हुए कि ऐसी चीज़ जो हमारे क़ाबू के बाहर मालूम होती है, क्यों हम रखें, साफ़ करें। तो इस नतीजे पे पहुँचे कि सन '65 तक शायद कम-से-कम हर बच्चा ग्यारह बरस तक स्कूल में जाये। एक तो कुछ वक़्त बढ़ा दिया, और कुछ उम्र कम कर दी। वह भी एक बहुत बड़ी चीज़ है अगर हम करें, और मुझे ख़याल पड़ता है कि कहीं मैंने देखा था कि इसके होने पर छै-सात करोड़ हमारे लड़के-लड़कियाँ, बच्चे, स्कूलों में होंगे, और अगर उसको चौदह बरस की उम्र तक पहुँचा दें और उसी के साथ और पढ़ाई चारों तरफ़ जो बढ़ रही है, टेकनिकल इंस्टीट्यूट वग़ैरह, यूनिवर्सिटीस, यह सब चारों तरफ़ बढ़ता है और उसमें सोचें कि इतने करोड़ों को पढ़ाने वाले भी कितने होंगे, वह भी एक उनकी भी गिनती लाख, लाखों से भी ज़्यादा ही हो जाती है। तो करीब, दस करोड़ के ऊपर हम पहुँच जाते हैं। मेरा ख़याल है, कोई बहुत सही हिसाब नहीं है मेरा, लेकिन, कि पढ़ाने वाले, पढ़ने वाले हर दर्जे में यानी प्राइमरी एजुकेशन, सेकेण्डरी एजुकेशन, कॉलेज एजुकेशन टेकनिकल इंस्टीट्यूटस वग़ैरह जो कुछ खुलती जाती हैं, सब मिला के हिन्दुस्तान में दस करोड़ पढ़ जाये, यानी पच्चीस फ़ीसदी हमारी आबादी।

कितना बड़ा सवाल हो जाता है यह, और उसके लिए अलावा खर्च के, इन्तज़ाम करने के, कितने लोगों को हमें सिखाना पड़ता है। लाखों, पचास लाख, चालीस लाख, मैं नहीं जानता कितने पढ़ें, सिखाने वाले टीचर्स वग़ैरह। तो कुछ ज़रा आदमी का दिमाग, कुछ सहम जाता है उस सवाल के बड़ेपन को देख कर, और आजकल की हालत, हमारी शक्ति।

लेकिन दूसरी तरफ़ से देखें तो जो भी हम काम करें, चारों तरफ़ से प्लैन करें, योजना बनायें, हर तरफ़ कोशिश करें बढ़ने की, उसकी जड़ और बुनियाद आखिर में पढ़ाई है, ज़ाहिर है। इन्सान है, जो इसको करता है, और इसलिए एक तरफ़ से आप देखें तो उस पढ़ाई की बुनियाद प्राइमरी एजुकेशन है कि वह दरवाज़ा हरेक के लिए खुल जाये अच्छी तरह से, और फिर उसमें से और

जो क़दम बढ़ने हैं उसका और इन्तज़ाम किया जाये। यह सवाल है, ज़ाहिर है कि इस सवाल को और सवालों के साथ रख के देखना है, कोई अलग-अलग तो हो नहीं सकता, चारों तरफ़ से कोशिश करनी है, लेकिन घूमघाम के फिर मैं कहूँ कि बुनियाद प्राइमरी एजुकेशन हो जाती है। ज़ाहिर है कि उसके बाद की एजुकेशन भी बहुत ही ज़रूरी है, यूनिवर्सिटी तक, आखिर यूनिवर्सिटी से आयेंगे लोग पढ़ाने वाले अलावा और बातों के, वो तो है ही, लेकिन प्राइमरी एजुकेशन एक बुनियाद है। वह अच्छी हो और यही ज़माना होता है जिसमें सबमें ज़्यादा जब बच्चे के ऊपर असर होता है। अगर यह बात सही है तो जो टीचर्स हैं प्राइमरी एजुकेशन में, वह एक बहुत ही ज़रूरी और मज़बूत और एक बुनियादी काम करते हैं देश के लिए, और उसके लिए उनको पूरा मौक़ा मिलना चाहिए। समाज में और उनकी रहन-सहन का ऐसा इन्तज़ाम होना चाहिए कि वे बेफ़िक़री से रह सके और अपना काम करे? मैं कोई बहुत पसन्द नहीं करता कि आदमी की इज़ज़त जैसे आजकल अक्सर होती है, उसकी तन्ख़्वाह से हो, हालाँकि हम फँसे हुए हैं इस तन्ख़्वाह के ग़ज़ में लोगों को नापने के लिए, मेरी बिलकुल समझ में नहीं आता कि एक आदमी कोई ज़्यादा एक-दूसरा काम करे, ज़्यादा ज़िम्मेदारी का गिना जाये तो फ़ौरन समझा जाये कि उसको ज़्यादा तन्ख़्वाह मिलनी चाहिए, मेरे उसूल समझ में नहीं आया है। यह मैं समझता हूँ कि आदमी को माक़ूल तन्ख़्वाह मिलनी चाहिए, माक़ूल आमदनी होनी चाहिए काम करने के लिए, और कुछ जैसे इन्सान हैं, इन्सेंटिव होने चाहिएँ, मैंने यह बात मानी, लेकिन फिर भी यह रुपये से आदमी की गिनती करना कोई अच्छा ग़ज़ नहीं है। कम-से-कम जहाँ तक मैं जानता हूँ, हमारे देश का पुराना तरीक़ा इस तरह से गिनती करने का नहीं था। लेकिन है आजकल के ज़माने में, तो जो भी कुछ हो वो गिनती की, जो लोग ज़िम्मेदारी का काम करें, उनको पूरे दिल से करने का मौक़ा देना चाहिए, उनकी तकलीफ़ें हटा देनी चाहिएँ, उनके दिमाग़ में पेंच न रहें।

तो यह ज़रूरी बातें हैं, चुनांचे एक छोटा-सा क़दम देश का ध्यान दिलाने के लिए उधर दिया गया है यह एजुकेशन मिनिस्ट्री ने। ये अच्छा है और मैं समझता हूँ आप सब इसको पसन्द करेंगे और मैं, हमारी एजुकेशन मिनिस्ट्री को और जो हमारे भाई और बहन यहाँ आये हैं इस अवार्ड को लेने, उनको मुबारकबाद देता हूँ।

[Translation starts:

Mr. President,¹⁶⁰ Dr. Shrimali and gentlemen,

I am here today to participate in a very auspicious task and to express my good wishes. There is no doubt that this is an issue over which all of you present here will agree. I do not think there will be any difference of opinion about the fact that the condition of our teachers, especially in the primary and secondary schools, is not good and it is very essential to improve it. There is no doubt about this and everybody will agree that the quality of education ultimately

160. See fn 159 in this section.

depends to a great extent on the teachers and not on rules and regulations. But in spite of being aware of all this, we are in a quandary as to what should be done. We want to do something but the question of money comes up. On the one hand, we want that there should be more schools and that every single child in India should be educated. On the other hand, it is equally important that the condition of the teachers should be good, they should be paid well and they ought to be of a high quality. The problem is that we cannot do everything at once though both the things need to be done.

As you know, our Constitution lays down that every single child in India between the ages of six or seven and fourteen must be provided with education. It should be compulsory and free. Now a great deal of time has elapsed and though there has been great progress, it is not as much as we wanted. There are a number of difficulties, monetary and otherwise, and due to lack of qualified and trained teachers, etc.

A few months ago this matter was gone into once again and we decided to scrap something that seemed beyond our control and came to the conclusion that by 1965, education must be provided to every child at least till the age of eleven. On the one hand, we have increased the time limit and on the other slightly reduced the age. Even that will be a big thing if we can do it. I read somewhere that if this is properly implemented, it will mean that sixty to seventy million boys and girls will be in school. If it is raised to the age of fourteen, along with the fast expansion of other types of education in technical institutes and universities, etc., the number will go up enormously. You can imagine how many people will be needed to teach so many million students. Their number will run into hundreds of thousands. I do not know whether my estimate is absolutely right. But I think that the number of teachers and the taught in all the categories, like primary education, secondary education, college education, technical institutions, etc., together will be at least a hundred million, that is, about one-fourth of India's population.

It is an enormous problem because apart from making arrangements for the salaries of teachers and what not, we will have to train millions of teachers. The mind boggles at the magnitude of the problem when you consider our resources.

But on the other hand, whatever we take up, and the plans we make, the foundations, it is obvious, have to be laid in education. It is human beings who implement the plans. Therefore, on the one hand, primary education is the basis of all other higher education for it opens the doors of opportunity to everyone to ahead. It is obvious that this problem has to be seen along with other problems. These things cannot be done in isolation. But we always come round to the importance of primary education. It is obvious that even higher

education right up to the university level is very essential because after all the teachers will have to come from the universities, apart from other factors. But primary education is the foundation and it is during this period in a child's life that there is the greatest impact on its mind.

If this is true, then the role of the teachers at the primary school level is extremely important because they are doing a crucial job for the country. They should be given ample opportunities for training. Good people should be selected and teachers must be held in great respect in society. Their standard of living should be good so that they can concentrate on their jobs free of other worries. I do not like the idea of judging a man's status in society by the salary he earns, though at the moment we are stuck with it. I simply cannot understand the principle of paying a higher salary for jobs which are considered more responsible. I feel that every individual should be paid a good salary for doing a hard day's work. I also agree that there ought to be a system of incentives. But it is not a good thing to judge a man by the salary he earns. As far as I know, this was not the practice in the olden days. But it has become the custom now. Anyhow, whatever it is, the people who are doing responsible jobs should be given full opportunities; their difficulties should be removed so that their minds may be free of all worries.

So, these are important matters. This is a small step taken by the Ministry of Education to draw the attention of the country to them. I think all of you will like this idea and I congratulate the Ministry of Education and the teachers who are assembled here to receive the awards.

Translation ends]

206. To K.L. Shrimali, Humayun Kabir and B. V. Keskar¹⁶¹

Our need for technical books becomes greater and greater. Apart from simple school books which we are now trying to publish in India, we have inevitably to rely on foreign books which are exceedingly expensive.

2. In some countries these foreign books are actually reprinted exactly as they are and sold for one-quarter or one-fifth of the original price. This is

161. Note to Union Minister of State for Education, Union Minister of State for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, Union Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting, 26 Jan. 1959.

done either by some arrangement with the original publishers or because those countries are not bound by any copyright laws.

3. Thus, in Japan most of the important technical books and text books in English (and probably in other languages too) are immediately reprinted and sold at one-fourth to one-fifth of the original price. In the old days in China this used to be done and perhaps this is being done even now.

4. I should like some attention being paid to this matter because the heavy price of technical books really comes in the way of our students, professors, etc. I think that important books should be reprinted in India by arrangement with the original publishers. Apart from this, is it worthwhile for us to be tied up with these copyrights? The copyright law is being considered. Why we should tie ourselves up is not clear to me.

207. To K. L. Shrimali¹⁶²

A deputation from the Delhi School Teachers' Association met me this morning. Secretary, Education Ministry,¹⁶³ and another officer of the Ministry were present. The first point they raised was that while assurances were given to them and agreements were arrived at, implementation did not take place for a long time afterwards. On the 5th of June, 1958, they were told definitely that sixteen out of their twenty-five demands were accepted. Of the remaining nine, four were dependent on the recommendations of the Pay Commission and five were rejected. So far as the sixteen were concerned, although accepted, they had not been given effect to. I found from a reference to the Education Secretary that it is true that there has been delay but orders have now been issued in regard to all the demands, and others are being expedited. Delays had occurred because a number of Ministries had to be consulted.

2. It seemed to me that the real problem of these Delhi school teachers was the slowness of our administration in taking any steps, even though they had been decided upon. The Delhi school teachers are paid at a higher rate than in any State in India except perhaps Bombay. Generally speaking, their condition, therefore, is better than elsewhere and yet there has been continuous trouble with them ever since Independence. Maulana Azad took personal interest in this matter and gave them many assurances. The Education Ministry has been paying a great deal of attention to this matter. In spite of all this goodwill and

162. Note to Union Minister of State for Education, 31 Jan. 1959. File No. 6-366/58-SE.2, Ministry of Education. Also available in JN Collection.

163. K. G. Saiyidain.

effort, the fact remains that problems have remained unsolved for years and when ultimately solved it has taken nearly a year to give effect to the agreed solutions.

3. This is a sorry state of affairs. I do not know who is principally responsible. Conditions in Delhi have undoubtedly been somewhat abnormal since Independence but the working of the administration does not come out well in this business. The Delhi Administration more especially has been intimately concerned with it and I cannot congratulate it upon the leisurely way it has dealt with this problem. Sometimes it appears that mutually contradictory orders have been issued. On one occasion, some order was issued and an assurance given about confirmation, etc. Later, this order was cancelled and actually teachers were demoted and brought back to their previous position. This was due to the Finance Ministry or the Auditor-General objecting to the orders issued on behalf of the Delhi Administration.

4. Whatever the reasons, the unfortunate fact is that in spite of the best efforts of even such a person as Maulana Azad and his Ministry, these matters have remained unsolved year after year. No deep enquiry is needed to arrive at the conclusion that the administrative system that works in this way is bad and, more particularly, that the Delhi Administration requires to be pulled up.

5. There have been repeated changes in the authorities dealing with the schools. Thus in some areas, the District Board was in charge. Then the Government took direct charge. Then the Corporation came in. The poor teachers who have been serving for quite a large number of years have been pushed from one authority to another and they yet do not know where they are in regard to pensions etc. I understand that the matter has been under consideration and involves intricate questions. If we go on changing the status or the authority, this will mean fresh adaptations every time. But why the poor teachers suffer or be left in a state of uncertainty. Normally, when senior officers are concerned in a change, their interests are safeguarded. I wish that at least that much attention was paid to safeguarding the interest of these hundreds of teachers who were in no way responsible for these various changes coming about. The normal rules do not provide for such political or administrative changes. I hope they will be interpreted in favour of these teachers.

6. I have been distressed to learn that many of the complaints made particularly apply to Government schools.

7. I am not referring to any special matter here, but one complaint always distresses me, that is, delay in implementation of decisions arrived at. Such a delay is always evidence of a bad system of administration or of bad administrators. I should like the Education Ministry to keep me informed of the full implementation of every matter that has been agreed to. If there is any

delay either on the part of the Delhi Administration or Finance Ministry or the Auditor-General, I should be informed. The Delhi Corporation is an autonomous body and we cannot interfere in its working. Nevertheless, if any difficulties arise in regard to the schools under it, I should again be informed and I shall take it up directly.

8. The Deputation made another request to me. If the Education Ministry decide to reject any of their demands as unreasonable or unjustified, before passing a final order in regard to those demands, they should be given an opportunity to put forward their plea before the Minister or some other authority appointed by him other than the officers who have decided to reject the demand. They would accept the decision of the Minister as final provided he has given them a chance of being heard. I think that this is a legitimate request and that if such a case arises, the Education Minister might listen to their plea and then have final orders passed, whatever these orders might be.

9. I am glad to learn that the Delhi Administration is appointing a Welfare Officer for the teaching staff.

10. Ever since Maulana Azad's time, the Education Ministry has taken considerable pains on the question of the Delhi teachers and yet they have these tremendous delays which must exasperate the teachers. I want this sad history of delays to end now and for quick decisions to be taken and quick implementation to follow. It is for this reason that I have suggested that wherever a bottleneck occurs, whether in the Central Government or in the Delhi Administration, the matter should immediately be reported to me and I shall endeavour to remove the difficulty in consultation with the people concerned.¹⁶⁴

208. To K.C. Choudhuri

February 3, 1959

My dear Vice-Chancellor,¹⁶⁵

I have your letter of the 30th January. I am indeed grieved to learn of the activities of some students and employees of Visva-Bharati. I entirely agree

164. Shrimali clarified on 18 February 1959 that some demands had been accepted in principle but implementation involved consultation with the Ministries of Home, Finance, and Law, the Auditor General, and in some cases the managements of the private aided schools. He assured Nehru that his Ministry would not delay matters.

165. Kshitishchandra Choudhuri, acting Vice Chancellor, Visva-Bharati University, 25 Dec. 1958-8 Nov. 1959.

with you that this type of behaviour and hooliganism should not be tolerated. If you think it right to expel some miscreants, you should certainly do so.

Whenever such an action is taken, every effort should be made to explain the facts to the student's body in general as well as to the public. They should be made to realise that we are not acting in a revengeful spirit, but that is in the interests of the institution as well as of the students that some action has to be taken when it becomes necessary.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

209. To M. Gopala Menon

February 5, 1959

My dear Gopala Menon,¹⁶⁶

I have seen your two letters dated January 23rd and January 29th. Please convey my thanks to the children of the Sixth Grade of Little Red School House. Tell them that I have read the bunch of letters sent to me with pleasure and interest.¹⁶⁷

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

166. Consul-General of India in New York.

167. Nehru sent these letters to K.L. Shrimali on 5 February and wrote: "These children wrote to me a letter on my birthday, to which I sent a reply. Now they have sent me all these other letters and asked me to forward them to eleven year old students in India. Perhaps you could send them to some school in India."

210. To Subimal Dutt¹⁶⁸

Father D'Souza¹⁶⁹ saw me about this question of visas, and I think he met the Home Minister also.

2. I think that the approach made by the Bombay Government in this matter is not on right lines.¹⁷⁰ The rules we laid down for the issue of visas to missionaries were largely concerned with their evangelical and propagandist activities. We do not wish to encourage proselytisation as such. But, in considering teachers of schools or colleges, a different approach is to be made, A. really competent teacher is of value to the country, just as a competent engineer might be or a scientist. We have, no doubt, large numbers of unemployed persons in India, but standard of teaching is not high. It is well known that the Jesuit Organisation trains its teachers with great care and thoroughness. As teachers, they are good. It may be that they bring in some element of propaganda or indicate a bias. That is, to some extent, inevitable in schools or colleges run by a Jesuit Organisation.

211. To Harsha Hutheesing

February 11, 1949

My dear Harsha,¹⁷¹

I received your letter of the 29th January some days ago. I have been exceedingly busy ever since then.

I have given thought to your suggestion that Oxford and Cambridge together open a branch in India. It is not clear what it means to open a branch. But as far as I can understand it, I do not think this will fit in in India at present and I am sure that most people will oppose it for a variety of reasons.

168. Note to FS, 9 February 1959.

169. Father Jerome D' Souza, former Principle of Loyola College, Madras, was Adviser on Asian Affairs in Rome, and meditated between the Vatican and Indian Government about ending Portugal control of Indian churches.

170. S. Dutt had written that the Bombay Government had refused visas to four Spanish Jesuits who were to work in Ahmedabad Jesuits schools. The Society of Jesus in Ahmedabad had assured Dutt that within fifteen years Indians would replace foreign teachers in Jesuit schools, which then had 25 foreigners against 122 Indians. The Bombay Government was apparently unimpressed.

171. Elder son of G. P. Hutheesing and Krishna Hutheesing, Nehru's youngest sister.

I need not go into these reasons. There is at present not even much appreciation of the idea of sending people abroad for studies in cultural subjects. Most of the young people who go to other countries now do so for scientific or technical education. Partly this is due to our foreign exchange difficulties and partly to the fact that often those who go abroad for lengthy periods do not fit in in India afterwards. When they come back they aren't happy and cannot easily fit in with the various activities that are going on in this country.

That consideration would apply in a different measure to our having a Oxford-Cambridge institution in India which presumably would be for cultural subjects only because science and technology are separately provided for. The Oxford-Cambridge idea of culture, though admirable in its own way, is not appreciated in India except by a small number of people. Public funds cannot be spent in India for the sake of a relatively few selected individuals when they are badly wanted for the larger schemes of education.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

212. To Hare Krushna Mahtab

February 16, 1959

My dear Mahtab,¹⁷²

Thank you for your letter of the 14th February. I am glad you are giving thought to the question of giving meals to children in schools. I am afraid I cannot help you much from the Children's Fund with me as that has been reduced to a few thousands only, and this will not take you far.

I did not know that the Government of India was giving assistance to the Government of Madras for the Mid-day Meal Scheme. You might yourself write to our Ministry of Education about it. As far as I can see, this Mid-day Meal Scheme, being so costly, can only be carried out with considerable cooperative effort of the villagers themselves. Perhaps you might start with a particular area which is most backward and deserves special help.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

172. Chief Minister of Orissa.

213. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹⁷³

19 February 1959

My dear Pantji,

I enclose a copy of a note written by Lakshmi Menon. I am much disturbed by the complaints I receive from foreigners in India about the way they are embarrassed by the Police. This kind of thing is giving us a bad reputation. The Police have many virtues, but they cannot distinguish between good people and bad, and so tend to treat all alike on the basis that they might be bad. The Quakers or the Society of Friends are persons we try to encourage everywhere. They are a fine lot. For the Police to push themselves in at their meetings, seems to me deplorable. For them to go about interrogating people who come from abroad in the way mentioned in the note, is even worse. I would much rather have some bad people loose in India than to get this reputation of police surveillance on everyone who comes. I do not understand also why foreign students should be prevented from participating in seminars and the like. About that I am writing to Shrimali. Lakshmi Menon has suggested that an observer from the Intelligence Bureau should attend seminars. I do not agree with her. I do not think that any intelligence man should go there.¹⁷⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

214. To K.L. Shrimali

February 19, 1959

My dear Shrimali,

I enclose a note by Deputy Minister Lakshmi Menon to me. I am sending a copy of this to the Home Minister also. I am entirely opposed to our Intelligence people behaving in the manner they are reported to have done, and I am going to take this matter up. I do not think that our Intelligence men should go to any seminar or interrogate people in this way.

But I am writing to you especially about the Education Ministry's circular to which reference is made. I have not seen it and, therefore, cannot express an opinion. But I am quite clear that it is wrong for these African and other

173. File No. 57/37/59-Poll (I), pp. 1/C, MHA. Also available in JN Collection.

174. Lakshmi Menon's note, see Appendix 5; see also Violet Alva's note to Pant, Appendix 6.

foreign students to be prevented from going to the Quaker Centre. That is one of the places which we should encourage our students to go to.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

215. To Seeta Parmanand

February 25, 1959

Dear Dr. Seeta Parmanand,¹⁷⁵

Your letter of February 23. I entirely agree with you that the words 'Hindu' and 'Muslim' should be dropped from the names of the two Universities.¹⁷⁶ Some years ago, we tried to do so, but there were many people who objected.¹⁷⁷ On the whole, I think, this is not a suitable time to raise this question. Perhaps some time later would be more appropriate.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

216. Role of Education¹⁷⁸

Mr. Chancellor,¹⁷⁹ Mr. Vice Chancellor,¹⁸⁰ Vice Chancellors of many other Universities of India and Ceylon and friends,

175. (d. 1980); associated with welfare of women, children and labour in Madhya Pradesh from 1927; delegate, First Women's Commonwealth Conference, London, 1926; member, academic and executive councils of the University of Nagpur, 1928-44; Principal, Indraprastha College for Women, Delhi, 1945-47; enrolled advocate, Nagpur High Court and Supreme Court of India; Vice President, INTUC (MP), delegate to International Conference on Public Administration, Liege, 1958; member, ILO Panel of Consultants on Problems of Women in Employment; Rajya Sabha MP, 1952-64.

176. The reference is to Banaras Hindu University and Aligarh Muslim University.

177. In 1951. See also SWJN/SS/43/p. 177.

178. Speech on the occasion of laying the foundation stone of the science laboratories of the Punjab University, Chandigarh, 27 Feb. 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

179. N. V. Gadgil, Chancellor of the Punjab University, and Governor of Punjab.

180. Amar Chand Joshi (1908-1971); botanist; Director, Punjab University Botanical Laboratory, Lahore; President, Indian Botanical Society, 1948-56; Vice Chancellor, Kurukshetra University, 1956-59, and Punjab University, Chandigarh, 1957-65; Member, University Grants Commission, 1960-65; Fellow, National Academy of Sciences.

I am very grateful today for the opportunity that has been given to me to be present on this occasion and to participate in this function; and this for a variety of reasons. First of all Chandigarh has always attracted me, not merely because of what it is, but because it has been a symbol to me of many things. It has been a symbol of how to meet a challenge; how to face bravely and with courage disaster and to rise above it and to conquer it and build a new life. It has been a symbol not only for the Punjab, although more specially for the Punjab, but for the whole of India, so far as I am concerned, and I take some little credit for the first decision that this place should be chosen for the new capital of the new Punjab. There have been often many criticisms first of the choice of the site, then of the various major buildings that were growing up. A multitude of criticisms; they grow less with time, and people begin to realise that what is being done, and what has been done, and what is likely to be done in Chandigarh, may be criticised in many ways, but it is infinitely above criticism and superior to criticism. Because again it represents something very deep, something living and vibrant, something to bring you out of the ruts of old and to signify and symbolise the new life that is coursing through the Punjab and through India.

And so I am particularly happy to be here; and I am happy that today more particularly, that my visit should be associated with the University and with the science part of it. I am glad that science and technology will have this prominent place in this University, and that it will be nobly housed. Whether it is this University or the rest of Chandigarh, I should like to pay my tribute to the great architects who have fashioned it, out of their minds and their labour, to Le Corbusier, to Mr. Jeanneret¹⁸¹ and to many others who have endeavoured to this end, because Chandigarh was not merely an engineer's plan for a house. It was a dream gradually coming to reality; a dream which combined not only functional aspects, which it must, but many other things. For today, and indeed previously too, architecture is not something isolated from life. Architecture and art and painting and sculpture, all those are parts of the single whole. I could, of course, go on adding to it, the functions that are performed there. We talk of decoration of a building. I am not quite sure if that is the correct approach to it. It is like taking a house, let us say, you rent a house and buy a picture in the shop and hang it on your walls. Maybe it might suit. But the picture on the wall must be part of the wall and part of the house. Essentially, the sculpture should be part of that wall. At any rate, I do not mean by part it should be

181. Chief Architect and Town Planning Adviser to the Punjab Government on the Chandigarh Project.

physically a part but it should fit in. The whole conception has to be one—function and art and body and decoration—one conception, just like an integrated conception, just like the human being should be integrated in his life whether it is a physical life or the mental or the cultural or the spiritual, he must be an integrated personality. In fact, a building being put up and then sought to be decorated indicates that there are some imperfections in the building, which require decoration, just like, if I may give an example which may perhaps not be wholly suitable, good food if it is good, should require no sauce, no chatnis. It is a sign that food is lacking in something, in good cooking if you have to add plenty of chatnis to it.

However, I have been coming to Chandigarh almost year after year, ever since this conception took shape, and watching it grow, and this open space, almost a wilderness, gradually show the beginnings of a noble city. It is yet, as you know, only partly filled in. But you can see the nobility of design in it; the wide spaces and yet opportunities of living a closely integrated social life both together, because both are necessary. And I hope that as the years go by, it will not take too long for the city to grow up according to the dream of the architects. It may be that there some things done here, or some buildings made which are not so good in the sense of utility or comfort or something else. It does not matter. We shall improve on that. The main thing is the approach to it, the design, the conception, the wide conception embracing every aspect of the human life. Because it is every aspect that has to be considered even in building, a city as it has to be considered even in building, a city as it has to be considered in the great work of education. They are all connected together. Today already many ideas from Chandigarh have spread to the rest of India. Indeed they have spread outside India, and it is an odd thing that apart from perhaps a few of the big cities, very famous and big cities of India, probably Chandigarh, this young, growing town, is better known in the world than most of the older cities of India.

Now so much for Chandigarh. Much has been said by the Vice Chancellor about education, especially in the Punjab, and we have here meetings these days of what is, I believe, called Inter-University Board.¹⁸² And I confess that looking at this galaxy of Vice Chancellors, I feel somewhat intimidated because of this concentrated learning looking down upon me. May I express my particular happiness at the presence here of the Vice Chancellor from Ceylon,¹⁸³

182. G. C. Chatterjee, Chairman of the Inter-University Board, and a former Vice Chancellor of the Punjab University was also present.

183. Nicholas Attyagalle, Vice Chancellor of Ceylon University.

and I am glad that this Inter-University Board has, among its members, the Vice Chancellors of not only Ceylon, but Burma also. In the matter of education, indeed in other matters also, but more particularly in the matter of education, the larger the field of cooperation, the better. Let us try to get out of our narrow outlook and narrow national rivalries, at least in the field of education. So I welcome this broad base for this Inter-University Board. Now the Vice Chancellor has told you that something about education today in India not being as it should be. There is plenty of criticism of it. That criticism itself indicates how people in India, thinking people in India, even outside the range of professional educationists, how much these people are vitally interested in the subject of education. It is a good sign. It shows that the matter creates ferment in our minds. What are we to do? Which way are we to go? What type of education are we to give? That is good, because nothing is worse than falling into a rut and accepting things as they are. Of course, there are deficiencies in our education. It is not surprising. As a matter of fact, there is hardly any country in the world where this subject is not discussed—the deficiencies of the educational system today having regard to the new developments that have arisen. We in India have to face the problem not only in so far as it is common with the rest of the world, but in many phases which are not common, which are peculiar to our own, to us, and to our present day difficulties, to the rapid growth of education from the primary level up to the University, to technologies and science playing their proper part. Proper part I said and yet, perhaps, not over playing it to the detriment of other aspects of education. All this we have to take together and we have to take this at a time when we want to advance in every field of human endeavour. We have planned five year plans and the like to raise the level of our people's living standards, and ultimately to take them to a stage which we envisage and which we describe as a socialist pattern of society. All this together is a colossal task. And yet remember it is only when a country faces colossal tasks that it grows in stature. The country, no doubt, lives through the humdrum activities of millions and hundreds of millions of people, but it is only when that country is faced by enormous and vast tasks, that it stretches itself out and grows in stature.

The Partition was a terrible blow to India and more specially to the Punjab and Bengal. And yet, will you not agree with me when I say that that terrible blow wounding the body of India and lopping off a part of it was also a challenge which, I think, we have met with some defiance? The Punjab has met it, that will not be cowed down even with this body blow, and we should rise above and build ourselves anew, and the sign of that building up of the Punjab is seen all over this Province, and most particularly in Chandigarh. So sometimes disasters yield good results. They shake us up. Anyhow we have to face these

tremendous problems of India, her four hundred or so million people. We have to face it at a time of continuing world crises. We have to face it at a time when our economic resources are still relatively limited. Otherwise, of course, there will be no great difficulty if we had abundant economic resources. But economic resources are growing, no doubt. We cannot wait for them to grow before we do something else. And if we do something else only, the resources do not grow and our work is jeopardised. So we have to find some kind of a balance how to do both, and therein lies the need and the necessity for planning.

Education is an expensive business, where are we to find the resources for it, people say. It is true. It is expensive, and we cannot, we can make it as far as possible, less expensive, but we cannot cheapen education in the fundamental sense and give a second rate education. That will be bad. Well, because whether we put up steel plants and great schemes like Bhakra-Nangal or other in this country—and they are essential in the ultimate analysis—what is the base of all things is the building up of human being in this or any other country. It is the human being who build the steel plants, who run the steel plants, or build Bhakra and thousands of factories that may grow up in India. The steel plant may take five years to build; but the man who will run the plant will take 20 years of education and experience at least, if not more. You have to start building him from bottom up. You cannot produce him suddenly. And that applies to everything, big and small, the building up of human beings. If you are building them up in the right way, then it really does not matter very much what will happen in the future, because you can rely on their foundation. And that foundation begins from the earliest years. You all, present here, are interested in university education but you know very well that the universities will have a bad time if the people to come to universities from secondary education are not good enough. Obviously, you cannot build the university in the air. You know very well that the secondary education will not be able to achieve much if the primary education is neglected. So you have to go down. And perhaps the most important years of education are those that are hardly cared for in India today, that is prior to the primary education, nursery stage, from birth upwards, when habits are formed and characters, conditioned. We shall have to do all this, because firm foundations have to be laid from earliest days of babyhood. Nothing rejoices my mind and heart so much as to see the young children of India, bonny little girls and little boys, full of enthusiasm, full of life. As I come here today, passing through the streets of Chandigarh, lined by these little tots from schools—it gladdened me to see them and to think that these people will have an opportunity, which most people lacked in the previous generation, of a better education, of better facilities to build themselves up, and when they grow up, they will be good citizens of India. So we have to start at the bottom.

But at the same time you have to look after the top too because the top travels from the bottom. There is no escape from this all embracing approach to this problem. The more I have thought of this business of planning, and naturally I have to do so a great deal, the more I have come to the conclusion of the basic importance of education. It is, after all, education that will lead to other things.

Now, I may talk of education and, of course, questions come up before us, to what end do we educate a person. What are our objectives? Well, they are many. I suppose ultimately it is for that person to lead a life, a useful life for himself and for the community. Both. If it is only for himself, it is not good enough, and to fit it in the world, how do you fit in a world which is constantly changing? How do you prepare your syllabus, for yet you do not know fully what tomorrow's life will be, with these vast developments in science and technology. One has to take a risk of course. But anyhow whatever tomorrow's life may be, one can say with some assurance that certain basic qualities, call them character building, call them what you will, will be essential tomorrow as they are today. And so from the mass of knowledge that you put in to organise that knowledge, to use it for right purposes, and not for wrong purposes, in fact to have some depth of character. Otherwise all the learning that you give may go astray as it often does in the world today. And that applies to science more perhaps than to other varieties of education, because science and technology today represent power, power in the limited sense of the word, the power you get from nature's resources, power in analogy, power in the wider sense too which an individual or a community or a nation may possess. How to use that power—becomes an important question, a vital question for the world, a world which has the atom for its symbol. And you are putting up a model of the Uranium atom here as a symbol of the scientific part of the university. How to utilise that power for the beneficent purposes and not for evil purposes. These are big problems with which not only our generation, but future generations will have to deal with. To come back to India, we look around, I think it is correct to say that by and large India possesses not only great variety, of course, but almost everything that is necessary for growth in every direction, physical, mental, cultural, spiritual, call it what you like, scientific or anything. I think it is true. I do not mean to say that India can do without the world and live her own life. I do not believe in this kind of isolationism. But I do say that India contains within its wide bounds almost all types of resources, whether they are material, cultural, scientific, etc., but, and that is a big but about this, no single part of India contains all those resources. They are spread out; and if a single part of India wanted to live its own life and not to be affected by the rest either in the domain of physical resources, cultural or spiritual, it will lose, it would be stunted, it would not grow properly. Look at this wide picture of

India. You will find many common features, of course, because there is a binding unity which holds us together. But you will also find a particular part of India, a particular state or other parts of India rather eminent in some particular quality, not in all; some particular quality. And another state will probably be eminent in some other quality and gets share other things too. It is quite extraordinary how you can see a certain distinctiveness in people living in different parts of India, not only physical distinctiveness, which of course is there, but other qualities, in the Punjabi or the Tamilian, or a man in Andhra, or the Karnataka, or Bengal or Maharashtra, or Gujarat or Uttar Pradesh, or Bihar. There are though no dividing lines; I don't say there are. But there are distinctive qualities which have, oddly enough, persevered through the ages. Probably gradually that distinctiveness will grow a little less in the modern age; yet I would not have it absent. I think it is a good thing, this variety, and this distinctiveness, provided it is kept in check and does not affect those processes, which bring about that unity in every sphere. So India is India, because of this great variety, mixing, overlapping, intermixing and strengthening each part of it. Take away an important and major part of India, India becomes something less than India, and that was why with the Partition came a deep wound, and self-inflicted wounds are the deepest, they take a long time to heal. But you survived the Partition. If the whole of the Punjab, let us say, to imagine the worst, had gone out of India, India would have been mortally wounded but at any rate, a rich part of the Punjab and its people who are our own people had gone. But the essence of the Punjab remains and grows, and has grown and has filled the wound. Therefore, India remains India. So I want you to think of this. These are the conflicts on various questions, provincial, state, language and all that, that the moment you think too much of a part of India with its special distinctive features which are parts of the rest of India, you have done justice, you have not done justice to your part or to India as a whole. That is no way. The strands which come from various parts of India are interwoven in a tapestry. Physically, it may be, the states may be different, but the other deeper trends are woven together as in a tapestry. You can't separate them without tearing the cloth.

The problem of language should be dealt with not by politicians by educationists. You cannot learn Hindi and forgot Urdu. It possesses a certain cultural wealth in Urdu which it shares with others too and for it to discourage Urdu will be sad, and it will lose something of its rich inheritance. But take Hindi and Punjabi which are so closely akin that really to consider them as vitally different languages seems to me hardly correct. But there are differences, certainly. What do they represent—two aspects which together make up the Punjab, should make up the Punjab. What is Punjabi? It is a language, such as

it is, full of vigour. It derives its sustenance from the soil of the Punjab. Hence, it is vigorous as things which come from the soil are and not imposed from above. It is a living, vigorous language. It is not, compared to many other languages, a developed language and you can't develop a language by translating a hundred or a thousand books from another language. That is artificial. It gradually develops. A language gradually develops. Some people imagine that a language consists of a few text books prepared or translated from other text books. Of course, that is to be done, naturally, to give an impetus for purposes of education and all that. But you can't. A language above all is like a flower which has to grow by its own strength with the roots in the soil; you can't go on pulling at it. You will uproot it and kill it. Take Hindi which is a much more developed language of course. Many other languages in India are very much more developed, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Tamil, etc. But I doubt if any language in India has the vigour of Punjabi, because it is associated with the soil. Now, you want both, both that vigour, you can't lose that vigour, and you want the developed graces of other languages. Both are necessary, and, therefore, both should be equally stressed and these minor points of arguments seem to be quite out of place in this context. These are matters really not for politicians to deal with but for you gentlemen—educationalists, Vice Chancellors and others, to decide these questions, because they are more intimately concerned with education and the like. So what I have said about the Punjab and the language issue, applies to so many other things in India and in the Punjab. We have to combine, we have to produce a synthesis, we have to produce harmony. The essential purpose of life, I take it, should be harmony, of course, but harmony at a vibrant, dynamic level, creative level, not harmony at a low level. You can't do away with that spirit of creativeness, dynamism, which a race would possess, and it was when our race somehow lost touch with dynamism that we fell and went down, although we have lores of learning in our books and our history is full of all kinds of brilliant things. Nevertheless, because we lacked dynamism and creativeness we became mere imitators, and numbers of some rituals and religious formulae without even understanding the spirit behind them.

So creativeness and dynamism are essential in a race. It is better to have creativeness and be a little rough about it than to have no creativeness and to be all soft all round. So how to produce harmony and this dynamic creativeness? How to profit by this tremendous exuberance and advance of scientific and technological achievement and yet have roots in a deep wisdom? Call it what you like, use any phrase you like. It is a question of integrating these various things. I am all for science. I think India or any community cannot go ahead unless it advances in the fields of science and technology. I do not think we

can solve our problems, physical problems, poverty, etc., without science and technology. It is true. And yet I think that if the humanities were neglected, it would produce a lop-sided picture, and that science itself may become a very inhuman affair. So again we come up against this creating some kinds of synthesis or harmony in these various aspects of education and life, for education is preparation for life and in every sphere we see this.

Now, as I look in my very amateurish way on the history of India I find all these ups and downs, quarrels, sometimes contradictions, plenty of contradictions, plenty of conflicts and all that. But I find also always in the text somewhere whether it was a conscious attempt or a sub-conscious attempt in the mind and spirit of India, an attempt at synthesis, at bringing together Samanvaya, that at producing harmony by the slow processes of growth, not superimposition, but you can't produce harmony. The superimposition is a contradiction of harmony. In India, this big country, we have always had to face in the remote past the question of coexistence and we have always tried to solve it. Sometimes we have failed but broadly we have advanced on the plain of coexistence and brought about thereby the conception of India. We talk about coexistence in the rest of the world today and it has become essential because the alternative to it is co-destruction, or call it what you like. However, for the moment let us leave the problems of the world aside. We have enough problems of our own and those problems ultimately depend upon the manner in which we not only talk but live this coexistence in India, whether it is different religions, different States, different languages or any other thing, each having its distinctive languages or any other thing, each having its distinctive features to be treasured, but each a part of this magic pattern that is India, to be preserved as such. And if our educational process helps this to grow, this conception, then it is working on right lines and laying right foundations. So let science grow, as it must and will. Let the arts and humanities grow also. Behind it all let there be that dynamism, that vibrant message, that creativeness without which life for the individual becomes drab and dull, and a community gradually weakens and plays no effective part. Thank you.

(ii) Youth

217. To Ramkrishna Bajaj¹⁸⁴

January 3, 1959

My dear Ramkrishna,¹⁸⁵

Your letter of 2nd January.¹⁸⁶ I do not see any harm in "WAY House" being established in Delhi. The need for it in Delhi is probably greater than elsewhere.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

218. To Sri Prakasa

23rd January, 1959

My dear Prakasa,

Your letter of January 21st.

I entirely agree with what you say about work being really effective when the worker likes it and is proud of it. Speaking to children, boys and girls, I have often said that their work should approximately to play and their play to work. In fact, the only way to lead really a full life is to be absorbed in one's activity, whether work or play, and not to think about oneself at all.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

184. File No. 2 (302)/59-63-PMS.

185. Industrialist, Chairman of the World Assembly of Youth, India.

186. The international "WAY House" was to be a centre for voluntary youth and international organizations. After Nehru agreed, S. Dutt told Bajaj that it were better to establish it elsewhere since GOI was planning an international centre in Delhi.

(e) Culture

219. Speech at Bhubaneswar¹⁸⁷

NEHRU'S CALL AT WRITERS' CONFERENCE

BHUBANESWAR, Jan 2,—Mr. Nehru said yesterday that scientific and technical words, though non-Indian in origin, should be adopted and retained in Indian languages.

It would be absurd to discard a word like "bicycle" and some new word to be adopted in its place just because it was a foreign word,¹⁸⁸ he told the fifth All India Writers' Conference organised by P.E.N.¹⁸⁹

In this age of Sputniks "we should be more broadminded and have a wider outlook", he said.

The way the world was moving at present it would only be proper if present-day literature reflected the increasing technological and scientific bias in life, he said.

The language had to take in more and more technical words, because life was gradually becoming "technical and scientific"

What exactly should a writer be? Mr Nehru said he must be one who did his job well, did it sincerely and was creative. Sincerity was of "vital importance".¹⁹⁰

Mr. Nehru said that in India there as a tendency among people either to praise too much or condemn too vehemently a person or his action. The middle course was not being adopted. Biographies written in India either made a "god or a monster" of the individual "although we are neither gods nor monsters but human beings," he said.

187. PTI report of the inaugural address at the All India Writers' Conference organised by Poets & Playwrights, Essayists and Novelists (PEN), Bhubaneswar, 1 Jan. 1959. From *The Statesman*, 3 Jan. 1959.

188. "Pandit Nehru said there was another aspect of language and that was "life". Life was gradually becoming technical and scientific and that being so then the language should take in more of technical words. Technical words, though non-Indian in origin, should be adopted and retained." *National Herald*, 2 Jan. 1959.

189. "He said he had been associated with the PEN, that was more by courtesy of the PEN than by right as a literary figure. He had written some books but essentially his normal day-to-day work lay in another field, he said." *National Herald*, 2 Jan. 1959.

190. "He said that if writers were not sincere and creative in their writings, then their writings would become second rate and arrogant." *National Herald*, 2 Jan. 1959.

Referring to the language controversy, Mr. Nehru said it was unfortunate and did no good to anybody. If any particular language grew it helped other languages also and it was therefore important that "friendliness" was developed between various languages.¹⁹¹

He noted that there was not so much of this controversy in the literary field as in the political.

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, in his presidential address, told the assembled litterateurs—whom he described as "the guardians of the human spirit, its conscience and its faith"—that for a literature to be alive the life of the time must flow into it.

The most vital currents of the age should permeate it and only then could it enter into the blood stream of the community.

Dr. Radhakrishnan said that at the heart of all great literature there was a vision, an illumination, "a perception of what endures". The perception of the enduring behind the transient was possible only for those who underwent rigorous discipline.

Dr. Radhakrishnan described literary writers as judges of their time and servants of the future. He called on them to lead mankind with patience to the paths of peace. They must persuade the peoples of the world to feel that they would dishonour themselves if they contemplated the use of nuclear weapons. They must bring down barriers, break down obstacles and let faith return to mankind.

Dr. Radhakrishnan asked the members of P.E.N. to pledge themselves to dispel race, class and national hatreds, to champion the ideal of one humanity living in peace in one world and to oppose any form of suppression of freedom of expression.

"On this New Year's Day let us resolve not to accept defeat but press on with all our resources towards peace disarmament and brotherhood of the spirit," he said.

191. "Pandit Nehru said some Hindi books had been printed in Tamil script and vice versa and that was a good thing.

He said he did not know if in future it would possible to have a common script for the various languages," *National Herald*, 2 Jan. 1959.

220. To Humayun Kabir

Raj Bhavan
Nagpur

10th January, 1959

My dear Humayun,

You will remember my writing to you about the Taj Company Ltd of Karachi which wanted to publish Maulana's *Tarjman-ul-Quran*. I wrote to our High Commissioner in Karachi about them¹⁹² and asked him to find out what their standing was. He has now replied to me and given them a very good certificate.¹⁹³ I enclose a copy of his letter.

I think that now we should agree to their undertaking publication of Maulana's works and, more especially, the *Tarjman-ul-Quran*. I do not quite know of what steps have to be taken, that is to say, who is going to give this authority. You might arrange this and terms etc. can be settled.

On my return to Delhi, I shall send a reply to the Taj Company Ltd.¹⁹⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

192. On 30 Dec. 1958.

193. India's High Commissioner to Pakistan, Rajeshwar Dayal, replied on 5 January 1959, that the Taj Company Ltd was a reputed old firm, first established in Lahore, and with branches in Karachi, Dacca, and elsewhere in Pakistan. It concentrated on Islamic literature and its Quran found a good market in many Muslim countries. The Managing Director of the firm, Sheikh Enayatullah, told him that since 1932 they had been in negotiation with Maulana Azad about the publication of his works, and that he was still keen to do so. Dayal recommended him and his firm highly.

194. Nehru also informed Mohammed Tahir, son-in-law of Maulana Azad's sister, Fatima Begum.

221. To Kshitishchandra Choudhuri

January 13, 1959

My dear Vice Chancellor,

The Prime Minister of the German Democratic Republic (East Germany)¹⁹⁵ has given me a record of a speech or part of a speech made by Gurudev in Berlin in June 1921.¹⁹⁶ This is a re-conditioned and repaired record. I think that this should be kept in Santiniketan and I shall send it to you at a suitable opportunity. Meanwhile I am sending you a reproduction of the speech.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

222. To Subimal Dutt¹⁹⁷

What has happened to the Memorial Hall that was going to be built near Nalanda, Bihar, in memory of Hiuen Tsang?¹⁹⁸ The Chinese Government not only gave us some relics of Hiuen Tsang, but a considerable sum of money to build this hall.¹⁹⁹ They also sent a plan for this building. There was very little for us to do and yet, so far as I know, practically nothing has been done. It took some time to select the site. This was done. Why then are things held up? The money is there, but where it is I do not know. Have the Bihar Government got the money or is it with us?

I imagine that it would be desirable for some Chinese architect to come and advise us as to how to build this, as it is in Chinese style. I spoke to the Chief Minister of Bihar a few days ago about it, but he did not appear to know

195. Otto Grottewohl was in India from 12 to 20 January 1959.

196. This was a part of a speech made by Rabindranath Tagore in the Assembly Hall of Berlin University on 1 June 1921.

197. Note to FS, New Delhi, 16 Jan. 1959.

198. The Chinese monk who travelled to India through the silk route in the 7th century.

199. The Hiuen Tsang Memorial Hall, about half a kilometer from the site of ancient Nalanda, was constructed in 1960 to house Hiuen Tsang's relics, which had been presented to Nehru in 1957. GOI handed over the Hiuen Tsang Memorial Hall to the Nava Nalanda Mahavihara in 2001. In 2006, the Chinese Government deputed specialists to restore the Hall, which was duly inaugurated on 12 February 2007. The relics, in storage in the Patna Museum until then, finally went on display.

what the position was. I think we should write to the Bihar Government and enquire.

223. Indian Art in Germany²⁰⁰

I am glad to learn that an Exhibition of Indian Art is being organised at the Villa Hugel in Essen, Germany.²⁰¹ The exhibitions held previously at the Villa Hugel have drawn much attention and helped in bringing understanding in the realm of art. An Exhibition of Indian Art at the Villa Hugel is therefore an important event which should be welcomed by all art lovers and, more particularly, by people in Germany.

In this world of storm and stress, the appeal of art is particularly important. This takes us to calmer regions of thought and emotion and often brings truer appreciation of the people who produced it. Indian art has a significance of its own and is essentially a product of the Indian mind and imagination in the past. It has been powerfully affected by India's philosophy, traditions and mythology, and is thus a reflection of the mind of India through the ages.

I hope that this Exhibition will create a better understanding and closer relations between the people of India and the people of Germany.

224. To Manuben Gandhi

जनवरी 17, 1959

प्रिय मनु,

तुम्हारा 14 तारीख का पत्र मिला। मेरे लिए पूजनीया कस्तूरबा के सिलसिले में कोई लेख लिखना बहुत कठिन है। एक तो समय नहीं है, और दूसरे ऐसे लेख लिखने में मैं बहुत हिचकता हूँ। इतना कह सकता हूँ कि जितना मैंने उनको देखा, उतना ही मेरे मन में उनका आदर बढ़ा और उनसे प्रेम हुआ। मैंने महसूस किया कि एक दुर्बल भारतीय स्त्री में कितनी शक्ति होती है।

200. Message, 17 Jan. 1959. File No. 76-G/58, President's Secretariat. Also available in File No. 40(170)/59-62-PMS and JN Collection.

201. In April 1959.

दूसरे बारे में जो तुमने लिखा है, उस सिलसिले में मैं तुम्हारे पत्र को डॉ. श्रीमाली को भेज देता हूँ।²⁰²

तुम्हारा
जवाहरलाल नेहरू

[Translation begins:

January 17, 1959

Dear Manu,

Received your letter of the 14th. It is very difficult for me to write an article on venerable Kasturba. First of all, I do not have time, and secondly, I hesitate in writing such articles. I can only say that the more I saw her, the more respect and love I developed for her in my heart. I realised how much strength a frail Indian woman could have.

Regarding your second point, I am sending your letter to Dr. Shrimali.²⁰³

Yours
Jawaharlala Nehru

Translation ends]

225. To B.V. Keskar²⁰⁴

January 19, 1959

My dear Balkrishna,

I enclose a letter, in original, from K. A. Abbas.²⁰⁵ I do not know what I can do about it. The money we advanced for the *Pardesi* film was rather a special

202. See pp. 468-469.

203. See fn 202 in this section.

204. File No. 43 (135)/59-76-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

205. Khwaja Ahmad Abbas (1914-1987): journalist, novelist, short story writer and film-maker in the socialist-realist mode; grandson of well-known Urdu poet Hali; worked in *Bombay Chronicle*, 1935-47; wrote Indian journalism's longest running weekly political column, *Last Page* in *Chronicle* and *Blitz*, 1941-86; founder-member of IPTA's all India front, 1943; wrote scripts and directed many critically acclaimed films.

case because it was a joint venture with the Soviet authorities.²⁰⁶ That does not apply to the present case. It will be difficult for us to discriminate in such cases.

At the same time, how are people to produce good films without some credit arrangements for them. There should be some procedure for this purpose.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

226. An Article for *Sur*²⁰⁷

I am afraid it is not possible for me to write something new for Madame Victoria Ocampo's journal.²⁰⁸ I like your idea, therefore, that what I had written for Dinkar's book²⁰⁹ might be sent to her. I have read what you have sent me. This is correct except for a few sentences which were rightly taken out. As a matter of fact this foreword of mine is given in full in Volume III of my speeches which was brought out by the Publications Division a few months ago. If you have got that book, you will find it at pp. 412-418.

Although I am agreeable to your sending this to Madame Victoria Ocampo, I feel that some reference should be made to the fact that this was written for Dinkar's book. It does not seem quite fair to lift it without that reference. Perhaps a footnote might be adequate.

206. It was the first Indo-Soviet co-production, co-directed by Abbas and Vassili M. Pronin in 1957. See also SSJN/SW/41/p. 224.

207. Note to Krishna Kripalani, Secretary of the Sahitya Akademi, 24 Jan. 1959. File No. S.A. 96, SUR, Sahitya Akademi Records. Also available in JN Collection.

208. Krishna Kripalani informed Nehru on 23 January 1959 that the distinguished Argentine writer, Victoria Ocampo, wanted to publish an article by Nehru on Indian intellectual life for a special India Number of her journal *Sur*. Krishna Kripalani suggested using Nehru's introduction to Ramdhari Sinha Dinkar's book on Indian Culture.

209. Nehru had written the foreword on 30 September 1955 to *Sanskriti ke Char Adhyaya* by Ramdhari Sinha Dinkar. See SWJN/SS/30/pp. 213-217. This article was sent to Victoria Ocampo on 31 January 1959 for publication in *Sur*.

227. To Subimal Dutt²¹⁰

It is obvious that this is a very complicated matter which can hardly be settled by correspondence and exchange of notes. I think that we should refer this question to the Chinese Government for their advice. That is, our Ambassador²¹¹ might point out that we are sorry for the delay in building up this proposed Memorial Hall.²¹² Our difficulty has been that our architects found themselves wholly unable to build it up on the lines of the sketches provided by the Chinese Government. They had no experience of that. As there were some Chinese architects present here for their Embassy building, they were consulted. They said that the design supplied to us by the Chief Architect of the Chinese Government was in the Ching dynasty style. This was a very complicated style of architecture and construction and not much material was available on this particular style. They were unable to take responsibility for the preparation of the drawings on that basis. All that they could do was to scrutinise such drawings as might be prepared by our staff. There were discussions between the two sets of architects about various peculiarities of Tan, Soong, Yuan, Ming and Ching dynasty architecture. The Chinese senior architect here, Mr Sun En Hua, suggested that it was not necessary to follow the Ching dynasty style of architecture, though peculiarities of the period could suitably be used here and there. It was suggested that perhaps we could obtain three dimensional models from Peking. This would help our architects greatly.

2. In these circumstances, it may perhaps be too ambitious a venture for us to try to put up this Ching dynasty style building. It might be better for our experts to draw up designs after studying models and drawings from China and consulting the Chinese architects who are in Delhi now for their Embassy building.

3. Our Ambassador might explain this matter to the appropriate authorities in the Chinese Government. Meanwhile it might be stated that our architects are continuing discussions with the Chinese architects here and are being oriented to Chinese styles.

210. Note to FS, 28 Jan. 1959.

211. G. Parthasarathi, India's Ambassador to PRC.

212. Refers to the planned Hiuen Tsang Memorial Hall near Nalanda. See also pp. 494-495.

228. *Naya Daur*²¹³

Some days ago, I had occasion to see the film *Naya Daur* in Delhi. I went there with some of our guests. As we had had a heavy day, it was not our intention to stay till the end of the film. But we found it so interesting that actually we stayed till the end.

Naya Daur is a good film, and the photography is excellent.

229. Objectives of Sahitya Akademi²¹⁴

Mr Vice-President,²¹⁵ Members,

I consider it a privilege to participate in this function today and to present the awards to the distinguished writers who have come here from various parts of India. I believe this is the fourth year in which such awards have been given but previously, this was done in a relatively small way, almost a private way if I may say so. Today it has been organised on a somewhat bigger scale.

The Sahitya Akademi has been in existence for some years now and as usual with any such organisation, the early years are a little difficult. We have to find our feet and establish ourselves fully. I suppose these difficulties will continue for some time but already I think the Sahitya Akademi, by the work it has done, has made a good start. You will see that the Akademi deals with all the languages of India mentioned in the Constitution and it decided sometime ago to include English that is to say English written by Indian authors also among the languages which we wish to recognise as an established language in India and (one to be recognised as an established language in India) and one to be encouraged for various reasons. As a matter of fact, today, at the meeting of the General Council of the Akademi, we have included in the Council two additional representatives. Previously the 14 languages enumerated in the Constitution had been included. Today we have added two more, English and Sindhi.

213. Message sent through Nehru's Private Secretary to B.R. Films, Bombay, New Delhi, 19 Feb. 1959.

214. Speech at the presentation of Sahitya Akademi Awards for 1958 to distinguished writers, Vigyan Bhawan, New Delhi, 21 Feb. 1959. AIR tapes, NMML. Also available in File No. 40 (7)/59-63-PMS and PIB files.

215. S. Radhakrishnan, the Vice-President, was also Vice-President of the Sahitya Akademi.

You will have noticed that the Akademi performs two functions or rather functions in two ways, one is to encourage each Indian language in its literary activities; the other is to interchange the knowledge of each other. In other words, it encourages the rich diversity of India and at the same time also encourages the unity of India and as somebody said, the truth lies in unity and diversity.

A great deal is said about the languages of India and sometimes we are told there are hundreds and hundreds of them and the question of language has also created passions, difficulties in India which I hope are not of lasting duration. These conflicts arise because sometimes one language is supposed to be opposed to another. It is an entirely wrong approach because the growth of one language does not hinder the growth of another but encourages it. And so the objective of the Sahitya Akademi has been to encourage all of them separately and together. They have published or are continuing to publish books not only in various languages but translations from one into another; also from foreign languages. Looking at literature in this wider sense, well, the objectives are fine and we hope that we shall gradually approximate to realising these objectives.

Today, it is my pleasure and privilege to give these awards on behalf of the Sahitya Akademi to the distinguished authors who have won them. I should like to congratulate them.

230. To B.V. Keskar²¹⁶

February 27, 1959

My dear Balkrishna,

I have received a letter from Paul Zils²¹⁷ which I enclose. I have met him once or twice before, and I am seeing him tomorrow at his request. I do not know much about him except that he has been working here for some time past. Nor do I know much about the subjects he has referred to in his letter.

216. File No. 43 (115)/58-65-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

217. (1915-1979); German documentary filmmaker; worked in Berlin as a script writer and assistant director, 1933-38; worked in Hollywood and travelled to Japan and Indo-China; arrived in India in the middle of the Second World War and started his company Documentary Films of India, 1948; President, Indian Documentary Producers Association, 1957-59; dabbled in Hindi films such as *Hindustan Hamara* (1950) and *Zalzala* (1952) but returned to making documentaries; returned to Germany in March 1959 and started his own company, Deutsche Condor, which made films in India for the West German Government, made films on Buddhism in Sri Lanka, 1968-69.

But, reading his letter, two ideas strike me—

- (1) We should try to produce some documentaries definitely aiming at conveying a lesson to the public in regard to our basic policies. I suppose, to some extent, this is done. But more ought to be done. There is no reason why we should have documentaries which avoid this propagandist element. Of course, the policy must be a policy approved by Parliament. Thus, for instance, we should have documentaries about cooperatives, etc.
- (2) It seems to me that we should encourage private producers to bring out documentary films and it might be worthwhile to have a Board such as he has suggested.²¹⁸

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

231. To Humayun Kabir²¹⁹

February 28, 1959

My dear Humayun,

Your letter of the 27th about a Director for the National Museum.²²⁰

Mortimer Wheeler²²¹ has certainly some experience and ability in archaeology, but I do not particularly like the idea of an old retired man who served in India previously under different conditions, being appointed as a Director of the National Museum. He is rather rigid in his outlook. I would prefer a younger and more active man. Wheeler's general outlook is indicated by his running down Chandigarh.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

218. Keskar replied on 1 March 1959 that private producers like Paul Zils and the Indian Documentary Producers Association, producing more than a third of the documentary films could be of great use to the Government. But Zils and his associates disapproved of the Films Division being the main source of Government films and wanted each Ministry to choose its producer independently. Zils had made contacts with the officials of the Tourist Department, External Affairs and Irrigation and Power regarding this.

219. Humayun Kabir Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

220. Humayun Kabir had suggested Mortimer Wheeler because, he claimed, they had found no suitable Indian, and the foreigner they had chosen, Dr John, the Director of the National Museum of Wales, had declined.

(f) Public Health

(i) General

232. To D.P. Karmarkar

19th January, 1959

My dear Karmarkar,²²²

I have today received a message from Mr. Khrushchev, Prime Minister of the Soviet Union. I enclose a copy of it.²²³

I should like your advice as to what our answer should be. We cannot, of course, reject the offer made, but the kind of acceptance we give to it will depend on our own requirements.

What is the present position of small pox in India? How far have we succeeded in eradicating it? Have we enough vaccines and medical personnel for the purpose? All these questions arise.

I shall have to send a direct answer to Mr. Khrushchev as his message is addressed to me. Therefore, please let me have your Ministry's views as early as possible. I do not suppose it is necessary to find out from the states about this.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

221. British archeologist, Director General, Archeology, GOI, 1944-48, and Professor of Archeology, London University, 1948-55.

222. Union Minister of State for Health.

223. Khrushchev had offered financial and medical help to eradicate cholera and small pox. For Nehru's reply, see pp. 505-506.

233. To N.R. Pillai

January 23, 1959

My dear N.R.,

Group Captain Leonard Cheshire²²⁴ came to see me this evening with a young lady, Miss Sue Ryder²²⁵ who was helping him in his work. Miss Ryder has just come from Poland and Russia. In Poland, Cheshire has started one of his Homes and, after some initial difficulties, this has become a great success and he was asked to start a large number of other Homes there. In Russia, Miss Ryder was treated with courtesy, but no definite reply was given to her. She had gone there especially to ask for their help for the big Indian colony they are starting at Dehra Dun.

Cheshire, first of all, thanked me for the permission we had given him to have twelve refugee outsiders to stay in Dehra Dun. Then he went on to tell me that they had been given a very fine twenty-acre plot of land in Dehra Dun by the Municipality for his colony. It was a magnificent site. The question was not to build it up. They wanted some kind of a central hospital and numerous small buildings for people to live in in more or less home surroundings. Apparently, the central hospital building was to cost about Rs. 13 lakhs. They asked the Americans if they would give them this money from the Rupee Account they had here which is very big. The Americans said that they were favourably inclined to do this, but they were not at all sure that the Indian Government would agree and they could not give it without such approval and in fact unless the Indian Government perhaps took the initiative in the matter. Cheshire asked them then if they would have any objection to the Soviet Government also offering help for this colony which may take the shape of equipping the hospital building. The Americans were not clear about this. Cheshire has been in touch with somebody in the American Embassy here. Perhaps he has been in touch with Washington also.

The position, therefore, is apparently that if we expressed our agreement the Americans might give them this Rs. 13 lakhs out of their Rupee Account in India. Whether the Russians agree to participate in this is another matter, and

224. Group Captain Leonard Cheshire, British bomber pilot; Official British Observer at the dropping of atom bomb at Nagasaki in 1945; founder of Cheshire Homes.

225. Margaret Susan (Sue) Ryder (1923-2000); social worker and founder of Sue Ryder Foundation for the Sick and Disabled of all Age Groups; served with the Special Operations Executive during the Second World War; married Leonard Cheshire in 1959; co-founder, Ryder-Cheshire Foundation; wrote two autobiographies: *And the Morrow is Theirs* (Burleigh Press, Bristol, 1975), and *Child of My Love* (Harvill Press, London, 1986).

then again whether the Americans agree to such participation. I suggested to Cheshire that he might meet the Soviet Ambassador here who is a man of some influence in Moscow. He readily agreed to do so but did not quite know how to reach him. I said that you might suggest to the Soviet Ambassador to see Cheshire and discuss the subject with him.

I do not see why we should not agree to the Americans giving this sum of money out of their Rupee Account in India to Cheshire for his colony. I think Cheshire is working through our Health Ministry and Health Secretary²²⁶ would probably put up some papers to this effect. You might have a talk with Finance people about it. Also, when Cheshire comes back here, you might informally mention his name to the Soviet Ambassador and suggest that he might see him. Some indication of his scheme might also be given and our general approval and appreciation of it might be indicated.

Cheshire and Miss Ryder are leaving tonight for Madras. They will come back probably in a month's time or more. When he returns, he will probably get in touch with you. If you know his address, you can write a letter to him asking him to see you when he comes to Delhi again.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

234. To N. R. Pillai²²⁷

Here is another letter from Rajkumari Amrit Kaur which requires our consideration.²²⁸ Apart from the major offer for a hospital, there is a reference in this to a token grant towards the Malaria eradication programme.²²⁹ In view

226. V. K. B. Pillai.

227. Note to SG, MEA, 24 Jan. 1959. File No. 40 (134)/59-64-PMS.

228. See pp. 391-392.

229. It was indeed a "major offer." As she wrote on 24 January, Eisenhower himself, and the Rockefeller Foundation, had informed her of the US Government's "International Health" programme for underdeveloped countries, and the US Government had made a "spontaneous" offer to fund a hospital on the AIIMS campus. US institutions were well informed and supportive about the AIIMS. "Indeed every medical faculty I came into touch with during this visit enquired about its progress and are hoping, whenever the project is complete, to be able to send out their students to us. The possibilities of this Institute becoming a really world-famous one are immense..." Morarji Desai had endorsed her idea, adding that India must not appear to be asking for the hospital.

of Mr. Khrushchev's offer,²³⁰ probably our asking for such token grant from the U.S.A. will not be desirable.

235. To N. Khrushchev

29th January, 1959

Dear Mr. Khrushchev,

Thank you for your message of January 12th which was delivered to me by Ambassador Ponomarenko on the 19th January.²³¹ My colleagues and I greatly appreciate the Soviet Government's generous offer of assistance in a field so vital to our national well-being as that of public health, and I should like to say how deeply grateful we are to you and to the Soviet Government for this offer.

I have delayed a little in replying to you because I wanted to find out from our Ministry of Health what the position was in regard to our campaigns against various diseases and notably cholera and small-pox. We have met with very considerable success in eradicating malaria from large parts of India and I hope that we shall put an end to it in our country before long. In regard to cholera and small-pox, we have also achieved some success, but it is true that they still continue in some parts of India at periodic intervals and take a heavy toll of life. The preventive measures we have so far taken, though partly successful, have not been enough. We have, therefore, been thinking of an intensive campaign towards the control and ultimate eradication of these diseases. As a first step, both our Central Government and our State Governments have set up expert committees to study the problem in all its aspects and to make recommendations. The reports of these committees will be submitted to the Government shortly.

The question of eradicating these diseases in countries where they are still prevalent has been engaging the attention of the World Health Organisation of which both India and the U.S.S.R. are members. When our expert committees have submitted their reports, we shall be in a better position to indicate the exact forms and extent of external assistance which would be advantageous to us in the implementation of our eradication programmes. We may also request you to send to India a Soviet expert who could confer with our own experts who are dealing with this matter. That will help us to formulate our plans on the "basis of the recommendations made by our expert committees.

230. This was for cholera and small pox. See also p. 502.

231. Khrushchev had offered to help India with eradicating small pox and cholera by despatching medical teams and vaccines free of cost.

We understand that the Soviet Government recently deputed Dr. Pushtakov to East Pakistan to study the cholera epidemic there. It has been reported that he obtained some interesting results in the treatment of cholera cases with bacteriophage. We would greatly appreciate it if we could be supplied with a technical account of the work done by him in this respect, including the method of preparation and dosage of bacteriophage. Our workers in this field would be much interested to receive this information.

I hope to write to you further on this subject as soon as we have considered the recommendations made by the expert committees. Meanwhile, let me express to you once again our sincere gratitude for your generous offer of assistance.

With warm regards,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

236. To Medical Council of India²³²

Mr. President,²³³ Dr. Roy²³⁴ and friends,

I am very glad to be here to associate myself with these celebrations of yours. When I was first invited I was a little surprised to learn, that this body the Medical Council of India was only 25 years old. I thought it was a much more venerable institution.

Now, we have heard an account of its inception how it began and its early troubles, Dr. Roy has told us that. Perhaps it was fitting that on this occasion, we should have some such account. But being myself not a doctor except an honorary one occasionally, I cannot feel vastly excited about this subject from the professional doctor's point of view. My approach necessarily must be that of the layman. That is to say, the layman's approach as to how far, how best medicine can fulfil its function in regard to public health, and public well-being. The other aspect is important no doubt, to which Dr. Roy has referred, but that is, if I may say so, rather the attitude of the trade union of doctors.

232. Inaugural address at the silver jubilee celebrations of the Medical Council of India, New Delhi, 13 Feb. 1959. AIR tapes, NMML. Also available in PIB files.

233. Dr M. C. Patel, Chairman, MCI, presided.

234. Dr B.C. Roy was the Chairman of the Reception Committee for the celebrations.

Trade unions are necessary in the modern world in various fields, and probably the closest trade unions are the professional ones, which call themselves by other names, but are as close in their restrictions and everything closer than any other trade union can be. May be, it may be that this aspect of looking at the question may surprise some people and may think that professional organisations are something apart but really essentially they are not. It is right, I think that doctors, physicians should have if I may use the word, such associations or trade unions, to regulate their own conduct as well as maintain standards of the profession and standards of teaching, etc. Because although there will always be a tendency so as in all trade unions, to have a 'close shop', what is called, and not allow others to come in, however eminent they might be, sometimes on the national scale, sometimes for other reasons. But after all, the main, the main purpose for the whole medical profession is to look after the community and to secure their well-being. And it is with that aspect which concerns you of course, all of you but which concerns the layman and a person connected with the government, especially. It is with this that I am particularly concerned. Now, in spite of 25 years of the All India Medical Council, India is still very poor in doctors in quality, in quantity, and in effect there are vast areas of India where there is practically no medical help available. That is a very distressing thought and even more distressing thought is that doctors young and old just don't like going to the villages, or to somewhat remote areas in the hills. They like living in cities as far as possible or the town, while the real need for them is in those rather remote areas. I don't quite know, if you have given thought to this matter. I think you should and it should be the function of the Medical Council to make suggestions or lay down some rules or regulations even. I think that it should be incumbent on every new practitioner before he can even practice anywhere to spend a couple of years in a village or in some rural area. I will go further, I should like not only medical graduates but other graduates too, to spend a year or more doing social service before they really are considered fully qualified for their profession but more particularly I would say for medical practitioners. It should be an essential part of their training that they should serve in this or some way, in these rather remote areas which are not properly attended to. And it would be a good thing if the Medical Council itself went into this question, and laid down some kind of a rule or regulation rather than for government and Parliament to come in, and to do something of the kind.

Apart from serving that particular area where they go, I think they will be serving themselves tremendously understanding the conditions in India more than they would living in cities only, and widening their outlook for that basic research. Research is not something isolated, from human beings—the medical

research, obviously not, and if you have this wider aspect of research, knowing the country side knowing the people there, their difficulties etc. you can tag on your more higher research more to practical conditions in India. Research can be sometimes, rather might be called pure research, but even pure research lead somewhere, to some objective and if it does that then it fits in and it is likely to yield results far sooner than if it is well what is called as pure research—without any application to any daily problem. As a matter of fact I suppose most of the research work, done by doctors and their kind does relate to daily problems which they meet and there is enormous field for it. And in the last, well, I don't know, years or more, tremendous progress has been made in the fields of medicines, surgery. And I have often wondered how far it can be said, that India has contributed to that progress. Because the real test is, in a country of the medical profession lies in its quality, not in its quantity. Quantity is necessary of course, but it is quality that sets the tone and a measure of test of quality is, what research work has been done, that counts. I don't know I should like you to think about it, but I have a vague suspicion that real research which is counted has not been very much in India, during the last generation or so. No doubt there has been some, I don't deny that but I am talking about the size of the country, the bigness of it, and comparatively what one would expect from such country and all the eminent doctors in India. In the universities also, that applies not only to the medical colleges but to arts and science and other courses, the amount of real high-class research that one would expect is seldom found, perhaps the burden of teaching is too great. The large numbers of students are to be taught, or whatever the reason might be, the research suffers, and I suppose the quality of the people, the teachers, suffers also because they do not do research. Research is good in itself. But it is even more important from the point of view of improving the quality of the teacher even as regards his students, getting out of rut. I am rather concerned with this fact that not only in medicine, I say, but any other subject too. We are not getting what we should in the way of research, because possibly, we have to carry too great a burden. There is, I think, fairly good research being done in our science laboratories today. Perhaps because they haven't got the burden of teaching and all that and in fact their chief business is doing research work there and nothing else, practically speaking. Then I would like our scientists in the science laboratories, to be associated in some form or other with teaching. They should be associated I think in a honorary capacity with the nearest universities. They are usually eminent men. They need not displace anybody, I don't mean that, they should not come in the way of other teachers, and professors, but they can always be made honorary professors of a nearby university; they are people of note and eminence and it will be good for the students to hear them

occasionally let us say twice a month or so, it will be good for them to come into contact with the student body instead of remaining always in their laboratories. So, I am all in favour of encouraging research and the mind that takes up research. The mere fact of doing so raises an individual out of his daily troubles that puts him on the higher level. Psychologically, that is a good thing for everybody to do some research work whatever the kind of research it may be. Otherwise he becomes too narrow in his outlook but more particularly and of course specialised activities like yours.

Now, our desire is, and yours too I suppose, that we should offer, we should make available good medical advice to every person in need of it in India, make it available cheaply, freely, ultimately. And on the other hand, in the field of public health that there should be great improvement. In fact public health really should have precedence over other forms of treatment etc., because that goes to the root of it.

We have had very considerable success in the campaign to eradicate malaria. Now, there is talk of big campaigns against small pox and cholera and I believe, in most western countries these diseases have been liquidated or eradicated almost completely. And it is well known that it can be done there is no doubt about it, just like malaria can be eradicated. It is a question of effort, the resources and the effort and I think it will be a good thing if you could first of all carry on this campaign against malaria effectively in a big way, and take up cholera and small pox also. Of course, I suppose, the most effective approach to this question of dealing with cholera is providing good water, not medicines so much and doctors, but a pure water supply. And I do feel that a pure water supply is one of the biggest needs of our villages and of small towns that we haven't got it. So the question of medicine overlaps with the actual day to day work of a doctor, should become more and more preventive than actual treatment although the latter is of importance. We put up big hospitals and they are inevitable, you must have some big hospitals where there is a concentration of work, but one cannot put up these big hospitals all over India, or even smaller hospitals but rather on that scale. We have to evolve, we should evolve some way of giving medical service to the villagers, because I am constantly thinking how to deal with them. And we have got into the habit, of not only in this matter but in so many other matters of trying to follow certain standards which are utterly beyond our financial reach. It is curious that the gap in India between various standards, the standards of Delhi city and New Delhi especially and the standard of a village that is to say 10 miles out of Delhi, there is a world of difference between the two. And so we function with such varying standards here, we have the highest type of research institute or laboratory which would do credit to any highly developed country and we shall also have not too far

from it, some very primitive exhibition of how people lived a thousand or two thousand years ago. Therefore, on the one hand one wants to maintain high standards, to use high, latest techniques and for facilities for research, and you cannot, if you want to do research you cannot offer which you might call third grade facilities for research and not good facilities, otherwise the work would be third rate. On the other hand, you have to connect that somehow with the conditions in India, conditions in village—India, how to take that to them.

It is a difficult problem, but we have to do it. And we have to evolve, I suppose, either ambulatory services or some very simple types of hospitals, which are cheap, which can be located in villages and which can be connected with some central hospital in a city. In putting up these small hospitals or whatever you might like to call them, I don't see why you should try to duplicate the big hospital in regard to the equipment. Naturally, the better equipment you have, the more useful it would be, but it is better to do without the expensive equipment, and have the simple equipment and if a person really requires that other equipment, he can be sent on to any big hospital. I say this, because you have to evolve cheaper type of hospital, with the essential equipment because if you set higher standards, it simply means that you don't have that hospital or you have fewer or you have more.

Secondly, such hospitals most obviously cannot afford recurring expenses of a high order, the village hospital, we have to think of that, how to run them, may be your new graduates and others ought to be sent there, do some work there, you can train up people for that purpose, also I should like you to think of these problems which are really vital problems for us, in a sense, more vital than the individual big problems or big hospitals, and all that you have to deal with. Ultimately, I hope that they would, there will be this free medical service for anyone who requires it in India, and high standards of public health.

Then again I said high standards of public health, now Indians generally are a clean people, they bathe and all that quite a lot. At the same time that cleanliness is not due to conception of, shall I say, medical cleanliness, it may be for religious reasons or other reasons, whatever they might be, it is good. But it is important that our people should be, should learn some of the obvious lessons of public health etc. Again, how is that to be done? I think that if we have this system of village doctors etc., it should be their function not well, to teach people there in the village, but probably the most effective way of teaching to grown-ups is through their children who go to school. If the children learn something about these matters in school in the proper way that interest is excited, they go and tell their parents. And the parents probably listen to their children more than they would be an outsider who comes in and teaches them.

You see how my mind is trying to understand this problem and how to deal

with it, so far as the masses of people are concerned. And you will forgive me for talking about this, because I greatly fear that most of your deliberations, most of you are successful doctors, surgeons and all that, and concerned with the problems of big cities. Therefore, I was laying this stress on this other aspect.

Then the problem, which is becoming increasingly appreciated in India, is that of population growth, the growth of population. And oddly enough, the problem becomes worse and worse, the more we succeed in giving better health to the people. Yet we have arrived at a stage when any kind of quiet logical consideration of this problem, leads us to amazing results, that is amazing in the sense of the growth of the population in the future. Well, that is a big thing but anyhow you know that our government is perhaps, I am not sure, is perhaps the only government in the world which has officially sponsored the programmes of family limitation, birth-control, planned parenthood, call it what you like.²³⁵ Tomorrow you might know that there is a conference, international conference on what is called Planned Parenthood or something here in Delhi but it is extraordinary how people go about searching for imposing names and being slightly afraid of using the simple words that have been introduced previously; and more and more complicated words, however, now this concerns obviously the medical profession very greatly. Because it should be the business of the medical profession to give this information to the people about birth-control methods etc., also of course to carry on research work, that is how best to do it. I don't know exactly what the position is now, but for years past, I had been told that this kind of work is done, this research work had been done in Calcutta and Bombay. I think Mr. Sanyal, Dr. Sanyal of Calcutta who has been doing this work and has met a great deal of success in it, in producing or making some kind of pill, an oral pill which appears to be better than something that has been tried in New York.²³⁶ However, that is, it is and our people should carry on this research work. And so far as the Government is concerned, we should do all in our power to help in that research, but apart from that it is the

235. K. Ram noted that same day, R.A. Gopalaswami, Chairman, Programme Committee, Family Planning Board, Madras, told him that it would be more correct to say that India was the first (in 1953), not the only, Government to have done so. Japan and China had also announced population control policies, and that Nehru might need this information as he was to inaugurate the International Conference on Planned Parenthood on the morrow.

236. The *Life* magazine of 23 November 1959 reported that Dr S. N. Sanyal of Calcutta Bacteriological Institute was conducting research on peas (*Pisum Sativum*) to derive a chemical called meta-xylohydroquinone, known as 'pea pill', for use in this field.

duty now of every medical practitioner to be a source of information not only to his patients, but to his neighbourhood. If I may say so in this matter, and apart from contraception devices, in regard to sterilisation facilities should be offered, wherever they can be, in every hospital, free facilities and in fact I believe in some states, I am not sure in Bombay probably, may be in Madras, they give a bonus for it too, Madras and Bombay. But it is important than an organisation like the Medical Council should give a lead in this matter, and provide and indicate what each member of it can and should do in this. Because while I took some credit for saying just now, that India was probably the only country, where this family planning has been officially adopted by the government, but that does not take us very far, because although we may have officially adopted it, in fact we haven't done very much. There is some Committee, I forget what the name is, Family Planning Board, which is a very very enthusiastic board and which has done a very good work and I am not criticising it but only when I think of that work in relation to the problem of India, it becomes insignificant and almost we could hardly see it. So how it can be increased? And then that is intimately allied with economic conditions. Obviously, any birth-control devices have to be easily available simple and cheap, otherwise there is no good talking about them so far as the mass of our people are concerned. So I would particularly draw your attention to this matter, and not only to you as individuals, but to your Council, that they should take it up encourage both research and the application of their research or those methods, already known to the people.

Well, not, I have no particular idea what you deliberate on when you meet in your Council meeting. I suppose previously you were much concerned naturally about legislation and now that the legislation has been passed, and presumably with your approval that subject need not be considered afresh. But, I suppose, whatever your other deliberation may be they will include this problems, of how to relieve the mass of people from disease and suffering.

One problem always comes up or sometimes comes up whether it is Parliament or in other places, that is the place of the so-called indigenous systems of medicine. And as also of other methods—homeopathy, and the like, and those good deal of heat created. It seems to me that we can only proceed on the basis of a scientific approach. We should not rule out any method, any consideration but accepting it we should test it by scientific methods, and then apply it. The essence is, I don't like these words allopathy. I don't know who invented allopathy, but once you admit that the approach must be scientific and by the methods of science, well, whether, it is the 'unani' system or 'ayurvedic' system or any other system, they are welcome provided they allow themselves to be tested by that. There is perhaps a tendency, among qualified doctors, to

consider all those who are not qualified in their own way as outside the pale and quacks, to knowledge, should never be one to keep any kind of knowledge outside. You should always be receptive to any kind of knowledge that you can get from any source. And therefore, we should be, as I said, instead of carrying on this argument in rather heated language about indigenous systems and modern systems and all that, we should welcome the indigenous systems subject always to the qualifications of science. Once you put that you put them in their place, and they have to abide by that, or acknowledge that they don't accept science and the scientific methods. That I think is a proper approach to this problem, because I don't think many of us know at least, one has heard of remarkable cure sometimes affected by fully unorthodox methods. It may be so, but no great progress can be made by orthodox remarkable cure. People also get cured sometimes more than people imagined, without having recourse to any doctor or any physician. And so that would be an argument for abolishing doctors. And the famous Chinese traveller who came to India in the 7th century, Hiuen Tsang, however his name is pronounced, he writes that in India when a person falls ill he fasts, he fasts for a week. If he does not get well within a week, then he sends for a doctor. I think it is an excellent approach to this question, and most of them undoubtedly must get well or perhaps may die, whatever it is. The problem does not arise. But I would suggest, as I have just said, I am all for the scientific method, and let us have it, and let us apply it to anything else, any other method of teaching, instead of this carrying on arguments just, which mostly consist of running each other down. That does not help. But once you lay down that this is the method you appreciate, then leave out names, then automatically you limit those, keep out those, methods which do not accept science as a basic approach.

Well, you are very young yet with your 25 years and therefore I take it for a life and I wish you success in your future work and labours.

237. To Jai Narain Vyas

February 16, 1959

My dear Jai Narainji,²³⁷

I have your letter of the 14th February.

You have referred in it to certain difficulties in the way of what is called Compulsory Medical Service. You are probably right about some areas, but

237. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Rajasthan.

generally this does not apply. Apart from this, the way such a Service should be formed is for careful consideration. It will take some time and the suggestions you have made themselves can be considered in this connection.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

238. To Sampurnanand

February 17, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,

What has happened to the proposal to set up a Sarojini Naidu Memorial Children's Hospital in Allahabad? Originally this was intended to be closely associated with the Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital, and an adjoining piece of land had been selected for the purpose. This land was, I think, later acquired. Then, apparently, the U.P. Government took this project in its own hands and decided to run it under the control of the Civil Surgeon of Allahabad. Has anything been done about this matter? How much money have you got to the credit of this fund?

I do not think there is much chance of getting any more money for it if it is purely a Government project under the Civil Surgeon. Also, I doubt if it is a good idea to put it under the Civil Surgeon who is a busy man looking after much work. I should imagine that the previous arrangement, that is, its close association with the Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital, was a better one, and there would be much more of that individual and personal attention than if it was a purely governmental hospital.

Also, I think that it might be possible to get some more money available for it from other funds.

Please let me know what the facts are and what you think should be done about it in the future.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

239. To Subimal Dutt²³⁸

I do not see why we should object to receiving this grant.²³⁹ To attach conditions, as suggested by the Home Ministry, does not seem to me to be proper. Obviously, when this question is considered in detail, all this may, if necessary, be gone into.²⁴⁰

2. You will see the note I sent to Indiraji.²⁴¹ She enquired from the Superintendent of the Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital, and a note is attached about the answer received.²⁴² I have written to the Chief Minister of the U. P., copy attached. I do not think we should at this stage mention the Sarojini Naidu Memorial Children's Hospital in Allahabad.

3. We may, however, express our willingness to accept this gift for a children's hospital and our gratitude for it. I agree that our Ambassador should not associate himself with a drive for collections.²⁴³

4. An answer to this effect might be sent without waiting for the result of my further enquiries.

238. Note to FS, 17 Feb. 1959.

239. This refers to the offer of a grant of 200,000 guilders by the UNESCO Centre of the Netherlands for a children's hospital in India.

240. The Union Ministry of Health had suggested that this offer, equivalent two and a half lakh rupees, should be accepted for the proposed Sarojini Naidu Children's Hospital in Allahabad to be run by the management of the Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital. The Home Ministry agreed, subject to two conditions: (i) Indians to have opportunities to work in the hospital, and (ii) security clearance for foreigners in the scheme.

241. Nehru asked Indira Gandhi on 16 February 1959 to find out about the Sarojini Naidu Children's Hospital while informing her that this offer was not for any particular institution.

242. Nehru's facts and views, stated in his letter of 17 February to Sampurnanand, repeat those of Dr Vatsala Samant, Superintendent of the Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital, as paraphrased by S. Sen, Joint Secretary in the MEA, on 16 February.

243. Subimal Dutt's opinion also in his note of 16 February 1959 to Nehru.

(ii) Family Planning

240. To J.R.D. Tata

Raj Bhavan

Nagpur

January 10, 1959

My dear Jehangir,²⁴⁴

Thank you for your letter of the 3rd January. In spite of your telling me that I should not send a reply, I am writing to you.

I entirely agree with you about the importance of birth control. Further that the best method would be in the form of a pill or tablet. For the last year or two, I have been enquiring about the progress made in this research work. I was told that research was being done both in Calcutta and Bombay, apart from places outside India, and that the Calcutta people had made much progress. At my request, our Health Ministry gave grants for this purpose.

I am sure that the grants could be increased if necessary. The main difficulty appears to be in trying these pills out. One cannot treat human beings entirely like guinea pigs.

I have an idea that one of the Rockefellers is very much interested in this. He was here some time back and discussed this with me.

I shall certainly meet Dr. Pincus²⁴⁵ when he comes here.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

244. Chairman, TISCO.

245. Gregory Goodwin Pincus (1903-1967); American biologist and researcher who co-invented, with M. C. Chang and John Rock, a safe oral contraceptive pill.

241. To Keshava Deva Malaviya

January 19, 1959

My dear Keshava,²⁴⁶

Your letter of January 15th.²⁴⁷ What I said in Nagpur Subjects Committee was, I think, factually correct.²⁴⁸ No Government has officially done what we have done for family planning and birth control. The Chinese Government started doing this but, after some months, stopped it.²⁴⁹

2. The reluctance of other Governments is chiefly due to religious opposition and, more especially, that of the Roman Catholic Church. If in spite of that, birth control has increased in Europe and elsewhere, it is not due to any Government assistance.

Ours is thus possibly the only country where the Government has taken this up. It is true that we have not done this work on as big a scale as we might have done it, but all your reference to mysticism and spiritualism is rather out of place. This has not come in the way in India to any considerable extent, though it has delayed matters somewhat. Even that is not due to any individual coming in the way, but to obvious circumstances.

However big a problem may be, it is not solved by excited approaches. It has to be seen in its proper context and approached not only scientifically, but psychologically. In India and such countries, the major problem is one of finding a suitable contraceptive. Existing methods are not feasible or suitable for large masses of people. Therefore, all our attention has been spent in devising a suitable contraceptive pill, and we have made more progress in this than other countries which are experimenting also. The moment success is achieved in this, it will be far easier to make a mass approach.

It is supposed to be a scientific fact that hunger and poverty lead to an increasing rate of population. Wherever these have been controlled, to some extent, the rate of increase has gone down.

While population control is very important in India, and I have referred to it almost in every speech that I have made, I think it would be a wrong approach to divert public attention to it in preference to economic progress. That is the approach made by several Western countries in regard to India.

246. Union Minister of State for Mines and Oil.

247. For K.D. Malaviya's letter, see Appendix 7.

248. See p. 183.

249. Started in August 1956.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I am prepared to agree with you that much more can be done or should be done. Let us try to do that. There is going to be a Conference sometime next month about it on a big scale in Delhi.²⁵⁰

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

242. To D.P. Karmarkar²⁵¹

On the 14th February there is going to be an International Conference on Planned Parenthood in Delhi. You are, of course, aware of this. I should like you to send me full particulars about the work being done in this connection in India either through our Ministry of Health or otherwise.

2. I would particularly like to have the following information:
 - 1) What is the Ministry of Health doing directly? What grants do they give and to whom and for what purpose.
 - 2) Does the Ministry run any institutions directly for birth control?
 - 3) Do State Governments do this?
 - 4) Any information about the effectiveness of these methods.
 - 5) What progress has been made in the production of effective contraceptive pills in Calcutta or Bombay?
 - 6) What progress has been made in the production of such pills in the United States or elsewhere?
 - 7) What kind of instructions have been issued by the Health Ministry to the State Governments or to chosen hospitals etc. on the subject of giving assistance to the public in regard to birth control?
 - 8) Is there any information available about sterilisation of men and women? Is there an increase in the number of people asking for this, and are facilities provided in hospitals for it? Is any payment to be made or is it given free? I understand that in some States (perhaps Bombay) an actual bonus is paid to those who undergo this petty operation.
 - 9) A general survey of the situation and expectations for the future, that is, what progress will be made in this and results obtained. Is the Health Ministry actively pursuing this matter or merely passively giving a little help here and there without interesting itself too much in it?

250. See pp. 519-525.

251. Note to Union Minister of State for Health, 31 Jan. 1959. File No. 28 (50) 58-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

243. To M.A. Manickavelu Naicker²⁵²

January 31, 1959

My dear Shri Manickavelu,²⁵³

Thank you for your letter of January 28.²⁵⁴ I am glad you wrote to me and told me of your plans for the Madras State. As you know, I am greatly interested in this, and I am particularly glad to learn that you propose to popularise the surgical methods of family limitation.

You might be interested to know that at a meeting of the Congress Party in Parliament on the last day of the last Session, a resolution was passed on family limitation and special reference was made in it to these surgical methods.

I shall certainly refer to this at the International Conference and shall look through the pamphlet you have sent me.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

244. Planned Parenthood²⁵⁵

Madam President Mrs. Margaret Sanger,²⁵⁶ Excellencies, distinguished delegates, ladies and gentlemen,

You have been welcomed on behalf not only of the Reception Committee but of the Government of India already and I can but add a word of welcome and tell you how much we appreciate and are glad that you have been able to hold

252. File No. 28 (50)/58-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

253. M. Alagappa Manickavelu Naicker(1896-1996); Congressman from Madras State; Minister for Revenue and Health, Madras Government, 1953-62; Rajya Sabha MP, 1962-64; Chairman, Tamil Nadu Legislative Council, 1964-70.

254. Manickavelu summarized parts of his pamphlet which distilled the experience of Madras State in population control. He claimed contraception would take too long, "we shall have to wait till the Greek Kalends." Hence surgical methods were imperative, that is, vasectomy and salpingectomy. To demonstrate that they were effective, those who had been through it must overcome their reticence in such matters. This had been achieved over the previous two years through vigorous campaigning.

255. Inaugural address at the Sixth International Conference on Planned Parenthood of the International Planned Parenthood Federation, New Delhi, 14 Feb. 1959. File No. 28(50)/58-60-PMS.

256. American leader of birth control movement and President of the International Planned Parenthood Federation which had organised the conference.

this international conference here.²⁵⁷ We are glad of it for rather, selfish reasons apart from any wider considerations, the selfish reasons being that the mere fact of this international conference being held here, will naturally attract attention all over our country to this important subject. Now apart from offering you a warm welcome, there is very little else that I can say that would be of profit in this conference because it is rather absurd for me, inexperienced and inexpert as I am in these matters, to talk to experts who are present here. But there are certain aspects, general aspects perhaps, which might interest you.

There is on the one hand today a growing consciousness of the tremendous crisis that might arise in the world with the indefinitely growing populations. More particularly, people are frightened, probably more in Europe, in America than in Asia, they are frightened of the vast masses of Asia becoming vaster and vaster, of the populations of India, China, South-East Asia somehow swarming all over the place. Well, it is a legitimate fear and we have to take that into consideration. But obviously if this subject is approached from the point of Europe being overwhelmed by Asia, that is not exactly the approach that Asia could particularly appreciate, although, of course, there is much in it. It has to be approached in a somewhat different way, not a global way. Then again, if it is approached from the point of view or if it is made to appear to some people that the specially high standards and the, rather, privileged position in the world which has been attained developed and progressive countries in Europe and America have to be protected from consequences which might affect those standards, again that is a very legitimate thing to feel for those in Europe and America but not something which is likely to excite people in Asia or Africa. Therefore, a somewhat different approach has to be made, certainly, in this part of the world.

For us, of course, it is important that we consider it in the context of India alone, apart from the wider context and as we plan for our progress here, we constantly come up against the population factor. Here we are in the middle of the Second Five Year Plan and after two years or so our Third Plan will begin. We are thinking of this Third Plan now. How do we think about it? Well the very first thing that we have to consider in planning for this Third Plan is what will be the population for which we are planning. How much food will they require, how much clothing, how much housing, how much of so many other things—education, health. Immediately we come up against physical objectives which we have to attain and their relation to the population of India. So we

257. About 700 delegates from 28 countries attended the eight-day conference on "motivations and methods of family planning".

have to say "well, by the end of the Third Plan, that is seven years from now, such and such will be the estimated population" and we have to plan for that. We have to come to grips with this figure. It does not become merely some kind of a theoretical concept but the actual figure for which we have to plan in terms of food, clothing, housing, education, health, work etc., and then we realise even more than otherwise what we are up against if our population goes up rapidly and the necessity for some kind of limitation of that growing population becomes an urgent matter for us.

It was for this reason that whenever we thought in terms of planning, we were driven to consider this question of family planning also as a part of national planning. For the first time some kind of reference was made, as Mr. Karmarkar pointed out, on a Committee on Planning which was started more than 20 years ago in this country, a little more than 20 years ago.²⁵⁸ That could not do much in those days and other matters intervened. But as soon as our Planning Commission started a few years back, it had to consider this matter and it did to make this an integral part of our Plan. I do not mean to say that we have worked wonders in India because, I think, our progress has been relatively slow. In saying that I am not criticising the people who work for it because we have worked hard and with certain missionary zeal but to some extent it was almost inevitable that our progress to begin with, should be not very showy and that some sound foundations should be laid. I believe that to a certain extent that has been done.

Anyhow it is a matter of some gratification for me that, perhaps, the Government of India is the only Government which has officially as a Government taken this matter up in our country. I know that many other Governments deal with it and have done much more work, perhaps, but for some reason or other, they have not officially adopted it. Of course the fact that the Government of India has officially adopted this does not mean that the hundreds and millions of people of India have done so. But it does mean that our approach to this question is not, if I may use the word, a *purdah* approach, an approach behind the veil, and not stating what we are after clearly and definitely but rather indirectly. That is so but at the same time we realise completely the tremendous difficulties of the problem. Now, I am not and I cannot speak about the technical aspects in these matters which you will no doubt discuss. But there are other aspects which I should like to refer. It does not matter how far you go and how much you succeed in evolving feasible, simple and cheap methods of birth-control if the standards of the general standard

258. The reference is to the National Planning Committee. See also pp. 137-138.

of living of our people, if the educational standards of our people do not advance. In fact, I say so with a measure of certainty that it does not matter what you do with your birth-control movement if the nation and the hundreds of millions of our people do not make good in other ways also, economically and educationally. I do not mean to say that this family planning movement will not achieve results but to achieve considerable and widespread success, it has to go, hand in hand, or it has to be associated with the general advance in the economic and social front in the country. I have no doubt about that because any kind of propaganda that you do, will really be widespread and be understood only if there is that general advance in the country.

Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao²⁵⁹ just said that there should be the individual approach. Well, basically he is right. I suppose there has to be a collective and an individual approach. But if we thought in terms of individual approach, I do not know, hundreds of millions, whatever the number might be, the problem becomes rather oppressive. And yet I do believe that it is the individual approach alone that can yield results. But if educational standards go up in the country, the problem becomes simpler even for the individual approach. If general living conditions go up, economic conditions, even if there is a slight rise, it becomes simpler again. One cannot do anything really substantially when people suffer from grinding poverty. And I think that the fact should be appreciated because, then the movement of family planning becomes a part and an important part, no doubt, but a part of the larger movement for raising the standard of living of the people.

I should like to lay stress on that because I do believe that unless it is associated with that conception, the advance will not be too rapid. Some of us really have arrived at this stage of considering family planning because, as I just pointed out, our thinking on national planning became inevitable for us in that context. We found we could never plan at all for the nation and our five year-plans have no meaning if the population grows at a rate one can never catch up with. Therefore, I should like this aspect to be remembered.

I do not know how far it is true—I read in some book some years ago—that the rate of the growth of population is the highest among the poorer sections of the community among those who live on the verge of hunger and that there is some biological connection between the two. I don't know how far it is so but it is to some extent a fact which can be observed. Now that means that the higher standards that come in a variety of ways help towards lessening the rate of the growth of population. Whatever the line of approach or line of thought may be, it leads us to this intimate connection between family limitation and

259. Vice Chancellor of Delhi University.

higher standards of living and higher standards of education, higher standards not meaning university education and all that. I mean that the general education level should go up. Now Dr. Rao spoke about individual approach. How is one to approach persons individually? There are many ways of course. I do not myself see how it can be effectively done without widespread education. The more education spreads even at primary and secondary levels, the more it becomes easier to deal with the people in such a matter.

There are great many things happening in India today, many changes taking place, some even of a revolutionary nature but because we have, to some extent, developed the technique of doing things without breaking heads as far as possible therefore perhaps, they do not attract attention because head-breaking attracts more attention. But among those many changes that are taking place in India, perhaps, the most revolutionary thing that is happening which is revolutionary is the spread of education, primary education, secondary education and, of course, university education, and in this spread of education the most important aspect in India today is the spread of education among girls. That is even now changing, powerfully affecting the home life of our people because home life is affected more by the women than by the men. These large number of girls that go to high schools and colleges, naturally, bring all kinds of ideas with them, the ways of living gradually change in their homes, not only in their homes but in their parents' home. They begin to change. I do not know if this particular aspect is appreciated fully—the change in the Indian home that is coming about through the girl who has gone through the high school or college education. Of course, so far as college education is concerned, the numbers that go through it are still very limited compared to the population of India, in comparison with that, but still it is pretty considerable how many tens of thousands are going through our college courses who influence them, influence a wider circle but if you include high schools in over growing number then the actual number of girls and young women become very fairly large and is an increasing number. It is these girls who are likely to change the living habits of our people, more, almost more than we do and it is these girls who will probably succeed in carrying this message of family planning further than some of your official workers. Therefore, not having to deal with this problem in its wider aspects, these various matters come to my mind particularly. You can judge and decide upon that but please remember that all the technical facilities that might be offered will fail unless the ground is prepared for them by educational advance and general economic advance of the people. And, therefore, I think that the most vital thing in India is for us to advance on the economic and social fronts, for us, that is to say, to make good in our five year plans and the like which are meant to bring about that advance. If we do not advance as

rapidly as we want to in those fronts then the other fronts suffer, inevitably we suffer and they cannot make much good.

Today, in the world we have all kinds, all manner of conflicts and ideological conflicts and armaments pile up because of fears, hatreds, apprehensions and the like and these ideological conflicts affect almost any question that comes up for discussion and prevent a proper discussion of it because minds become closed when these fears are roused. Perhaps, I do not know, this subject of family planning can be kept away from these ideological conflicts and can be considered more on the merits. I know it is difficult because there is hardly anything under the sun which is not affected today by these so-called ideological conflicts. But if this subject is kept out of that arena, it would be good for it and good for the world and the more we keep out subjects, areas, outside these conflicts, these ideological conflicts, the better it is for the world.

There is another aspect of this family planning and population control, a matter which seems to me intimately connected with world peace because, possibly, peace would be repeatedly endangered unless the growth of population is limited. I do not think that any immediate peril is going to come from the population going up and I do not see why we should take too panicky a view of the situation which is serious enough in all conscience, but it can be dealt with and will be dealt with. But it will never be dealt with unless the peoples of the world deal with other questions without fear and panic. The approach of fear somehow prevents any kind of logical or reasonable attempt to solve the problem and we are enveloped by fear today. Therefore, this subject of family planning can, in its own limited field, be used to affect the larger field and to bring therefore, a measure of dispassionate approach to various other problems also.

I was referring to the fact of economic advance or higher standards having a direct or indirect effect on family planning. It seems to me that that aspect is a very interesting one, the effect of all this.

I was told only today as to the possible consequences of, let us say, electricity going to a rural area. What difference it makes; it makes a vast difference to the people living in those villages. Their habits of work; the periods they can work are enormously lengthened and, thereby, indirectly perhaps, it affects, even, this family planning business. I think there is some force in that, but the main point is the intimate connection of family planning with general economic and educational advance. If, for instance, in our eagerness for family planning, we ignored this major aspect of economic advance or educational advance, we will be building on wholly insecure foundations and we shall go nowhere because that is the only foundation on which you can have any effective advance, even, in regard to family planning.

Now I take it most of the delegates here, Indian delegates, are from cities.

That is natural of course and yet, the real problem of India lies in the villages and I have found that city-folk, even when they try hard, cannot easily adjust themselves to thinking in village conditions and unless you do that you will not go very far in effecting or influencing the village. How you will go about it, I do not know. It will do some good no doubt, but not good on a big scale in the village. It is the village people themselves, or unless your thinking is so moulded as to be acceptable to the village people, that will produce good result.

I address large rural audiences from time to time and, almost always, I speak of family planning to them more to find out their reactions, because in addressing 50,000 or 100,000 people, one can only touch the broad aspects of problems. But it is interesting to watch their reactions. These reactions were still odd, to some extent one of amusement. Whenever I refer to this matter, there is general laughter in the audience and amusement and, to a slight extent, a certain shyness. Gradually, they are getting over that stage though it still exists to some extent and an appreciation that this is a matter worth considering is, I believe, coming to them. Of course, all this only creates slightly favourable atmosphere which has to be followed up but the favourable atmosphere is of great importance. Unless that is there even the individual approach will not go far. Surely, it will meet with some resistance if the villagers feel "Yes, this is something important", then he listens to the individual approach.

I welcome you and wish you success in your work and may I, more particularly, welcome and pay my tribute to Mrs. Margaret Sanger.

245. To D.P. Karmarkar

February 25, 1959

My dear Karmarkar,

Thank you for the pamphlet on "Family Planning Programme". It is a useful one.

I am wondering how we can give a greater push to this programme. The Health Ministry has no doubt done some good work, but the pace is very slow.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(g) Science and Technology

246. Planetarium and the Human Body²⁶⁰

Some three years or more ago, there was an exhibition here. The East German Government had a pavilion in which they displayed a plastic model of a man's body. As this was transparent, it was very helpful in understanding the inside of the human body which could be lit up.

2. There was also a planetarium in the East German pavilion.

3. Both these were presented to us by the East German Government at the conclusion of the exhibition. So far as I remember, I asked the planetarium to be handed over to the National Physical Laboratory on the condition that it should be available to the public and I asked the model of the human body to be given over to the Health Ministry for some institute, perhaps the All India Institute of Medical Sciences.

4. Will you please find out what has happened to both these, the planetarium and the model of the human body? How far have they been used or are available to the public?²⁶¹

260. Note to PPS, 18 January 1959.

261. Nehru wrote to K. S. Krishnan, Director, NPL, on 20 January 1959: "You will remember the planetarium which the East German Government gave us. This was handed over to the National Physical Laboratory three years ago. I understand that it has not been used thus far. The whole idea was that the public and more especially boys and girls in schools and colleges should be able to see it. I hope that arrangements will be made for this purpose soon."

247. Speech at Delhi²⁶²

KEEPING PACE WITH SCIENTIFIC ADVANCE

Balanced Way Of Thinking Needed, Says Nehru; BY A STAFF REPORTER

A civilised temper and a balanced way of thinking are essential for humanity to keep pace mentally, morally and physically with the rapid changes in the realm of science and technology, Mr. Nehru declared in New Delhi on Tuesday.

Provoked by the all-round criticism of the planned efforts towards progress by Prof. P.C. Mahalanobis, who sought to detail the “many gains and some setbacks” in those efforts, the Prime Minister asserted that all improvement in the spheres of health, education and science would be reduced to naught “if human beings fail to retain their humanity.”

The Prime Minister was addressing the 24th anniversary general meeting of the National Institute of Sciences of India at Vigyan Bhavan. While noting the achievements so far Prof. Mahalanobis, who presided, suggested a number of measures to overcome the shortcomings. He laid particular stress on education and unemployment and called for a considerable increase in the size of the Third Plan to improve the efforts towards a better standard of life.

EDUCATIONAL REFORM

He demanded a radical reform in the educational system and said that education should be geared to the economic development of the country. Even now education continued to be the “monopolistic privilege” of a few. All barriers towards educational opportunities should be removed, he said.

The power system at Vigyan Bhavan failed nearly a dozen times and the audience heard the speeches of Prof. Mahalanobis and Mr. Nehru for several minutes in total darkness.

In his 20 minute speech, Mr. Nehru said that Prof. Mahalanobis’s address was thought-provoking and the points he had raised deserved consideration. One could be critical but what was really needed was a balanced way of thinking. It was essential to realise that the problems concerned vast multitudes of people who were not mere bits of iron or steel that could be twisted and moulded to one’s liking. The problems were not easy to solve. The question was whether, in spite of all the scientific advance, humanity had succeeded in grasping the significance and importance of the new discoveries.

262. Report of a speech at the 24th anniversary general meeting of the National Institute of Sciences of India, New Delhi, 20 Jan. 1959. From *The Statesman*, 21 Jan. 1959.

Sometimes, Mr. Nehru said, on seeing the events in some of the highly developed countries, he wondered if there was something wrong at the bottom affecting the whole fabric of human mind and spirit.

They were now facing innumerable problems which required to be solved urgently. There was need for a logical and scientific approach to the problems, for in the present world one found fear, hatred and the cold war.

It was here that scientists could help to promote a "temper of science and not a temper of fear and condemnation that we see about us today." Mr. Nehru said: "I hope we shall some time or other become a little more civilised in spite of the advance of technology."²⁶³

Referring to Prof. Mahalanobis's criticism in the educational sphere, Mr. Nehru said that almost everyone in the country had fallen into the habit of finding faults with the present educational system. True, it deserved to be improved but "I do not know in what country education is good today. In the best countries in the world, the final results do not appear to be so admirable". The suggestion for free education was welcome but the important thing was the need for good teachers. It was his view that primary education should be widespread, for it was out of this that all other improvements in the sphere of education would ultimately come.

HEALTH SERVICE

In his 16 page presidential address, Prof. Mahalanobis said that the highest priority should be given to the expansion of basic industries. Surplus of agricultural production was the key to industrialization. In the field of health there was need for a national health service during the Third Plan period.

The only real remedy towards removing educational inequalities was to make education free up to university level. Selection for higher education should be made entirely on merit. Also, instead of conscripted service in the armed forces, a period of obligatory service in peace camps was needed.

Unemployment, Prof Mahalanobis said, continued to remain a major problem and the only solution lay in increasing the Third Plan investment target to Rs 10,000 crores so that more and more were absorbed in jobs. Socialism had been accepted as the aim but it had not yet been established. To achieve this

263. The *National Herald* reported on 21 January 1959: "Pandit Nehru deplored that in spite of so much advance in science and technology 'we are still producing not very desirable human beings.' He also deplored that in spite of considerable scientific advance made by big nations, the cold war still continued. 'Whether nationally or internationally, it is not a civilised temper, as it promotes fear and hatred.' Further, 'To become a good citizen, Pandit Nehru said, science alone could not solve the problem. There was need for a philosophy, a logical approach of temper.'"

goal it was essential to remove the many disparities that existed now in wealth, income and power. There should be equality of opportunity for all. The small coterie of privileged people had to be checked in their monopolistic accumulation of power and influence. This was the only way in which a sound foundation could be laid for democracy and socialism in the country, Prof. Mahalanobis said.

248. Social Consequences of Science²⁶⁴

Mr. President,²⁶⁵ Mr. Chancellor,²⁶⁶ Your Royal Highness,²⁶⁷ Excellencies, distinguished delegates, ladies and gentlemen,

Year after year I have been honoured by this invitation to come and inaugurate this annual session of the Science Congress. And I have felt it a privilege to come here because, partly of an outstanding interest in science but much more so because of the realisation of the great importance of science to the world and to our country in particular. I suppose today there are very few persons who do not realise this great importance of science because now, in recent months and years science has entered into a strange land which perhaps is associated, in many of our minds, with science fiction, you may call it, and in its actual achievements it has gone beyond the biggest story that we had imagined. So there is no doubt left even in the minds of the uninitiated, as to what science is, what science is doing and what science can and, probably will do. Therefore, about the importance of science, nothing need be said now.

Science has driven out, one might say, broadly speaking, many of the gods before whom people bowed and itself assumed a god like pose. Like Janus, the god of this month of January, it has two faces—the face of the Creator and the face of the Destroyer and both faces look down upon us and often, perhaps we have to make a choice as to which face we like and which we are going to encourage. On the one hand, we have this magnificent and majestic sweep of science, advancing onwards, bringing more and more power to human beings, on the other, somehow we see the misuse, or the possible misuse, of this power for destructive purposes. For the first time in human history it can be said with some confidence that mankind has the capacity and the power to get rid of the physical ills that the humanity suffers from, to bring about a measure of welfare to all the thousands and millions of inhabitants of this world which

264. Inaugural address at the 46th session of the Indian Science Congress, New Delhi, 21 Jan. 1959. From PIB files.

265. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar.

266. S. Radhakrishnan.

267. The Duke of Edinburgh.

nobody could dream previously. That is a possibility and a thing that can be done, provided of course, one tries to do in a right way. On the other hand, one also sees the terrible picture of science, the destroyer and the very weapons, the very power that it gives to humanity, being trained for the use of such destruction as the world has never seen.

We want science in this country, as the Vice-Chancellor²⁶⁸ was telling you, for a multitude of things, to raise ourselves, to get rid of our many ills and difficulties and we are passionately attached to this work of uplifting our people and ourselves and, indeed, we look forward to other doing the same. There is no question of competition or rivalry with any other country. But in doing so we want the help of others. Apart from rivalry or competition, we want it to be a progress of cooperation and in this Science Congress, therefore, particularly we welcome the distinguished scientists who come from abroad and we hope, and we are sure, that their visit here will help us in the understanding much in our future work. And here may I offer my respectful congratulations to the great scientists of the Soviet Union, of the United States of America and the United Kingdom, for the magnificent advances that they have brought about recently. And yet again an odd thought comes to the mind in our stretching our hands to the moon and some say we shall go to the Mars and next to Venus and we conquer these great spaces round the earth and yet, perhaps, we forget what is happening on the earth and we cannot fully manage the earth properly. There is this dual aspect facing us all the time and we find also, while on the one hand this tremendous, magnificent and inspiring advance, sometimes evidence of some decay, some inner decay of the mind, of the spirit, some cracking up of the social structure, some lack of integration in the human personality or the national personality these processes, contradictory processes going on at one and the same time.

It is obvious that science and technology in the last 200 years or so have changed the world, change it for the better, I don't think very much for the better. It is obvious that that process is going to continue. It is going to continue whether we like it or not but anyhow I think we should like it and try to direct it into right channels and if in the last 200 years it has effected amazing changes in the structure of the world, of society, the pace of that change has become much greater today. That too is obvious. Therefore, we must realise that in the next generation, maybe a little more or little less, vast changes will go on coming here, changing the way of life, the way we live affects our thinking—the way we think. Are we, therefore at the dawn of a new civilisation or is this the twilight of the old or both? Do we see round about us in all this toil and trouble

268. V. K. R. V. Rao.

and the birth pang of a new order or something almost resembling the death agony of the old? I do not know. Being given to a measure of optimism, I hope it is the dawn or the birth pang and not the other but anyhow, it is going to be something different. It is not going to be something carried on and it cannot be our living from crisis to crisis. We can survive one crisis or more but to imagine that the future of the world is one of always jumping or trying to escape from one crisis and then having to face another. Yes, that will probably lead us in the wrong direction, we have seen in our generation amazing things happening.

I remember the great scientist, who is supposed to have brought out or produced the first atomic bomb,²⁶⁹ when he saw that first experimental explosion, suddenly thinking of some word in our Gita about the splendor of a thousand suns blazing out suddenly all together in the sky, the splendor of a thousand suns which was used for destructive purposes, not for the glory of the earth, or mankind and all the time there was conflict in his mind which way we go with everything and all the riches and the greatness in the shape of welfare and progress before us. Yet, must we go the wrong way or must we take these mighty risks that we have to take today? I do not know, of course. But I do know that there is no getting away from science and the march of science. It is only through that that we can not only solve our problems but even the world's problems. But in doing so, science also and those who are the high priests of science, must also realise that there is something as a social consequence of their scientific work and discovery, something very big. But there is even in science some moral issue involved. It is true that science essentially is a pursuit of truth and it has that other aspect to which the Vice Chancellor referred and if you pursue truth, you cannot shut your eyes to something you do not like, the good and the bad, both. But in pursuing science, surely we have to keep in view certain well fundamental aspects and realities which we value. Is truth or the pursuit of truth to be tied up with the pursuit of hatred and violence, or should it accompany charity and compassion? There are ways of doing the same thing, I suppose, for even scientists, there are two ways open for making these approaches and the choice has to be made in this present generation of ours, I think, lest all this majesty of science may go the wrong way when it was open to us and it seems so not difficult to go the right way. In the old conception in India, in the old conception of the "Dharma" was, I believe, the conception of duties and obligations, not so much rights, and perhaps if we could lay greater stress on our individual and on our national duties and obligations, and not so much on rights only, it might be a little better for the world.

269. J. Robert Oppenheimer.

So, I have ventured to place this idea which is common enough today and which must be in your mind but it troubles me often as it must trouble you, because I have felt that in these tremendous and great successes and victories of science, we may not, the scientists or others who use science, become too arrogant and challenge something that may later overwhelm. In our own Indian mythology, there are innumerable stories of people whose aim by various means is great power and having gained that great power, they challenged the Gods and there were mighty conflicts and they were humbled because arrogance ultimately according to these stories, is humbled. May not science and the scientists or those who use the methods of science forget this lesson of history. Today we see these wonders and at the same time new problems arise. We talked about this twelve or thirteen years ago, the atomic bomb bursting upon the world. Today the atomic bomb is almost a conventional thing. It is out of date, the hydrogen bomb taking its place and no doubt tomorrow the hydrogen bomb will be a casual thing, something else, mightier and more destructive will take its place.

So it goes on step by step. Meanwhile all this business of nuclear weapons, nuclear tests, is piling up, a lot of waste material, radioactive material—and I speak as a layman of course but all this piling up of waste radioactive material which is full of destructive, powerfully destructive tendencies and which lives for ages and ages before it exhausts itself, what is going to happen to it? Scientists no doubt are wondering about it and may be you will find ways but it shows that in this great advance of science, new problems and difficult problems are arising which may well prove almost impossible of solution if we do not take care right now. So the world changes before our eyes but perhaps we don't change with it. The physical world changes, the material world changes. How far do we adapt ourselves to it? The world is full of displaced persons today, displaced physically in India, in Europe, in other parts of Asia but there is another kind of displacement that has gone on and that is going on, displaced in mind, not in physical body which is leading to inner conflicts, inner difficulties in individuals, in groups and nations. Perhaps this is due to the fact that we have not caught up to these wonderful discoveries of science. Perhaps we may catch up. Anyhow these are the problems and if science has created them, science has to solve them. Nobody else can. But science taking a wider sweep, science not merely looking at the heavens and at the microscopic things through its microscope, not merely losing itself in the higher mathematics, not merely producing all kinds of calculating machines and brains, calculating brains which it does with the remarkable success I have no doubt it will produce a complete robot who can think and act like a human being with complete accuracy. But the fact will remain that perhaps that misses something that is an

essential part of the human being. And so science has also to look at the heart of that human being, at the spirit and the mind of the human being and try to integrate it with all the other advances it is making.

I welcome you again, distinguished delegates, and I wish you success in your labours.

249. Speech at New Delhi²⁷⁰

INDIA HAS PROGRESSED WELL: NEHRU

Address To Scientific Workers' Association

NEW DELHI, Jan. 24- Prime Minister Nehru today warned scientific workers in India against adopting "unscientific contradictory approaches" to their problems.

Pandit Nehru asked them to lay stress on quality and to maintain it at least at the top. "Even in these days of democracy it is quality that tells whether in a nation or a group or organisation," he said.

Pandit Nehru, who was inaugurating the annual meeting of the association of scientific workers of India of which he was the first president in 1947, deplored the habit of statistically comparing what had been done in India with things done in countries like the USA, the UK or the Soviet Union. "It is always good to keep the progress made by these countries in mind but it does rather surprise me that in all these statistics the history of a hundred or two hundred years are forgotten," he said.

"In the realm of science," Pandit Nehru said, "India has progressed and laid strong and better foundations than in other countries leaving out the advanced countries which have had long careers in the last 200 years or so. It is not quite fair to compare ourselves with them. No doubt we like to catch up with them, not in any spirit of competition or rivalry but simply because we want to do well."

Experts from foreign countries who had seen the progress made by India in the scientific field after a period of time had expressed surprise at the considerable progress made and being made, he said. That, of course, did not

270. Inaugural address at the annual meeting of the association of the scientific workers of India, New Delhi, 24 Jan. 1959. From the *National Herald*, 25 Jan. 1959.

mean that India should not have done more. But the type of problems and difficulties which an underdeveloped country had to face initially to pull itself out of the roots of poverty were forgotten while assessing the progress made by it in the various fields.

RESOLUTIONS CRITICISED

Pandit Nehru chided the association for the "contradictory approaches" in some of its draft resolutions and said: "I am not tremendously impressed by them. In fact I am distressed by some of them. It seems to me that you are forgetting your science."

(The draft resolutions expressed regret that the Third Plan was being drawn up without reference or help from scientific personnel accused the Government of "importing" technical experts "rather indiscriminately" and criticised the Government for "ignoring" the Soviet offer of assistance in enlarging the capacity of a penicillin plant in the country. Another draft resolution authorised the council of the association to "take up" with the Government the appointment of administrators without scientific knowledge or training in scientific and technological departments.)

Pandit Nehru commented that the resolutions did not show any scientific approach to the problems of the country. On the contrary "it is an expression of your various contradictory approaches, an angry approach. At any rate it is not a scientific approach, that is what I am trying to point out."

Earlier, Dr. S. Hussain Zaheer, president of the association, in his speech said that the "mistake" made by the Government about the fertilizer plant had been recognised and was being rectified. He claimed that the "Mistake" was pointed out at the same time by the president of the National Institute of Science and the president of the Association of Scientific Workers.

He regretted that even on matters of scientific and technical nature decisions were taken without consulting scientists who, he alleged, "are treated as egg heads and back-room boys". "The situation in this regard appears to be unsatisfactory in some of the large enterprises in the country both in the public and private sectors and demands a close examination" he said.

Pandit Nehru in the course of his speech said that he entirely agreed that scientists should be consulted more and more by the Planning Commission. But on reading the draft resolutions he said he felt that "if this is the approach of scientists, then the Planning Commission is not likely to be helped much by the unscientific approach of this body."

ODD APPROACH

Pandit Nehru said that the association's reference to a chemical plant that was being built up was a "condemnation" of the Government. "That decision might be right or wrong. But for his organisation to sit down solemnly and pass a resolution of this type is, to put it rather mildly, amazing," he said.

Pandit Nehru said, "If you deal with matters of serious concern and condemn the Union Government in regard to steps they have taken. I do not challenge your right to do so. Of course, you have every right to do so. But I do challenge the way you do serious business. For months and months the Government consider a problem, the Planning Commission considers it and all manners of people consider it in all its aspects and reach a decision. You cannot by meeting for an hour dispose it off by a resolution and condemn everybody. That is an odd approach."

Pandit Nehru said that there was a real danger if scientific workers were to lose the very great respect that they commanded in India today. "In India, apart from the great world developments, science will become more and more important and scientific workers are increasing in number and competence. For my part, I think the younger generation of our scientists is a very fine lot, men and women. I have seen quite a number of them and I think they hold great promise for science in the future." He said that they should act, allow this quality to be watered down. They should see that it was maintained and not allowed to be smothered in their effort to increase the number of scientists in the country.

Pandit Nehru said that he welcomed criticisms, but they should see to it that it was not allowed to go to the extent of "depressing us." A very eminent American expert who had come to India repeatedly to examine what was happenings in the various departments of the administration had said in his report that one of the most surprising thing about India, one of the major activities in India, was criticism of Government by everybody, including Government supporters, and to paint a woeful picture of what was happening. The expert had expressed his amazement at this because he had the opposite impression of the work done and being done in India and the speed at which it was being done.

After Pandit Nehru's address, the association held its business meeting. It was announced that Prof. P.C. Mahalanobis had been elected president of the association.

250. To Vishnu Sahay²⁷¹

I enclose a note from the Department of Atomic Energy. Dr. Homi Bhabha spoke to me about this matter also a few days ago.

It appears from this note that the building programme mentioned in it has already been approved by the Planning Commission and the Finance Ministry. The question, therefore, is of who is to do it or who is to be entrusted with it.

As this is a very specialised work, the P.W.D. can hardly undertake it. The Atomic Energy Commission may certainly do part of it, but are not in a position to undertake the whole. The only course left appears to be No. (2) suggested in the note. I imagine that there are only two or three countries which have experienced men for this type of work. Of these, presumably Italian architects and engineers are the least expensive and are supposed to be competent.

Before I send this paper back to the Department of Atomic Energy, I should like you to consult the Ministries concerned for their advice. These Ministries, I take it, will be W.H.S. and Finance.

251. To B.V. Keskar²⁷²

The book *Nuclear Explosions and their Effects*²⁷³ published by the Publications Division has had excellent reviews in the press. But, apparently, no effort has been made to make it available to the public. We get letters from foreign countries enquiring where they can get it. Even in India it is not in evidence anywhere. The Science Congress is being held here and there are all kinds of book stalls and collections of books there. Every foreign country's books are available for sale. Not so our own book. Quite a number of the foreign scientists have enquired about it and wanted to know where they could get it.

2. This is very extraordinary and indicates that there is something wrong and unbusinesslike in our dealing with such matters. If we publish books, we should be in a position to arrange directly or through others for their sale. We should have agents in some principal towns of Europe and certainly in India it should be so. I do not know if even the Delhi booksellers have got it. Anyhow, one of the bookshopkeepers in the Science Exhibition grounds displays all kinds of foreign scientific books, but not this book.

271. Note to Cabinet Secretary, 24 Jan. 1959.

272. Note to the Union Minister of State for Information & Broadcasting, 25 Jan. 1959.

273. Prepared by D. S. Kothari with Homi J. Bhabha and V. R. Khanolkar, it was issued in New Delhi in June 1956 and carried Nehru's foreword. See SWJN/SS/33/pp. 154-155.

252. Tasks Before Scientists²⁷⁴

Dr. Bhagavantham,²⁷⁵ Your Highness,²⁷⁶ Dr. Lakshmanaswami,²⁷⁷ and friends, I have been reading in the newspapers of the prolonged celebrations that have been taking place here and I am glad of that, in a sense. But still I have wondered why they should be prolonged so much. Anyhow, since it has offered me an opportunity of coming here I am glad of them, because it is always good to come to Bangalore for one thing and secondly to the Institute of Science. Again I have been reading in the newspapers about what some of your very distinguished recent visitors have said. The President, who is your Visitor, the Vice-President and Prince Philip, and they have all naturally praised your activities and laid flowers at the feet of Science occasionally giving you a warning, especially, our respected Vice-President that you should not forget the spiritual aspect of things in your devotion to science. So I find it a little difficult to say anything new apart from the fact that in the recent weeks there has been a good deal of speech making in Delhi also on like subjects. It is obvious that the appreciation of science has come in a big way to India. It has taken various forms as you know very well, laboratories, research institutes and all that; and I have no doubt that this will spread more and more because that is the urge of the times. But it does seem a significant fact that long ago the founder of this institute thought of the importance of science and built up this institute Jamshetji Tata. And that is a true sign of greatness to see ahead, to have vision and to help in the realisation of that vision. When your institute was started I don't quite know what else was happening in India in regard to Science, probably not too much; something of the universities no doubt. Now, we have a larger number of National Laboratories, institutes and they are ever growing because probably it became obvious that we could not go ahead even in other departments of life unless we had the help of science and technology. So I suppose science will grow, bound to grow in India—scientific research, the application of science

274. Speech at the golden jubilee celebrations of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, 4 Feb. 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

275. S. Bhagavantham (b.1909); Professor of Physics and Principal, Andhra University, Waltair, 1932-48; Indian Scientific Liaison Officer, B. C. S. O., London, 1948-49; Director, Physical Laboratories, Osmania University, Hyderabad, 1949-52; Vice Chancellor, Osmania University, 1952-57; Director, Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, 1962-69; Chairman, Bharat Electronics Ltd., Bangalore; Director, Hindustan Aircraft Ltd., Bangalore, and Aeronautics India Ltd., New Delhi.

276. Jayachamaraja Wodeyar, Governor of Mysore and Maharaja of Mysore.

277. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, Vice Chancellor of Madras University.

and all that and the question now is rather to see that it grows in the right direction. In two ways that is that our efforts and our resources are not wasted and are put in the right way and secondly that scientists themselves give it the right direction, apart from Governments and the like. Because in the ultimate analysis it will be the scientists that make science, not Government, Governments will encourage them, Government may put resources at their disposal and that is a matter for scientists of India to think.

We have eminent scientists here and we have an ever growing number of young men coming into scientific field and I believe, so far as I know, many of our younger people who are working for research in the departments of science are a very bright lot and who give us hope for the future of science in India. Now, when something grows rather rapidly as science is doing and is likely to do, there is a slight risk of its growing in well in not too shapely a form, I may put it then that way, and when it becomes, it might become slightly difficult to give it more shape and directions, it spreads out on all directions. So I am putting this idea before you. It is not much good my paying tribute to science, because I am always doing that. I think that there is no real hope of material advance in India without science and technology. Certainly other things also, but without this we don't advance. Of that I am utterly convinced and if that is so, naturally we have to pay attention to the development of science, scientific research and technology. Even people today, even people who did not perhaps attach much importance to science, are realising that is inevitable, whether they like it or not. So in that sense the future of science is assured and it becomes important. Now, as I said, for the scientists themselves to give a proper shape and direction to that. Now, everyone who speaks nowadays including myself, on an occasion like this draws attention to the curious state of affairs in the world, they call it a crisis. Well, with the advance of science many things that humanity has dreamt of in the past came within its grasp, and at the same time the dangers of science has evoked and the possibilities of utter disaster and annihilation, the tremendous conflict, rather as I said at Delhi this two faced look of science.²⁷⁸ Well, that goes beyond science too. What are scientists to do. It is rather difficult to suggest any thing, because there are two views of a scientific society or the science of society rather. One is the prevalent one that a scientist observes facts shut his eyes to everything else but facts and draws conclusions, inferences, etc., etc. Wherever they drive in to and that has been the essence of science. The other view not so prevalent although perhaps it was in the ancient days that having observed something you arrive at a certain conclusion about your aim in life that you are going to,

278. At the Indian Science Congress. See pp. 529-533.

call it what you like, the good society, whatever you may like to call it. And then, well, try to work to that end, that is from one point of view. Science and the scientist is completely neutral, passionless, just observing, recording, drawing conclusions from those records. In the other he is a man of passion, wanting something, aiming at something, at social improvement—or call it what you like—and trying to, of course, remain true to the facts and data that science may give him. But nevertheless aiming at that and going in that direction. Now, I wonder if the second aspect is not becoming a little more important than it has been considered.

The first aspect is there, of course, that is the essence of science, observation, conclusions—certainly they are there in that way. But in view of the curious crises that has arisen in the world because of scientific discoveries the second aspect also assumes importance; and therefore I suppose scientists nowadays go about issuing manifestos, let us say against the continuation of nuclear tests. If the scientist was a completely neutral and passionless animal, it is no business of his whether there was nuclear test or not. But today he is not quite so passionless and therefore he issues manifestoes, rightly I think, of course. But apart from that of issuing manifestoes the other steps too which leads him further in that direction. Now, I do not see how scientists can escape their duty and can remain just apart from what is happening because what is happening or what might happen will powerfully affect them. Obviously, it affects rest of the world. So that is this problem.

Then another aspect of this problem arises. I think Dr. Radhakrishnan probably referred to the point in the sense that while it is admitted all around that science that the approach of science and technology is inevitable and desirable, it is incompatible with what Dr. Radhakrishnan called a spiritual approach. I do not know much about spiritual matters and fate and so I cannot speak with the authority of a philosopher as Dr. Radhakrishnan can, but naturally, in a sense every sensitive person is a bit of a philosopher and might even dabble or think on something what might be called spiritual, call them what you like—call them the higher things of life, things like spiritual has a special connotation attached to it. Is there something in life, let us say—like goodness. Is there something like truth? Is there something like beauty? Where is the scientist coming in measuring goodness or truth except in the factual sense? Or beauty for that matter. Something which for the moment cannot easily be measured in that way and yet which presumably are very important in life. And when we put it this way; that how far can science be allied without destroying its basis to certain fundamental values in life. It is not a life of it, it is independent of them. Then, it may make the greatest advance there, that is divorced from those values, and presumably the ultimate result will not be good.

On the other hand we cannot merely talk of these values in life, without science coming into the picture. These are difficult problems and certainly a little beyond my depth. But I do not myself see any essential incompatibility between the temper of science, the spirit of science, the approach of science and these higher values provided that even in the search for those higher values the temper of science is maintained which I think it can be. I do not know if it will be possible for scientists in India to be able to keep that kind of association or try to develop it. If they do it that will be good, I am sure, from many points of view—larger points of view. And in our national points of view, each country has come kind of a national genius and progress is easiest made if you are in tune with that national genius. If you discard it, you may go ahead as a group, as an individual or a small group, but you might be isolated from the mass of humanity in that country and it should be our desire to carry that mass of humanity with us and to be with them step by step and not reach somewhere at some desirable heaven by ourselves. Therefore, it would be worth considering how far this, this whatever the national genius of India might be and I dare not define it, but I am quite sure it is something which I may express here and there, are feelings and which in my belief is not at all opposed to science. In fact, which in another plane if you like is essentially scientific. So there seems to be no reason why that the two should not influence each other.

Now, we have arrived at this age of science and we see the application of it throwing up powerful challenges, Bhakra-Nangal or the steel plants, and the President has been opening some function of theirs. These will grow in India. There is not a doubt, in spite of the pitfalls and difficulties India will get industrialised and industrialised in a biggest way. It has been the habit of India in the past, well, to do often things in a big way. We have, even when it fails it fails in a big way. Now, that obviously there is a certain widespread determination for us to go ahead and we have our five year plans and all that, and we have great difficulties. But I do not think there are many people who doubt—certainly I do not doubt, that we will succeed not only in the five year plan but in the ultimate objective. And there will be industrialisation, there will be all that follows from that.

Again another problem comes up before my mind which really is not a problem of peasant in India but looking at highly industrialised and highly developed societies—the problem is there. And to a slight extent it is rather a frightening problem. The problem, we talk about having a welfare state in India and I have no doubt we will achieve it in some measure. In the welfare states in other parts of the world, things are not quite as good as one would expect—new difficulties, new problems on a different place arise. Having achieved material prosperity life suddenly becomes something frightfully dull without

any spirit of adventure without any risk, leading the younger generation, well, into completely wrong channels. Of course they want some excitement. Not getting it in the more desirable ways they choose the undesirable ways of getting at the excitement. So the extraordinary question arises that as industrialisation and automation and all that goes on and gives a high standards of life and leisure, people do not know what to do with that leisure and they misbehave in that leisure period. Which again bring you back to the question that obviously if that happens that that there are not properly trained or educated. There may be high class technicians, but there is something lacking. We come back to the problem of education, which after all is always basic whatever you may do with the training and education of individual. And many venturing to throw out some ideas which are not new, about it many of you may have thought and no doubt think, but they are interesting problems and it depends how you are constituted as to how you react to them, I mean to say, with optimism or pessimism.

For my part of looking at the long perspective of history and the tremendous ups and downs, I cannot easily convince myself that in spite of the hydrogen bomb humanity will perish, it might of course, certainly it can; but I imagine that humanity will survive even though, anyhow. There is one big consolation if it does not survive, well, nobody will grieve about it, the matter ends.

Now consider some other aspects of scientific advance in India. Science should be a unifying factor in the world not only in India, but in the world. Science, normally speaking, should have no secret, scientists with each other, and therefore the ideal for the scientists should be human advance, apart from the help he may give for the national advance. Now difficulties have arisen which I suppose scientists have to face. That the advance of science and technology is so tremendous from day to day that is frightfully difficult to keep pace with it. If by keeping pace with it means reading in periodicals and books of what others have done, the literature is so tremendous how are you to do so. I believe in some countries, or in most countries, effort is made somehow to keep pace with it, by translations, abstracts, summaries, and all that, it becomes essential. I imagine – I do not know but I imagine – that the biggest effort of this kind of translations, abstracts are probably only in the Soviet Union where there is a vast department so that every scientific literature in the world is translated, within a few months in their own language. Now what are we to do in India about this because one has to keep pace with the lot. I do not what is being done. Of course, our institute, or your institute – Dr. Bhagavantam probably gets a large number of scientific periodicals and books and in various languages, how many languages are represented here, how many people can take advantage of them I do not know. Ultimately, the only way to do is to get

some kind of translation of important books, or abstracts them, and then following it up. That again, and I wonder, if that kind of work could not be arranged jointly. If each institute or laboratory here does it separately they cannot go very far and much of their labour is wasted. Others do not take advantage of it. So I was wondering if we could not do something about some joint effort all over India to get this done and this done and these abstracts and other things being circulated to all the scientific institutes, laboratories, universities etc. Otherwise it is quite inconceivable for one institution to take this work up. Now at present I understand that, I do not know the exact percentage, certainly a very great percentage of this work is done in the English language, at least half, may be more than half, I do now know. And Russian is coming up, the German and French, of course, are important but I think still but now we have taken the position we occupy now is that a number of people, a larger number know English in this country.

There is a great deal of argument on the language issue in India. Looking at it, and it has become as you know, not of a hardly unifying subject, hardly but rather disruptive subject. Now I was thinking how far science apart from its other work can be a unifying influence in India. It can be, it must, otherwise it won't progress in India. It must speak the same language, scientific language, I mean, or understand it. Now, there is a conflict because I want science, that is, elementary science to spread to the hundreds of millions of our people, not only to the people who become scientists but I wanted to see it down all over gradually to make them think – they won't know much of science but I want them to develop a certain scientific way of thinking. Now I can't do that in a foreign language I just can't. It has to be done in the language of the country, and that will no doubt be done. But here is this conflict that you must approach the masses of people in regard to science in their languages; in the elementary school, primary schools, secondary schools, etc. On the other hand, it would be fatal for science to be split up linguistically in India, it will never grow. (clapping). Now there are two ways open, two ways of approach perhaps. One is that there must be some common language which every scientist knows. And the common language obviously can only be English, obviously (clapping) for scientific purposes (Laughter).

Secondly, and this is really very important that scientific and technical terms should be common in all our languages as also and should be, well common – not common, anyhow approximate to the international usage. I think this is very important, because partly because it will again be impossible to progress in different set of terms and has to deal with two sets of terms let us say one in its own language and one in English. It will confuse, it will come in the way. Therefore, apart from the common words which are well known in

the language that it is bound to use but do you know that how thousand of new words, new scientific and technical words are added to every language every year? I do not know, I think a rough estimate of about 5 to 10 thousand every year. In fact, the balance of every world language is changing towards the majority of scientific and technical words. Now if we in India decide as far as possible, apart from common words to adopt those words which may be called international and scientific and technical words and adopt them in every language in India may be with minor variations to fit in with the temper of the language that would immediately bring about a certain unity in scientific and technical approach in India itself and as also between India and the rest of the scientific world and it will be quite easy for or relatively easy for a person to read books in other languages after learning a little when he has got, it is of common fund of technical and scientific words, only he has to learn a little grammar and all that. I put this to you for consideration. I believe this is generally recognised that there should be this common technical and scientific terminology in India, and that that should approximate to the international terminology. But having recognised that principle broadly, one does not know in what way, in what for, to what extent, it will be given effect to.

Talking about science and the language of science, a good deal of the language of science is symbolic. Symbols, now obviously nobody I have not heard anybody discussing these symbols merely from the linguistic point of view. Whether or they want different symbols in each different languages—whatever it may be Alpha, Beta or Pi, or whatever it is—has to be different in every language or the same. But anyhow obviously the symbols have to be the same in Greek language. But these common algebraic symbols are simple. Now-a-days, the subject which I do not understand is the higher mathematic. It has become a language of symbols entirely. It has nothing to do with the normal language of human beings (laughter). I see Dr. Krishnan accepting this fact by laughing. That is interesting that with this growth of science and this close interrelation of mathematics with physics and it has always been inter-related of course, but to get so more, is producing what might be called a very dichotic language of mathematics, which is supposed to be and I believe is common between mathematician and scientists. That again is a unifying feature in the world. Nobody could say at least I hope they do not say that a special equation in mathematics is capitalist or communist (laughter) or whether chemistry or physics is ideologically communist or not. One advantage of science and mathematics is that it takes you out of the ideological conflicts of today. I am inclined to think that many of these ideological conflicts important as they might be in some respect, as are good as important as people think them to be and are progressively becoming less important. Again, by the advance

of science and technology a new physical world is created or rather a new understanding of the physical world is created, and the physical world itself changes and the problems have to be put now in a different context. The old context, the old problems, continue today to some extent, but are changing sometimes they do not fit in at all today, sometimes it only practically fits in this new world that is developing out of science. So, all this leads one inevitably into conclusion that science is becoming more and more formidable and it not only, naturally as we all do, for us to worship at its alter, praised it and all that, but watch it carefully lest it misbehaves. But everything that is formidable can be formidable for good and formidable for bad.

Anyhow, I hope that this institute of science here, will in future continue to give the lead that it has given and give it, well in the new context of things because the context changes. Fifty years ago when Jamsheji Tata started it India was different, context was different and life was rather easy-going. I suppose then. Life is not easy going today, we are hit by problems all the time and there are demands for the solution, from scientists practical problems of industry, industrial problems all kinds of human problems. And behind all that is the fact of something approaching 400 million people in India. That is an inescapable fact and what are we to do about them? We cannot even the brightest scientist cannot live entirely in his ivory tower today. He has to come down to that level and deal with these problems, deal with his research also, I do not want to come in the way of that. But he has to see this picture before us how this vast number of people in India groping, searching for the way going forward, to stumbling, picking themselves up, some falling on the way and yet of all them inevitably ultimately marching forward. It is a tremendous and exciting thought and it is not merely a thought, it is something in actuality. We do not see these people marching in a procession but it is there. And all these millions of people working in various ways. How do all these scientific institutes and others fit in into the scheme of things How do they encourage and help in this tremendous; march forward of a large section of the human race which happens to be in our; country? We have made everybody interested in all the world in this not because of the mere numbers, we are interested of course, because we are part of it.

Thank you.

253. To Humayun Kabir²⁷⁹

It is obviously desirable to have an Industrial and Science Museum in Bombay. The proposal made involves the expenditure of rupees forty lakhs by Government towards capital cost and Government also have to bear the recurring cost. In effect, the burden has really to be borne by Government. The first question to be considered is whether we can find this sum now or in the Third Plan. Are there any allotments for it or can they be made in the future? This matter must be clarified, and we cannot accept the proposal even in theory till we know where we stand.

2. I do not like the idea of naming this museum after the donor of part of the money. This is a bad practice which should not be encouraged. But, since we have already agreed to a similar proposal in Calcutta, I suppose we cannot raise this as a major objection.

3. The financial aspects of the scheme should be worked out, and it should also be known how the money is to be found. After that, we can proceed further with this matter.

(i) River Valley Projects**254. To Sampurnanand²⁸⁰**

January 22, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,²⁸¹

I do not know what the position is in regard to the Rihand Dam. Being given to understand that there are some differences of opinion between the U. P. Government and the Bihar Government, I wrote to the Chief Minister of Bihar

279. Note to Union Minister of State for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, 28 Feb. 1959.

280. File No. 17 (276)/57-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection and File No. NR-2 (45)/58, Irrigation Division, Planning Commission.

281. Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

on the subject.²⁸² I now enclose a copy of his reply and the other papers he has sent.²⁸³

If there is any lack of agreement still, I hope that steps will be taken to have a settlement. Such matters should not be left pending as they come in the way later.

I am sending copies of these letters to the Planning Commission and to our Minister for Irrigation & Power.²⁸⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

255. To Sampurnanand²⁸⁵

January 23, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,

I have your letter of January 19 about the Rihand Dam.²⁸⁶ Only yesterday I sent you some correspondence I had had with the Chief Minister of Bihar on this very subject.

282. On 19 Dec. 1958.

283. Sri Krishna Sinha replied on 15 January 1959 that a Sone Valley Corporation had been planned for the unified development of the Sone river; but since it was taking time to form this body, the Uttar Pradesh Government wanted to go ahead with the Rihand dam. The Bihar Government had no objection provided the supplies to their Sone Canals system was not affected and Bihar received their proper share of the dammed waters. The UP Government also wanted Bihar to share the cost, but S. K. Sinha was silent on that matter in this letter.

284. Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim.

285. File No. NR-2 (45)/58, Planning Commission, Coordination Branch. Also available in File No. 17 (276)/57-66-PMS and JN Collection.

286. According to Sampurnanand, the Rihand dam would be constructed by June 1961 and the electricity generating plant by December 1961. Electrical works were going slowly because of shortages of qualified personnel and foreign exchange to import equipment. He was hoping to receive personnel from the Central Water and Power Commission, and foreign exchange through the EXIM Bank loan. Bihar had not undertaken to share the cost although he had written to V. T. Krishnamachari on 24 March 1958. Given the substantial irrigation benefit to Bihar of 6000 cusecs of perennial flow and 2.6 lakh tons of additional crop yield, it should contribute Rs 10.80 crores at least, which was less than one-fourth of the total cost. If not, the generated electricity could not be sold at reasonable enough rates to attract industries.

If the Bihar Government agrees to share the cost, well and good, but otherwise you can hardly insist on this. The Bihar Government has also many burdens to carry, perhaps even more than Uttar Pradesh; apart from the Damodar Valley, there is the Kosi project.

But possibly you may be entitled to get some payment from them for the water used by them. Anyhow I am sending your letter to the Planning Commission.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

256. To Sri Krishna Sinha

February 1, 1959

My dear Sri Babu,

I have your letter of the 27th January about the Kosi Project.²⁸⁷ As you have said, I have been deeply interested in this project and I should like to go there, but I find that I am terribly busy during the coming months.

You mention that the foundation site is in Nepal territory. This creates a complication. I could not possibly go there without the permission of the Nepal Government. Indeed no ceremony should be performed there without taking their permission first. If they agree, then the question arises of inviting the King of Nepal and others. I am having a letter addressed to our Ambassador in Nepal to find out informally what their reaction to such a proposal will be.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

287. Sri Krishna Sinha had reported excellent progress in the Kosi project and wanted Nehru to lay the foundation stone; but since the site was in Nepal, the King of Nepal and others would have to be invited to the ceremony.

(i) Urban Development

257. To K. C. Reddy

January 2, 1959

My dear Reddy,

Coming back from Palam today, it struck me that it would be a good thing for trees to be planted on either side of this road leading there. There are some trees already, but they are not much good and there are long patches without trees. This road is used frequently. Probably it will have to be broadened later. If we plant trees now on either side, leaving enough room for broadening of the road, these will gradually grow and, in a few years time, this might become an attractive avenue.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

258. To S. K. Patil²⁸⁸

January 13, 1959

My dear S. K.,

Thank you for your letter of January 9 on the subject of rail and road transport.²⁸⁹ The question is obviously rather a complicated one which deserves careful consideration. Would it not be a good thing for it to be examined by a small Committee consisting of representatives of your Ministry, the Railway Ministry and the Planning Commission?

With the further development in India and the growth of industry, etc., the transport services will have to increase greatly. I should have thought that there was scope for expansion of both railways and roads, except perhaps in particular areas. Anyhow the two should be coordinated.

You mention in your letter that earning a profit on railway investment should not be regarded as an objective in itself. This is not a question of making a

288. File No. 27(51)/59-70-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

289. Patil (i) warned that restricting road transport would be retrograde; (ii) wanted proposals for new railway lines to pass Planning Commission and other expert scrutiny; (iii) objected to profit on the railway becoming an objective in itself, and Centre's monopoly of railways suppressing healthy competition from road transport and affecting revenue for the states.

profit on a past investment, but of raising revenues for our planned development. Our present thinking is that all our State-owned industries and services should be one of the principal sources of revenue for development. In fact, that should be one of their justifications.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

259. To Y. B. Chavan²⁹⁰

23rd January, 1959

My dear Chavan,

Thank you for your letter of the 19th January.

You have referred to the difficulties in the way of doing away with contractors for constructions works. There may be initial difficulties as always in a changeover. But I have no doubt that we should progressively do away with contractors. I do not mean that we should avoid them completely; they may be utilised. At the same time, I am not really thinking in terms of Government doing this departmentally to any large extent. A really good way of doing it will be for the construction workers forming their own cooperatives and for Government making a contract directly with that cooperative. This procedure has succeeded remarkably in some countries, notably in Israel. Another method is what has recently been followed by the Bharat Sewak Samaj, though perhaps that cannot be taken too far. But this method has shown without doubt that even in major works very great savings can be made and profits can go to the village communities.

As for standards for construction works being revised, this does not mean necessarily weakening of the structure. Any multi-storeyed buildings cannot take the risk of any weakening, but in normal one or two-storeyed buildings. I am told that many changes can easily be made which reduce the cost. Our P.W.D. specifications were laid down long ago and great progress has been made in building construction since then.

As for the wholesale trade in rice being taken over by the State, the problem of a deficit State like Bombay is somewhat different from that of a surplus State. However, in this matter you must have received a scheme drawn up by

290. File No. 17(94)/56-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

our Food & Agriculture Ministry. Naturally, in these initial stages difficult problems will arise, but I am sure we shall solve them one by one.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

260. To K. Ram²⁹¹

Will you please write to the Himachal Pradesh Government asking them what progress has been made in regard to the road building programme in Himachal Pradesh? Much importance has always been attached to this programme there, chiefly from the point of view of developing communications and opening out the interior which is of high importance; secondly, to give employment to people there. Because of this, the estimate for road building was increased considerably in the Second Five Year Plan and I think was made Rs. 5 crores. Presumably, therefore, there has been plenty of money available for this purpose. I should like to know how much of this money has been spent thus far, and how many new roads have been built. I should like similar figures for the First Five Year Plan and for the last two or three years of the Second Plan.

2. In particular, I am interested in the road to China towards the Tibet border. This is important for us. What progress has this made and when is it expected to be completed?

261. To K. Ram²⁹²

Please write to Shri Datar Singh²⁹³ and also to the Kashmir Government enquiring from them about the present state of the Kargil-Leh road. Tell them that the very slow progress made in this road is disappointing as the growth of Ladakh largely depends on this road. This is being built for many years now at a very slow pace, and lately it appears to have stopped progressing at all. When do they expect to finish the remaining 30 or 40 miles?

291. Note to PPS, 23 Jan. 1959.

292. Note to PPS, 28 Jan. 1959.

293. Development Adviser for Kashmir, Government of India, 1955-59.

262. To K.C. Reddy²⁹⁴

January 31, 1959

My dear Reddy,

I enclose a copy of a letter from Satish Gujral.²⁹⁵

I went today to the Opening Ceremony by the President of the new building for the Indian Institute of Public Administration. Here is a new big building put up but no attempt was made to associate an artist with it. I think that your Ministry should insist upon this in future.

I should like to know what are the steps you intend taking about this in regard to present building like the Vigyan Bhavan.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

263. To National Building Council²⁹⁶

Mr. Minister,²⁹⁷ Members of the National Building Council,

On my way up here, I asked my colleague Minister as to what particular function I could perform here at this meeting except to lay stress on the importance of the subject that you are dealing with. Obviously, I could help you very much in regard to the technical aspects of the problem on which you are more competent to deal with. But it is obvious that the question of housing almost in every

294. File No. 2/129/56-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

295. Satish Gujral, the artist, had complained to Nehru that about five years previously it had been decided to set aside 2% of the cost of public buildings towards art decoration, but nothing had been done. He reminded Nehru that on the advice of David Siqueiros, the mural painter from Mexico, it had been decided to associate an artist with the architect in the planning of a building. (See also SWJN/SS/35/p.125). Gujral felt that public art had a significant role to play, that he had definite views on how it should be done, and he looked forward to some action.

296. Inaugural speech at the third meeting of the National Building Council, New Delhi, 12 Feb. 1959, AIR tapes, NMML.

297. K.C. Reddy, Chairman of the Council, presided.

country has assumed a very great importance. Our country, of course, stands rather in a special category, because not too much attention has been paid to housing in the past. But even in well developed economic countries they have not quite caught up with housing after the war period.

Apart from food and clothing, the next important thing presumably is housing and apart from the human aspects, the work aspect depends on suitable living conditions. You cannot expect people to work properly if they do not have such adequate living conditions. That means, if you want to have biggish programmes of housing as you must, you must evolve ways and means to do it as cheaply and at the same time as adequately as possible.

You have just heard of the various steps taken and the success that has been achieved in these researches to have cheap housing. One aspect I should like to put before you, and that is, our national laboratories and institutions do extraordinary good work but it takes a mighty long time before their good work to take any good effect outside the laboratory. It is not very pleasing. I have been there and they pointed out very good samples, often new discoveries. I visited them some years later and I still found models there and I have asked why is this so. They said, perhaps rightly: "We have done our job, now it is for others to do the rest, not for laboratories." They can only say how to do it. They hardly venture out in a big way. Efforts have been made to cover this hiatus not only in regard to housing, but in regard to other matters too. Take indeed our Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun, which is partly concerned with housing, I mean to say, material for roofing, etc. It is an extraordinarily good institute but so far as I know I am not speaking of the immediate past last few years or previous years it was a heartening spectacle to me that they did very good work but they never came out of their Institute buildings practically speaking. It was not applied it was not acted upon although it was the obvious thing to do. Why that was so is not quite clear to me. Partly, of course, it is inertia. In this country, well, there is more inertia than in other countries. We are getting over it, I believe, but still there it is remaining in certain ruts of thought of activity of working and not trying to change them even though the change may be profitable. It is for change that we work all of us in all our labor-atories and your various institutes and councils, they work for change. If you are not working for change and betterment we might as well abolish all our councils and laboratories. What is the point of them if those who function in these Institutes and Councils and laboratories do not bring about many changes. They prove that, well, they are not of any particular use, if that council or laboratory or whatever it is, simply works in the old rut which may be of no great importance. That is not of course so. But then I am laying stress on it because it is most disheartening to see good work not being taken advantage of

in this way and that applies if I may say so, with all respect, to our governments, to our Ministers and others in charge. That is the habit perhaps of working in a rut which is always easy, of course, than getting out of a rut.

Secondly, as Mr. Reddy pointed out, I thought rather moderately, the part that construction plays in our Second Five Year Plan. He gave some figures. I should have imagined that the figures might easily be doubled, but it is not quite merely, to show that part that construction plays in our five year plan. But even if you accept his figures, whatever it is, it is a very big figure. The Second Five Year Plan is meant to involve the expenditure of Rs. 4500 crores. What is the part of construction in it? I do not exactly know but I think it may well be something approaching Rs. 2000 crores and if there was a 20% saving on that it means a saving of Rs. 200 crores which is a tidily little sum and much can be done out of Rs. 200 or 100 crores. You see this question is of vital importance in the present. It is not some kind of an exercise, doing something that is better but it is something which affects our planning most intimately. It affects how far we can go and how far we can stretch our resources. Therefore, the work that this Council does and other things like building Research Institutes and all those is of the most vital importance.

Now, Mr. Reddy mentioned a number of Ministries, Central, which are chiefly concerned with building operations. Among them of course, one of the most important is his own Ministry and what is called the Public Works Department which has evolved in the course of a large number of years certain standards, certain rules, certain practices, certain conventions which, so far as I know them, have not quite caught up to the present day. They belong to a past age which we have passed and we hope to forget but we do not come out of those ruts, with their delays, with their innumerable sanctions which delay and yet not stop corruption. Sanctions are not corruption but they probably add to the possibility of corruption because nothing leads to corruption more than delay. Of that I am absolutely convinced.

The best way to deal with this question of corruption is to prevent any stopping anywhere, any delay. And if the process itself involves delay, you encourage corruption apart from losses of delay because loss on delay is infinitely greater than almost any loss that you can conceive. In our big undertakings, a person sitting in a government office may not realise what his postponement of a decision because of his engagement or something else might involve to that undertaking. Suppose we are spending at the Bhakra-Nangal I do not know exactly say Rs. 8 lakhs a day. Well, if something is delayed for a month, just calculate, I do not say Rs. 8 lakhs per day can be multiplied by 30 days but still the actual loss caused is very very considerable. While here it is a matter of dealing with a file a few days or a few days later, or as it often happens, merely

not dealing with it because it is for someone else to deal with, here this mighty undertaking is being held up or slowed down because somebody in office is dealing in rather slovenly fashion with a file. It is not his fault, the individuals fault. I am talking more about the rules and regulations and the conventions and the practices that have grown up. How to do these things quickly and efficiently? But you know very well that very frequent criticism is made of the working of the P.W.D. departments not only in the Centre but perhaps even more in the states. And allowing for all exaggeration, a very great deal remains still which probably is justified in that criticism. And, I think it has become of great importance that people in charge of these departments when I say these departments it applies to other departments too who do building work, not P.W.D. only as the Minister has mentioned Railways, Rehabilitation and the various Ministries here and no doubt, elsewhere. It applies to all because more or less the same regulations are found there. It is of importance to the Ministers concerned, to the heads of departments in the Centre and in the States and indeed, to all others in those departments to realise that they have to bring up the working of these building departments to a much higher level of speed and excellence than now. That itself will save money apart from, as I said, positively or negatively plugging the various holes which lead to corruption.

Then again, the Minister said something about agencies. They are considering agencies. That is important because much of the saving may be brought about by a proper agency. I have heard that in some countries work is given directly to construction workers, cooperatives or trade unions. That is, government gives it directly. They have powerful and experienced organisations of construction workers themselves and they get the contract and it does not lead to corruption there. You see you remove the middle links where corruption takes place. Of course, you must have a proper building workers cooperative or, even trade union. I think this kind of thing as I was reading the other day, in Israel where they have very efficient construction workers unions and they take direct contracts for building. You get rid of trouble, labour trouble. You get rid of any middle loopholes. You may not be able to do that here, but I do suggest to you that we should try to remove all these middle stages, contractor stages and the like. I do not say that all contractors should be ruled out, but broadly speaking, intermediaries are a nuisance. Almost in any kind of work they delay and they cost more. In some cases no doubt it may be necessary, but I think, progressively intermediaries should go as we have tried to remove them and succeeded in a large measure in removing them from land, that is the intermediary called the landlord. So also the other intermediary should be progressively removed and I think you will find work will be more effective, speedier and cheaper.

Then about the material used, Mr. Reddy pointed out how various new methods have been evolved whereby you can save a good deal of steel.²⁹⁸ I remember when Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Bulganin came here some three or four years ago,²⁹⁹ they were repeatedly telling us how wasteful we were in our use of steel and they said that they spoke from personal experience. "We have been wasteful also. That is why we know and now having realised our wastefulness, we have paid special attention to it and do not waste it so much. We can do many things without our steel. We do without steel now." Of course, building construction programmes in the Soviet Union have been on a colossal scale and it made a lot of difference to them, how much steel they used and how much they could save. So Mr. Khrushchev was constantly telling us "Look at our great projects and what waste of steel and you can do this and that." Even out of his own experience in the Soviet Union, he made various suggestions from time to time.

I went the other day, as Mr. Reddy told you, to this Amar Project in Ambala where our army people have built I forget now the number of houses, very large number of houses, 1400 and odd, and built them, what is more, with speed and they did it in the main because of the tremendous enthusiasm and a great cooperative effort. They worked, these people sometimes half through the night. They decided to do something, to finish something and do it well and there was this personal element in it that the people who are going it were going, to get those houses to live in themselves. It was not doing a day's job for somebody else. Where that personal element comes in you get another urge which is very important.

You can think of this question of housing in various ways. I leave out for the moment big construction works which government's indulge in, offices and all that. I suppose we shall have to build them inevitably and what we have to consider is how to develop methods of building which will save money. You cannot put up a big building in a cheap way in the sense of not solid enough. That you cannot, but there are, I believe, ways and means of changing your present standards in various places which are necessary. That is the thing. But I am rather referring to the smaller housing schemes both in towns and rural areas.

298. Reddy said that (i) the NBC's plans to produce substitutes for steel were being generally accepted; (ii) such measures would save nearly 56,000 tons of structural steel in the construction of grain-storages alone; (iii) and there was a great future for pre-fabricated concrete.

299. Khrushchev and Bulganin toured India in December 1955. See SWJN/SS/31/pp. 299-365.

The first thing I think that we should endeavour to put through is that no big houses will be permitted to be built. I am not talking about institutions, if they are necessary they should be built. There the matter ends. But no big private houses unless they are shown to be absolutely necessary will get the material. Put it this way. We cannot afford to waste steel or other things for play-house of anybody or in any sense for a big building which is not shown to be necessary or desirable. I am not against big buildings. I merely say that in our present stage when there is so much need we must act in that way. Later I hope it won't be necessary to have that type of restriction but it is a bad thing and I do not understand how to explain it, to see huge houses being put up, huge private houses. I am told there is no iron, there is no cement for other people. I do not understand how the things get through. You ask them and you are told they get them in the black market but how do they reach the black market. All these things have to be examined because you cannot have the public flouting with big houses being put up if they have not enough stock for small houses. It should be almost impossible, if I may say so, rather vulgar to put up big houses in these conditions and persons those building is or contractors, whoever it is, ought to be made to answer exactly how he has done it. So I think we should save.

Then you come to urban houses and rural houses. Mr. Reddy talked about something about pre-stressed material and preconditioned and prefabricated. Yes, I am not entirely in accord that way. Exactly in what measure, I do not know. You may remember our first experience of a housing factory that we put up near Delhi here and we got indeed a great deal of trouble over it in Parliament. I do not think that criticism of that at the time was fully justified, that is to say, it was our first venture and it did not succeed to begin with. That is perfectly true but one has to face that kind of thing. After many ups and downs that housing factory is, I believe, doing fairly well now. I rather doubt, however, that with the great deal of labour available here too much prefabrication is indicated. Maybe some things, doors, windows or things like this which are, as you know, not a very great part of construction effort. In any event, in the rural areas one has to rely, one must rely entirely on local materials. The cost of transport increases everything. I have not seen your exhibition here but a little glimpse that I had coming up, many of the models attracted me, and no doubt, there may be very good models for any scheme of industrial housing which is very important. When you go to the villages you have to face entirely different conditions and I hope that this building council thinks also of providing some kind of, call it houses, call it huts, call it what you like for a village for removed from towns, something which can be built by the villagers, built by with local material.

And then here my colleague, Mr. Dey's Ministry comes in community development. Something else comes in here. That is the public effort and public enthusiasm to do the work because really we have to build houses, small ones, no doubt by the 10 millions in order to really make a big difference. No Government agency can ever build so. It can only help others, to show the way to others, the villagers to build them. And if the community development movement take it up in a sense sometimes it is taking it up it could be done much more cheaply and much more expeditiously on a vast scale. They can only do it if your present rules and regulations and all those things are simplified very greatly. You cannot rouse the people's enthusiasm and then make them sit on the edge of enthusiasm for months and months, while correspondence is taking place in a distant office, enthusiasm goes and everybody gets disgruntled and annoyed. Some processes and rules have to be laid down so that they can go ahead as rapidly as possible. Again I do not know whether this applies to housing but in some of our projects, organisations like the Bharat Sewak Samaj has participated and approached the villagers, etc., to do the work. There was a good deal of resistance to this. To begin with the first major thing was in Bihar, they did in Kosi Project, in Delhi here but in spite of that disinclination they encouraged them they justified themselves. It was a first effort and they have been progressively justifying themselves in this work. Here recently, some displaced persons have shifted from one place to another, from the university area to another place. Huts had to be built for them and the Delhi Corporation and others and the Bharat Sewak Samaj all helped. And they did the job quickly and efficiently. I do not by any means say that the houses put up are models of beauty and efficiency because they are not but considering everything, it is a very satisfactory job quickly done. So we have to explore all these methods of inducing the public to do it and not remain in that set groove of an isolated government office issuing tenders and contractors coming and going through the same processes. It is enough to drive a person crazy all these tremendous process which after all our mountain of labouring and a little mouse coming out of it. So that some effort should be made apart from the technical side which you consider to improve the administrative side of these things because unless that is done, the technical side is not taken advantage of.

I have ventured to place before you some odd ideas that I had, which, perhaps most of them, many of them, are outside the scope of the agenda but they should not be outside the scope of the agenda in your minds.

IV. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

(a) General

264. To M. J. Desai¹

I agree, I think you should inform Shri Tahmankar² when he sees you that we have heard from our High Commission in London and they have pointed out many difficulties in the way of the scheme.³ It would be embarrassing for Government to be associated with the scheme which has to face so many complications. Normally, Government does not approve of setting up memorials in other countries. It is for the people of that country to do so. Also the scheme for a hostel is not clear to us and we cannot associate with a scheme which may not be successful. It might be added that Lokamanya Tilak's grandson has also not approved of this.

It is true that Shri Tahmankar's reputation has not been too good. The only reason why I had hesitated about this matter was the association to Lokamanya Tilak's name with it.

1. Note to CS, 2 Jan. 1959.
2. D. V. Tahmankar was the London correspondent of the *Deccan Herald*, *UPI*, *Kesari* and *Mahratta*.
3. On 2 January 1959 M. J. Desai had endorsed the Deputy High Commissioner's objections to Tahmankar's Tilak Memorial project of making a students' hostel out of 10, Howley Place where Tilak had lived. Tilak's grandson did not approve; the owner of the property objected to a memorial plaque; he was likely to refuse to sell it "on similar instigation from some Conservatives"; even if it were bought, it had tenants who were protected by law; the house was in an unattractive locality; and finally, "Shri Tahmankar whose personality and local standing in London are, to say the least, rather controversial." Hence the best commemoration at that moment would be a grant to the YMCA, in addition to a previous grant and loan.

265. To Sri Prakasa

Raj Bhavan, Nagpur
5th January 1959

My dear Prakasa,⁴

Thank you for sending me your draft note on what occurred in Karachi on the occasion of Jinnah's death.⁵ I have read it with much interest. I am returning the draft to you. You might have fair copies prepared. Two or three copies might be sent to me. I should like to keep it in the External Affairs Ministry's archives and send one copy to Karachi to our High Commission to be kept there. I may also show it to some people.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Governor of Bombay. He was India's High Commissioner in Pakistan from August 1947 to 1949.
5. On 5 January 1959, Sri Prakasa wrote to Nehru that he had just composed a memoir of an incident in Karachi in 1948, when he was the High Commissioner of India, and was sending it for comments. Jinnah had died on 11 September 1948 and the Indian Army had entered Hyderabad on 13 September, a crowd of five to six thousand invaded the Indian High Commission, outraged at India having "attacked us when our Father had just died." Sri Prakasa professed to be "not at all a courageous man", but at that moment "I had no sense of danger": with supreme sangfroid he informed them that the action had been planned for 12 September but that out of respect for Jinnah's memory it had been postponed to 13 September. This mollified them. They then demanded: "We want your army to be withdrawn from Hyderabad immediately." He promised to ask New Delhi to oblige and even summoned a secretary to take the message, which further soothed the mob. They now wanted "Pakistan to go to war with India." He replied "That is a good idea; but you know, I have no authority to order your army one way or the other. Your Prime Minister can do that, not I." They roared in agreement, headed out to Liaquat Ali Khan's house, and smashed his doors and windows, according to reports. The Pakistani police apologised for the incident.

266. To N. R. Pillai⁶

I am agreeable to the proposals made in SS's note. I have a feeling that we have been transferring people too soon from one place to another. This is not good from the point of view of a person settling down in a Mission abroad and also involves needless expense. Perhaps this is generally done because of service considerations, but it cannot be advantageous from the point of view of work in a Mission. Normally, a person should stay in a place for whatever the tenure is, that is about three years, I think, unless there is some special reason to transfer him.

267. To P. R. Chakraverti

Raj Bhavan,
Nagpur

9th January, 1959

My dear Chakraverti,⁷

I have received your letter from Bonn, dated January 2nd.⁸ It is true that Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit⁹ wrote to me about you and I referred her letter to the

6. Note to SG, MEA, 7 Jan. 1959.

7. Permanent Secretary in the AICC office, New Delhi; member of the Indian delegation to the UN General Assembly in Nov.-Dec. 1958; earlier taught in a school in Bengal for at least two decades.

8. After attending the session, P. R. Chakraverti visited the UK and Germany privately, but with invitations from officials of the CRO of the British High Commission in India and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, as claimed by him in his explanatory letter of 2 January 1959 to Nehru. He said he was studying the refugee question. He met B. F. H. B. Tyabji, the Indian Ambassador to the Federal Republic, who reported on 5 January 1959 that he was bewildered as Chakraverti claimed that he was carrying out these studies "at the special request of our Prime Minister", and that "he was more or less a personal political representative of the Prime Minister." Tyabji was intrigued that the Indian Embassy was completely in the dark although "Mr. Chakraverti has invoked the magic name of Mr. Nehru." But most of all "what fascinated me [Tyabji] was his curious resemblance, facially as well as in way of talking and other mannerisms to Leilamani Naidu!" Chakraverti then held forth at length on Congress politics in West Bengal, painting a very gloomy picture. In the end Tyabji could not make out why he had come at all and how he could have enjoyed "the blessings of the Prime Minister."

9. India's High Commissioner in London.

External Affairs Ministry for enquiry.¹⁰ Subsequently, Mrs. Pandit wrote again after she had seen you. Your talk with her had made her change her opinion of these incidents somewhat. She felt still that you had not acted correctly but she realised that you had not meant to bypass our Mission or to be discourteous to them.

I think that you should not have come to any arrangement about a programme in England with the officer-in-charge of Commonwealth Relations in the UK High Commission in Delhi. Nor indeed should you have drawn up a programme in London with the CRO without previous reference to our High Commission.¹¹ The fact that you were on relations of intimate friendship with the British Officer here does not make any difference. Other questions might arise which have nothing to do with your friendship with the UK High Commission and it is possible that any programme or engagement you had there might prove embarrassing to our Government.

Even if completely private individuals go abroad on private visits, it is desirable for them to keep in touch with our Missions. Your case was somewhat different as you were actually a member of our delegation to the UN. You will appreciate that it is embarrassing for our High Commission to get to know of the activities of an Indian national through the CRO.

No financial considerations are involved in it but only correct procedures.¹² In Germany also you should have got in touch with our Mission there. By not maintaining contact with our Missions abroad, situations might be created which are embarrassing both to you and to our Missions.

10. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit wrote to Nehru on 24 December 1958 that she had received enquiries from British MPs about Chakraverti's background; and that the CRO officials had expressed to her their embarrassment "at having to keep us (the High Commission) out of the picture at the request of the gentleman (Chakraverti) concerned."
11. Chakraverti stayed at the YMCA in London till the end of December 1958, and had made arrangements from New York through the British Delegation. CRO had arranged for him to meet and speak to members of all the three parties.
12. Chakraverti clarified that neither CRO nor the West German Government had any financial burden on his account as he had made his private arrangements in both the countries.

I am sure however, that the course you adopted was not meant deliberately to bypass our Mission.¹³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

268. To N. R. Pillai¹⁴

I suppose we have to accept the views of the Ministry of Transport & Communications. The position should be explained to the Scandinavian Ambassadors, more particularly that we have received two similar requests from T.W.A. and K. L. M. for additional frequencies, and it would be embarrassing for us to distinguish between all these claimants. So far as we are concerned, we would have welcomed this direct connection with Scandinavia, but, in view of these difficulties, for the present, our Ministry of Transport & Communications does not think this feasible. We might also mention that the Czechoslovakian Airlines and the Alitalia are going to start their services to India soon, and before long, jet aircraft will be flying on these routes.

269. To Subimal Dutt¹⁵

I have no recollection of having considered any aspect of this matter previously. Probably, a formal Cabinet paper for the small delegation to go to Manila came up before us, and I agreed to it without realising that this might have other consequences. Looking through these papers, it appears that the Ministry of External Affairs actually considered the question of the People's Republic of

13. U. N. Dhebar, to whom Nehru had sent these papers commented on 17 January that Chakraverti was bitter over the issue of Bengal refugees, especially their handling by the West Bengal Government and the West Bengal PCC; and that he would have a frank talk with Chakraverti on his return.

14. Note to SG, 12 Jan. 1959.

15. Note to FS, 15 Jan. 1959.

China being invited and further suggested that the training centre might be established in India.¹⁶

2. I think that in a matter of this kind, we should have given much more careful consideration to the consequences before agreeing to send the delegation and, even if the delegation went, our instructions to them should have been quite clear in regard to these various matters which embarrass us now. Unfortunately, this was not done.

3. When it was suggested to the sponsors of the Conference to invite the People's Government of China, they made it quite clear that they could not do so as they did not recognise this and other countries. Nevertheless, we proceeded and actually put forward certain proposals, which involve a fairly close tie-up of India with this proposed organisation.

4. I think that a reply should be sent pointing out our difficulties in regard to the countries associated with the Conference, which we do not recognise, and the exclusion of countries in South East Asia which are recognised by us. We might further point out that in regard to countries not recognised by us, it will be difficult for us to issue visas for coming to India. If these matters are clearly stated and understood by the other party, then we might agree to permitting the Indian Institute of Public Administration to join this Eastern Regional Organisation for Public Administration.

5. I hope in future greater care will be exercised in such matters which have a direct political bearing and affect our policy.

16. V. Viswanathan, SS in the Home Ministry, informed the Home Minister on 3 January 1959 that an Indian delegation led by Professor V. K. N. Menon, Director, IIPA, had attended a Regional Conference on Public Administration in Manila in June 1958. It had gone with the approval of the MEA and Nehru. The conference had decided to set up an Eastern Regional Organisation for Public Administration (EROPA) and the Indian delegation had fully supported the resolutions and agreed to a training service in India. The problem now was that the conference had excluded the Peoples' Republic of China and had included Formosa and South Korea. India did not permit entry to Formosans and South Koreans save for UN conferences. The MEA had protested; India had put herself in the wrong, and she might have to keep out of the EROPA "in spite of the likely embarrassment." The Home Minister in his note of 8 Jan. 1959 agreed that "we have got into a mess and I do not know how exactly we can extricate ourselves." He suggested that at best the Indian Institute of Public Administration could cooperate with EROPA but "the Govt. of India will not be involved."

270. To R.K. Nehru

January 23, 1959

My dear Ratan,¹⁷

I received your letter of the 12th January a few days ago. I have been so heavily occupied with work and visits of eminent dignitaries from abroad that I could not reply to it earlier.

I have read your letter carefully and I am sorry that you have a feeling that you have not been treated quite fairly. The real difficulty has been that, for various reasons we did not wish to change the present set-up at the top level in our Ministry this year. Secretary-General N.R. Pillai was due to retire this year, but we felt that, for a variety of reasons, his continuation in service was desirable. We have in fact relaxed somewhat the rule for retirement. It hardly applies in the case of scientific and technical personnel. In regard to others it has ceased to be the rigid rule it was. N.R. Pillai, as the senior most person in the service, has been dealing not only with the Foreign Ministry but with a variety of other matters. His views and advice are generally respected and often, when difficulties arise between Ministries or elsewhere, we have found his help very useful. Our public sector has been growing and there also he has been of help. For these reasons we decided to give him a further extension.

This made it difficult for us to think of any major change in the Foreign Ministry at the top.

There was no question of any prejudice in my mind against you. I have a high opinion about your ability and your capacity for hard and conscientious work. It is true that in some matters I did not approve of your general attitude, but that can be said about almost anyone in regard to something or other. That, however, does not generally come in my way in considering appointments.

I agree with you generally about the necessity for periodical changes. At the same time this question cannot be considered in an automatic manner and a large number of considerations have to be borne in mind. Anyhow, in the present case, in regard to the External Affairs Ministry, we gave a good deal of thought and I consulted my colleagues in the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Cabinet. It was on their advice that we came to certain decisions and I am afraid they cannot be changed now.

Your present post is, as you know, one of the most important and pivotal ones. All kinds of things and developments are happening in that area which is of vital importance to us and indeed to the world. You have done very well

17. Indian Ambassador to Egypt.

there and I have been glad to learn that Rajan¹⁸ has also done a fine piece of work. Normally it would be a pity to remove you from there after a year or so and then have to start afresh. But the real difficulty is, as I have said, that we cannot make any change in the Secretaries of the External Affairs Ministry in the near future. Obviously, there would be no point in your leaving Cairo unless you came to the Ministry here.

I realise your continuing worry about Mohanbhai's¹⁹ condition and your desire to be easily accessible to him. That is natural, though I suppose no one can be of much help to him at this stage. If necessity arises, you can come here in a day's time from Cairo.

You mention that normally you would have to retire sometime in October 1960. As I have said above, this is not a rigid rule or date. Certainly there is no decision to the effect that you should not serve in the Ministry again.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

271. To M.C. Chagla

January 31, 1959

My dear Chagla,²⁰

Thank you for your letter of January 20th, in which you refer to your meeting Norman Cousins.²¹ Cousins is an enthusiastic person. I like that. But he, like many other Americans, imagines that brave statements help in solving

18. Rajan Nehru, wife of R. K. Nehru.

19. Mohanlal Nehru, father of R. K. Nehru, was the son of Nandlal Nehru, elder brother of Motilal Nehru.

20. Indian Ambassador in Washington.

21. Chagla had written on 20 January 1959 that Norman Cousins, the editor of the *Saturday Review*, wanted Nehru to organise an international conference on the rule of law replacing the rule of force and to strengthen the International Court of Justice. Eisenhower, the US President, had referred to this in his State of the Union message. Chagla reported in the same letter that during his recent visit to the US, Mikoyan, the Soviet First Deputy Premier, had "created a very good impression" to the effect "that Communists were not so black as they were painted and it was possible to do business with them and establish contacts." Chagla recommended Nehru's participation in Edward R. Murrow's "Small World" television programme with other Commonwealth Prime Ministers. He said that Nehru's appearance on television with Thomas Dewey and Aldous Huxley had been much appreciated (See SWJN/SS/44/pp. 31-63) and this would be in the same series.

international problems. Sometimes they might do so; at other times, they prove embarrassing to all concerned. So far as India is concerned, we have to be rather careful in offering advice to other countries. It is apt to be irritating to others and appear a little presumptuous.

Therefore, I would in any event be reluctant to send a message to President Eisenhower suggesting the convening of a conference. This is bound to become public and it would appear that we are trying to play an important role in world affairs. That role may come to us occasionally, but to seek it is not right.

So far as the rule of law is concerned, it is something, as you know, which is a part of our Constitution and our Jurisprudence. Recently, this was emphasised at the meeting of the International Commission of Jurists in Delhi.²² We all know that in international affairs, the rule of law is seldom observed except, perhaps, in minor matters. Every country is jealous of its sovereignty and does not wish to limit it in any way. I would personally like the rule of law to be applied in international affairs. But, then, the question arises as to who is to apply it. The United Nations ought to be a forum where decisions are made according to the rule of law and of justice and equity. But, as a matter of fact, U.N. decisions are more governed by political considerations and often by the cold war. That does not entirely apply to the International Court of Justice. But it would be too optimistic to assume that it does not apply there at all. In any event, the time has not come, I regret to say, when such a rule will be accepted by the world.

Then, again, even the concept of law is not quite the same in all countries. The Soviet concept is obviously different. It is very doubtful if the Soviet Union and its allies will accept the rule of law as believed in by other countries.

Another question arises: how are the decisions of the International Court to be enforced. There is no present authority to do so. Are we to set up some such authority or an international force? Obviously, this is not practicable.

President Eisenhower has made a statement which is no doubt actuated by the best of intentions. But it is entirely vague. He talks of supplementing the procedures of the United Nations and other bodies with similar objectives. The United Nations at present is obviously weighted in favour of the United States. It is, therefore, relatively easy for the United States to say that now I very much doubt if the U.S. would agree if they knew that the United Nations was not so weighted.

Therefore, I think that I should not say anything about this matter at this stage. I agree with you that Mikoyan's visit to the U.S. has lessened tension

22. See pp. 350-354.

over Berlin and opened out possibilities of meetings and discussions, though they may still not be very near.²³

Ed Murrow²⁴ sent me a telegram asking me to take part in his Small World Programme. The particular type of programme he suggested, that is one in which Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth should participate did not attract me. This kind of a miniature Prime Ministers' conference on the television is likely to prove rather embarrassing. There was another difficulty. He had chosen the Prime Minister of a part of Nigeria and left out Ghana. This in itself might create difficulties. On the other hand, he could not very well add Ghana now, as this would increase the number to six. Anyhow, I am terribly busy in February. I sent a reply to Ed Murrow that I was very busy in February and there were some other difficulties also. I did not quite say a final 'no'.

I might inform you that I enquired from Prime Minister Macmillan about this matter. The reply I got was that he had agreed to this without thinking much about it. It appeared that he was not very keen on participating now.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

23. Recounting the Soviet Union's position on Berlin in a television interview in Washington on 18 January 1959, Mikoyan said that the Soviet proposal to turn West Berlin into a free city was "solid and correct". He said: "I should think that the US Government will want to think the problem over, especially since the desire has been evidenced...to talk about (it). We also favour talks" Replying to a question, he said: "we have had no constructive counter-proposals, no amendments, to our proposals." He also said: "We seek no advantages for ourselves in Berlin. We want all the Powers concerned to guarantee non-interference in the city's internal affairs. We want to do away with....indirect aggression and a possible hot-bed of war. We want West Berlin to be guaranteed not by foreign bayonets but by international organisations and the Great Powers. The guarantees should include those of free access to the city from both East and West Germany."
24. Edward R. Murrow, the American broadcast journalist, was associated with the Columbia Broadcasting System.

272. To N. R. Pillai ²⁵

I agree with S.G. It should be pointed out to Shri Chagla that the rule he has referred to is not confined to I.F.S. officers. Further that the principle of the rule is not that the father should not benefit by the employment of his son, but that it should not appear that a senior officer abroad has used his official position to get some employment for his dependent. This would apply even more to the case of a head of a Mission who has a high position and foreign firms or others might imagine that they are pleasing him by giving appointment to some dependent of his.

In the circumstances, I agree that we need not ask for the refund of his son's passage to the U.S. which was paid by Government, but his son's return passage to India will not be paid by Government.

As for Shri Chagla's son being paid for the training in the U.S., in a sense this is certainly gainful employment, but essentially it is training for future employment and he is paid an allowance for this period. Such cases may be borderline cases. In the present case, I agree with S.G. that we need not object to Shri Chagla's son receiving training with the Union Carbide Company.

It is also understood that Shri Chagla's son will not enjoy the immunities and privileges by virtue of his being the dependent of the Ambassador.

273. To N. R. Pillai, Subimal Dutt and M. J. Desai ²⁶

The Deputy Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, Shri S.V. Krishnamoorthy Rao, has just returned from his visit abroad in the course of which he went to the U.S. and Canada. He tells me that there is great demand everywhere he went for books about India. People complained to him at various places in Canada, New York, Los Angeles, etc., that they just can't get any information about India or books. They want solid information about planning, our development schemes as well as some lighter type of information. Universities especially asked for it.

Can we not make a special effort to supply books and papers, and documentaries wherever possible, to such Universities or organisations as have asked for them? We might have a special set of books prepared for this purpose so that these sets could be easily sent. They could be kept at our Embassies or Consulates and it should be known to Universities, etc, that they are available if they want them.

25. Note to SG, 31 Jan. 1959.

26. Note to SG, FS and CS, 13 Feb. 1959.

274. To Gilbert McAllister

February 25, 1959

Dear Mr. McAllister,²⁷

I thank you for your letter.

I believe that some time or other, some kind of world organisation has to be established, but I rather doubt if the present time is suitable for it. Any such step must have some relation to reality, and the reality today is one of national and group conflicts. But it is good, I think, to propagate this ideal.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

275. To M. J. Desai²⁸

Shri Balwantray Mehta²⁹ has recently visited Madagascar and Mauritius. Also Nairobi for a few days. He has brought back some books which I am sending you. These might be kept in our External Affairs Library (Historical Division).

2. I should like you to meet Shri Balwantray Mehta and to discuss with him his impressions and the suggestions he makes. Most of these suggestions relate to closer cultural contacts. There is a great demand there for such contacts—libraries, periodicals, teachers, etc.

3. He tells me that our Commissioner in Mauritius³⁰ has a high position. In fact, he is practically next to the Governor.³¹ Mauritius is largely Indian, sixty per cent of the population being Biharis and Tamilians. He felt almost that he was in India when he was there. He has suggested that in view of the special position of Indians in Mauritius, the status of our Commissioner there might be raised. That would be more in keeping with that position. He was not discussing this in terms of individuals, but rather the status.

27. (1903-1964); Editor, Town and Country Planning, 1936-42, and of Merchant Navy Journal, 1943-46; Labour MP, 1945-51; member, Commonwealth Parliamentary Association; Chairman, Parliamentary Group for World Government; Secretary General, World Association of Parliamentarians for World Government, London.

28. Note to CS, 26 Feb. 1959.

29. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Gohilwad, Bombay State; social worker and President of the All India Panchayat Parishad.

30. J. N. Dhamija.

31. Robert Scott.

276. To E.M.S. Namboodiripad

February 26, 1959

My dear Namboodiripad,

With your letter of the 9th January, you sent me a memorandum on behalf of the Association of Displaced Persons from Malaya, Singapore etc. I am sorry for the delay in sending you a reply. We wanted to enquire from the U. K. High Commissioner,³² and he had gone away from Delhi. After his return, our Commonwealth Secretary met him.

The High Commissioner told him that there was great pressure on the authorities in Malaya and Borneo to employ the nationals of these countries in place of foreigners. This was also so in Singapore. Normally people whose period of contract has expired, are replaced by nationals of the country concerned, unless their services are still needed. We can do little in this matter.

We have, however, taken steps to circulate the list of the people you sent, to the various Ministries concerned here, more particularly, the Department of Mines & Fuel and the Government Shipyard. We are informed that it might be possible to give employment to some of them. Steps to this end will be taken.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

277. To Subimal Dutt³³

Reference attached telegram.³⁴

2. Any meeting to consider problems of Outer Space would be of little value if the Soviet Government does not join it. After all, the Soviet are at present the most advanced. For us to join such a meeting in the absence of the Soviet would be undesirable. Whether otherwise we should join it or not would depend on circumstances, and we need not commit ourselves at this stage.

32. Malcolm Macdonald.

33. Note to FS, 26 Feb.1959.

34. The telegram of the Indian delegation to the UN to S. Dutt reported renewed talk of the Committee on Outer Space meeting in April or May; it wanted GOI views on its timing, and, given the Soviet boycott, whether India should participate.

(b) Bilateral Relations**(i) Pakistan****278. To N. R. Pillai, Subimal Dutt and M. J. Desai³⁵**

The Soviet Ambassador³⁶ came to see me this evening and was with me for over an hour. He had recently visited our Suratgarh Farm in Ganganagar District of Rajasthan, where the elaborate machinery received from the Soviet Union had been installed. He spoke to me at some length and with warmth about this farm.³⁷ I am sending a note separately about that.

He then mentioned to me that nine or ten days ago the Soviet Ambassador in Pakistan³⁸ had conveyed an oral message on behalf of his Government to the Pakistan Foreign Office. This was in regard to the negotiations going on between the Pakistan Government and the U.S.A. Government about a military alliance which would involve bases in Pakistan territory and military equipment being supplied to Pakistan. He had told the Pakistan authorities that the Soviet Government viewed this with great concern and wished to make it clear to them that this would be looked upon as a hostile step by the Soviet Union as it was apparently made against them and they were neighbours of Pakistan. He had pointed out the dangerous consequences of such a step.³⁹

The Ambassador then spoke to me on the Berlin issue.⁴⁰ He gave me a note on this subject which I attach.

35. Note to SG, FS, CS, 4 Jan. 1959.

36. P. K. Ponomarenko.

37. For Nehru's note on his conversation with the Soviet Ambassador, see pp. 441-444.

38. I. F. Shpedko.

39. However, the USA signed bilateral agreements with the Governments of Turkey, Pakistan and Iran at Ankara on 5 March 1959 confirming US support for the joint defence and economic efforts of the countries concerned.

40. The Soviet Ambassador's note of 4 January 1959 on Berlin complained of Western insistence on continuing the occupation of the city in violation of the Potsdam Agreements. This was part of the militarisation of West Germany and its becoming a NATO base. Instead the Soviet Union wanted to convert West Berlin into "an independent political unit – a demilitarised free city." If nothing happened, the Soviet Union would hand over East Berlin to the German Democratic Republic.

279. To M.J. Desai⁴¹

I have read this letter from our High Commissioner at Karachi.⁴² I think that we should point out to the All India Radio that, being the Government agency, they should avoid all broadcasts running down the Pakistan Government or creating ill-will between the two countries. You have already written to the Director-General, All India Radio.⁴³ You should see him and make this further clear. In particular, the Calcutta and Jullundur broadcasts should be referred to in this connection.

2. As for our Kashmir station, you might mention this also to them, though this station is not wholly amenable to what we tell them, and the Kashmir Government has its say in the matter.

41. Note to CS, 7 Jan. 1959. File No. 15(18)-Pak-III/58,p.9/Note, MEA.

42. Rajeshwar Dayal wrote to M. J. Desai on 2 January 1959 about press propaganda on both sides. He had spoken to Manzur Qadir, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, who assured him that the negative tone would be corrected. Qadir had difficulty reining in editors who were childish enough to insist on using the term Bharat for India; he then complained about some of the Indian press, especially *Blitz* and *New Age*, but was reassured when their relatively low standing was pointed out. Both sides had been keeping dossiers of hostile press comment on each other. Dayal suggested reviving the Indo-Pakistan Information Consultative Committee which had been set up under the Nehru-Liaquat Agreement and Qadir, while sceptical at first, agreed to try it out. Qadir complained especially about All India Radio. The Calcutta station was beaming propaganda to East Pakistan that it was a colony of West Pakistan, it was inflaming caste Hindus against Pakistan, and that the GOC, East Pakistan, Major General Umrao Khan, had differences with his superiors. All this suggested Indian machinations to split East Pakistan from the West. The Jullundur(Jalandhar) station on the other hand denounced Ayub Khan as another Hitler and that Pakistan would collapse. While Dayal promised to examine the issues, he countered with complaints against vituperation from Radio Azad Kashmir. "Mr Qadir said that he himself resented the nature of those broadcasts, but was told that they were only replying to Radio Srinagar." They agreed that this propaganda war must end. Dayal also raised the question of the border incidents which "had not appreciably abated"; and the refusal of visas to 25 Dev Samaj pilgrims to visit Lahore. He contrasted this with the elaborate arrangements being made by India for the 3000 or so Pakistani pilgrims likely to visit Ajmer Sharif.

43. J. C. Mathur.

280. To B. C. Roy

January 13, 1959

My dear Bidhan,

Your letter of the 5th January reached me when I was at Nagpur.⁴⁴ Today I received the West Bengal Assembly and Council proceedings which you have been good enough to send me.

There is not much point in our entering into an argument over this issue. Some of the statements made in the West Bengal Assembly surprise me. What surprises me still more is the whole tone of the debate and some of the speeches made on behalf of Government.

So far as the legal and constitutional requirements are concerned, we have been consulting our Law authorities and we are consulting them again. In regard to the Cooch-Bihar enclaves,⁴⁵ we have had long correspondence with the West Bengal Government as you know.

As for certain boundary disputes resulting from rival interpretations of the previous Awards, I give below a note prepared by the Commonwealth Secretary: "P. M. will remember that at the end of the Secretaries' meeting in Karachi I made certain proposals for settlement of some of the minor disputes to the Pakistan Foreign Secretary. He said that he would consider them in consultation with his colleagues and give the reactions of the Government of Pakistan during the Prime Ministers' meeting at Delhi. The two Prime Ministers directed, after their discussions on the morning of 10th September, 1958, that the two Secretaries should get together and discuss various proposals for settlement. I asked Baig, the Pakistan Foreign Secretary, whether he would like to meet me with his colleagues. He said that he would like to have a meeting between just the two of us and that our colleagues could be called in later. When I met him in my room on the

44. Roy's main concern in his letter of 5 January 1959 was whether the West Bengal Government had been consulted over the territorial adjustments with Pakistan. He claimed that M. J. Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary, and M. S. A. Baig, Pakistan Foreign Secretary, had agreed between themselves about the Berubari partition and that "it was only with reference to the nature of the partition that their [West Bengal officials] opinion was asked and not as to whether there should be a partition at all." The further and vexed question was whether a territory which had been administered as a part of West Bengal before the Constitution came into force could be transferred without an amendment of the Constitution.

45. For details of these Indian and Pakistani enclaves, see Nehru's note of 23 April 1958 in SWJN/SS/42/pp. 617-618.

10th, the Pakistan Foreign Secretary referred to the proposals I had left with him and made counter-proposals which included division of the Berubari Union. After listening to his proposals I told him that I must get the representatives of the State Governments, who had already assembled in the Committee Room, and get their reactions to the counter-proposals. The Chief Secretary, West Bengal,⁴⁶ Chief Secretary, Assam,⁴⁷ and the Chief Secretary, Tripura,⁴⁸ were called in from our side and the Pakistan Foreign Secretary called in the Chief Secretary, East Pakistan.⁴⁹ When the counter-proposals made by Pakistan were explained to the Chief Secretaries, the West Bengal and the Assam Chief Secretaries said that they would like to consult their Directors of Land Records and other officials. The Chief Secretary, West Bengal, said that the proposals regarding the West Bengal-East Pakistan boundary were practical but he would consult his colleagues. I told him that there were two Cooch-Bihar enclaves shown on the map as adjoining the Berubari Union No.12 and any decision regarding Berubari Union required careful consideration because of the question of access to these enclaves. Shri Ray, Chief Secretary, West Bengal, consulted his colleagues and on return stated that the division of the Berubari Union should be so made as to allow for communications to be maintained with one of the Cooch-Bihar enclaves to be retained by West Bengal, the other enclave along with half of the Berubari Union going to East Pakistan. This was agreed to by the Pakistan Foreign Secretary and a formula for division of the Berubari Union was worked out in consultation with the West Bengal officials and incorporated in the recommendations of the Secretaries."

While it is perfectly true that the constitutional position was and is as you mention it, that is, that the adjustment of international boundaries is a matter for the Centre, it is obviously desirable and necessary to confer with the State Governments concerned in all such matters. It was never my intention to come to any decision in regard to these matters without the fullest consultation and, as far as possible, the agreement of the West Bengal Government. You will remember the long correspondence we have had with the West Bengal Government about the Cooch-Bihar enclaves. We did not wish to take any step unless the West Bengal Government agreed.

46. S. N. Ray.

47. S. K. Datta.

48. N. M. Patnaik, Chief Commissioner of Tripura.

49. Aziz Ahmed was Chief Secretary of East Pakistan at the time of this meeting. When Ayub Khan assumed full powers in Pakistan on 28 October 1958, he was made the Secretary General, Cabinet Division and Deputy Martial Law Administrator.

I have naturally looked at the maps and charts concerning these boundary disputes on many occasions. But I do not pretend to be an expert on them and I have to rely on the advice given to me. As the Chief Secretary of West Bengal was here throughout our talks with the Pakistan people, I naturally thought that every action that we had taken was with his approval. In fact I enquired on several occasions whether he and other Bengal officials were being consulted or not. I am quite sure that I would not have come to an agreement on any subject with the Pakistan people if objections were raised in regard to it on behalf of the West Bengal Government.

It must be remembered that all these points of dispute stem from the Awards. The question is not, therefore, one of transferring territory, but of interpreting an Award and then adjusting the boundaries accordingly. In regard to the Berubari Union, I was told that our case was by no means clear and it was conceivable that an impartial authority might decide against us. It was because of this that we thought it advisable to accept the proposal made to us.

As a matter of fact, I offered to the Pakistan Prime Minister to refer every undecided point to an impartial authority. I was not very keen on doing so as I was by no means sure of the strength of our case in regard to some matters. When Firoz Khan Noon refused to accept this kind of arbitration, I was on the whole relieved.⁵⁰

In particular, the point to remember is that an adjustment resulting from an interpretation of Radcliffe or Bagge Award is not to be considered a transfer of territory from one country to another. It is only after this interpretation that one can say to what country it should belong. However, the law points will be considered by the proper authorities.

We have been advised that in accordance with this viewpoint the question of the Berubari Union need not be brought up before Parliament as it is one of interpretation. But, in view of what has happened, I propose to bring it before Parliament when we consider the question of the Cooch-Bihar enclaves.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

50. See also SWJN/SS/44/pp.549-557.

281. To N. R. Pillai and Subimal Dutt⁵¹

I enclose an Intelligence report on military preparedness and alliances of Pakistan.

As you know, the Soviet Government has been repeatedly and rather strongly drawing the attention of the Pakistan Government to their proposed agreement with the U.S., more especially in regard to missile launching sites, nuclear weapons, etc. We have occasionally in general terms expressed our concern at the U.S. military aid to Pakistan and we have been told that this is not very much. All this is very vague on both sides.

I think that we should continue to press this point and should do so more specifically. We need not send a formal note on the subject, but we should speak to the U.S. Ambassador.⁵²

In particular, we should draw his attention to the information we have received that the new U.S.-Pakistan Agreement includes the supply of "non-conventional" weapons and equipment and the setting up of missile launching sites. It envisages atomic support including weapons, equipment and personnel. Further that special constructional activity is proceeding in Chitral, Gilgit etc. which belong to that part of Kashmir State which is in the occupation of Pakistan. According to our information, bases are being established in Pakistan as well as in the Kashmir area under Pakistan for delivering atomic attacks. Also that Pakistan is getting 225 Sabre aircraft which will be formed into 9 Squadrons of 12 aircraft each and a large reserve, and in addition two Reconnaissance Squadrons.

All this is very considerable help. But what concerns us most is the possibility of "non-conventional" weapons being given and nuclear or missile launching sites being put up in Pakistan.

51. Note to SG and FS, 16 Jan. 1959.

52. Ellsworth Bunker.

282. To M. J. Desai⁵³

I agree with you generally and you might point this out to our High Commissioner in Karachi.⁵⁴ You might tell him that what our Ambassador in Washington said was not due to any special direction from us. He did this on his own initiative because of our general approach to these problems which he knows well. We can hardly criticise him for his forthright statement.⁵⁵

We have to remember that our approach is two-fold: always to be friendly and courteous in our talks with Pakistan or in our references to Pakistan, and at the same time to make clear our position in regard to certain important matters.

283. To M. J. Desai⁵⁶

With reference to Shri Harishwar Dayal's⁵⁷ letter of January 8th, giving some figures of possible American help to Pakistan, one fact has to be borne in mind. There is the direct aid for military purposes out of the appropriations made through Congress. I understand, however, that money coming from the Defence Budget of the United States is not included in this aid. The appropriations are made for the defence services in the United States, and they can spend them on building air-fields or other purposes in Pakistan. I am not, of course, certain of this, but this was pointed out to me once, and it might be borne in mind.

53. Note to CS, 21 Jan. 1959.

54. Rajeshwar Dayal.

55. On 15 January 1959, the *Washington Post* had reported M. C. Chagla's speech at the Economic Club in New York. The United Press despatch, captioned "India's Envoy Hits U.S. Aid to Pakistan", quoted Chagla: "India is not neutral in its views of the world but it does believe that the solution to the cold war is 'more tolerance and understanding and not more armaments'."

56. Note to CS, 24 Jan. 1959.

57. Minister in the Indian Embassy in Washington.

284. To Eugene R. Black⁵⁸

February 6, 1959

Dear Mr. Black,⁵⁹

Thank you for your message on the subject of arrangements for the carrying out of river surveys to ensure adequate maintenance of the Ferozepore Headworks which I received from our Ambassador in Washington on 3rd February.⁶⁰

2. I understand that Gulhati⁶¹ has kept the Bank authorities informed about the exchange of correspondence on this subject between the Indian and Pakistani officials.

3. I agree with you that adequate maintenance of the Ferozepore Headworks is essential if normal supplies of the Dipalpur Canal (in Pakistan) and of the Eastern and Bikaner Canals (in India) are to be safeguarded during the coming kharif season. We have been carrying out the necessary river surveys each year to ensure adequate maintenance but our river survey operations this season have been suspended due to the persistent obstruction of the Pakistani Border Police since November 1958.

4. Our High Commissioner⁶² has recently discussed this matter with the Pakistan Foreign Minister⁶³ and also given him a note on 23rd January.⁶⁴ I enclose a copy for your information.

58. File No. 4(1)-Pak-III/59, Part I, pp.68-72/corr., MEA. Also available in JN Collection and File No. (8)-CWD/58, Ministry of Irrigation (IT Section) 1958.

59. President, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

60. Black had written that it should be possible for the two Special Irrigation Commissioners to work out together satisfactory arrangements for the river survey for adequate maintenance of Ferozepore Headworks; and that he was sending a similar message to the President of Pakistan.

61. N. D. Gulhati, Chief Engineer (Special) and ex-officio Joint Secretary to the Government of India in charge of technical and secretarial work relating to the Canal Waters dispute.

62. Rajeshwar Dayal.

63. Manzur Qadir.

64. The note explained that the river survey of the Ferozepore Headworks after the flood season had been a regular annual feature ever since the Headworks were built. Some misunderstanding had arisen on the part of Pakistan Border Police when these annual survey operations took place in 1957 but the work was completed in the normal way in early October. 1957. The note gave details of the correspondence between the officials of Indian and Pakistan Government and Pakistan's proposal for "a joint survey of the river up-stream of the Headworks" and Pakistan Foreign Secretary M.S.A. Baig's letter of 13 January 1959 stating that "the Government of Pakistan were prepared to permit the Indian Irrigation Staff to undertake 'this technical work' this year subject to four specific conditions".

5. The Pakistani local authorities have, on one pretext or another, been trying to interfere with the effective maintenance of the Ferozepore Headworks throughout the last few years. You would recall, in this connection, our correspondence in 1956 when a similar situation was created in connection with certain repairs to the Ferozepore Headworks.⁶⁵ We have taken and will continue to take all measures necessary to discharge effectively our responsibility for the maintenance of the Ferozepore Headworks and to ensure that supplies to the cultivators, both in India and Pakistan, who depend upon the canal system taking off from these Headworks, are not adversely affected.

6. Pakistanis have, unauthorisedly, been occupying 6,000 acres of Indian territory beyond the boundary line fixed under the Radcliffe Award. We have respected the status quo and not disturbed this unauthorised occupation. We cannot, however, permit any further encroachment of our sovereign territorial rights.

7. The problem of river surveys and normal maintenance vital to the welfare and well-being of Pakistani and Indian cultivators has been unnecessarily complicated by the Pakistan authorities making unjustified claims to Indian territory and interfering, through their Border Police with the normal river surveys and maintenance work. The difficulty that has arisen is not of our making. We do not want to raise any territorial claim in this indirect way.⁶⁶

8. You will see from the concluding portion of para 10 of the note given by our High Commissioner to the Pakistan Foreign Minister that we have stated categorically that these river surveys and maintenance operations do not, in any way, affect the position regarding the territorial dispute in this region which is to be discussed and settled separately. I cannot see what more we can do. It is for the Pakistan Government to take necessary action to restrain their Border

65. See SWJN/SS/32/pp. 311-312, 315-316, 325.

66. In reply to the question whether the President of Pakistan, in a speech on 25 December 1958 in Karachi, held India responsible for delay in settling Kashmir and Canal Water disputes and threatened to settle the matters by other means, Lakshmi Menon said in the Rajya Sabha on 11 February 1959: "The President of Pakistan spoke in Urdu on the occasion [25 December 1958 in Karachi]. Two official texts of the speech were issued, the second in supersession of the first. According to the first text, the President stated, as regards Kashmir, that there was a limit to Pakistan's patience, and as regards the Canal Water dispute, that there were ways of honourable death open to Pakistanis other than dying from hunger and thirst. The second text omitted these references and contained nothing that could be regarded as a threat of war."

Police from interfering with the river survey operations in Indian territory. I earnestly hope that the Foreign Minister of Pakistan who has been studying this case will take necessary action to this end.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

285. To M. J. Desai⁶⁷

I really do not understand why the Bihar Government should continue to reserve beds for East Pakistan when they have not sent any new patient after December 1950. It will hardly be feasible to get any money from East Pakistan for this period from 1951 onwards when they sent no new patients except perhaps for the old patients who might have continued. It is obvious, therefore, that no further beds should be reserved for East Pakistan, but in case there are some patients there already from East Pakistan, they should not be turned out.

2. I think you should write to the Bihar Government telling them that they need not keep any beds reserved for East Pakistan now. In case there is some old patient, of course, he should be continued. The beds allotted in the Mental Hospital to East Pakistan should be re-adjusted among the participating States in India,

3. As for the arrears due from East Pakistan, this matter will have to be taken up by the Government of India, Finance Ministry. Meanwhile, our Finance Ministry agrees in principle to the Centre taking over expenditure pending recovery from East Pakistan.

4. You should send a copy of your letter to the Health Ministry and ask them to proceed on the lines indicated.

67. Note to CS, 10 Feb. 1959.

286. Berubari in Lok Sabha⁶⁸

Shri Rameshwar Tantia⁶⁹ and 16 others:

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that West Bengal Assembly has passed a unanimous resolution for retaining Berubari in India; and
- (b) if so, Government's reactions thereto?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):

(a) Yes.

(b) A Bill relating to this matter will be placed before Parliament where every aspect of this question will no doubt be discussed.

Shri Rameshwar Tantia: As the question involves very important constitutional points, is it the intention of the Government to refer the matter to the Supreme Court for opinion?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The point that might have arisen was whether it required legislation or not. We have decided, therefore, for various reasons anyhow, to put it before, Parliament. The question of any other constitutional point does not arise at all.

Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee:⁷⁰ Under Article 3 of the Constitution, if the borders of any state are to be changed, the move must come from the President who in turn must ascertain views of the State legislature. May I know if the views of the West Bengal Legislature were ascertained before the honourable Prime Minister entered into an agreement with the Prime Minister of Pakistan and if not, I should like to know under what Article of the Constitution or under what law the Prime Minister thinks that he has authority to transfer Indian territory to Pakistan without ascertaining the wishes of the people living there.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member makes certain assumptions. I entirely agree with him that where any territory of India is to be taken out of India, it is

68. 13 Feb. 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXV, cols 826-829.

69. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Sikar, Rajasthan.

70. Jan Sangh, Lok Sabha MP from Balrampur, Uttar Pradesh.

a very serious matter and every care should be taken that it is done according to the Constitution and the law. But, the question that arises in all those matters is whether a certain part of area is a territory of India or not. I am not going into the merits of the question. The main thing has been in these border disputes, whether they belong to India or Pakistan, whether according to certain awards, certain interpretation of those awards they come here or there. Therefore, border disputes are not normally put in that category to which the hon. Member refers.

Mr. Speaker:⁷¹ Shri H. N. Mukerjee.

Shri Vajpayee: There is a supplementary arising out of the reply.

Mr. Speaker: All right. Shri H. N. Mukerjee.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: Since the Nehru-Noon Agreement⁷² definitely envisaged exchange of enclaves and this is stated in a document so authoritative as the President's Address, may I know if the Prime Minister will be ready—I am very serious about it—may I know if the Prime Minister will be ready to modify if the terms of the agreement and to see that Berubari is retained in the Indian Union and not given over to Pakistan for the very good reason that as a matter of fact Berubari is not an enclave and there can be no question of its transfer to Pakistan? It is a matter of fact. If that is so, would he modify the agreement and come before Parliament with a modified settlement?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I entirely agree with the hon. Member. Berubari is not an enclave. Nobody can call it an enclave since it is not. And the President's Address does not refer to Berubari as an enclave at all. The President's Address has not gone into detail. If the hon. Member refers to it, one part of the President's Address, as far as I remember, refers to enclaves and another part refers to the Nehru-Noon Agreement and the arrangements arrived at. We are not treating this as an enclave at all. As for the other argument, that would be rather going into the merits and I hope that this House and the other will go fully into this question so that a right decision may be arrived at.

71. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

Shri Mahavir Tyagi: On a point of order, since Berubari was a territory which immediately before the commencement of the Constitution was comprised in the State of West Bengal, it has become part of India as such and any legislation either from the State or from this Parliament cannot part with any territory unless the Constitution which defines finally the boundaries of India is amended. In Article 1, it is mentioned, "India, that is Bharat, shall be a Union of States. The territory of India shall comprise the territories of the States.....

Mr. Speaker: What I suggest is

Shri Mahavir Tyagi: ... the territories of the States.....

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. The hon. Member will kindly hear me. This is only a question. So far as the actual transfer is concerned, a Bill will be brought up here. This point of order can certainly be raised that this House has no jurisdiction unless the Constitution is amended and so on. Therefore, he would not invite me to give an answer so far as this matter is concerned. There can be honest difference of opinion regarding this matter. Article 4 deals with a different question that so far as boundaries are concerned, a law can be brought here. There can be difference of opinion regarding this matter. But, let us not go into this question as to whether this is legal or not legal, what kind of procedure is to be adopted, whether the Constitution has to be amended or not. All this will be a subject matter then and a discussion will be allowed at the time when the Bill is brought before this House.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: May I know whether it has been brought to the notice of the hon. Prime Minister that the map on which discussions took place between him and the Prime Minister of Pakistan was not a correct map, that the placing of Deviganj is not where it is in the map and therefore, whether the hon. Prime Minister will look into the entire matter and reconsider it before formulating the Bill? Once the Bill comes, it will be a question of prestige.

Shri Mahavir Tyagi: No question of prestige.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Lady Member goes into actual merits. It is rather a complicated matter of maps and revenue records and various claims made, and counter-claims etc. It is hardly possible to deal with it in

question and answer, but I can assure her and the House that we are deeply concerned in this matter, and we shall consider every aspect of it with the greatest care.

287. To Subroto Mukherjee⁷³

I do not think that the answer to (c) and (d) of the question is adequate even though it is technically correct. We brought this matter to the attention of the UN Chief Military Observer.⁷⁴ I think that his verdict or reply should be mentioned.

2. Thus (c) should be as follows:

"No enquiries were made from the Pakistan Government in this regard, but a complaint was lodged with the UN Chief Military Observer who said that it was not possible to fix the identity of the aircraft. He added, however, that in regard to two of our complaints, the aircraft did fly as alleged by us. It was, however, very difficult to identify jet aircraft flying at very high altitudes, and any enquiry was not likely to produce practical results commensurate with the time and expense involved."

3. You can see me about this matter, if you like, on 24th February at 11-30 A.M. in External Affairs.

288. Firing by Pakistan Troops⁷⁵

Mr. Speaker: I have received notice of an adjournment motion from Shri Hem Barua⁷⁶ regarding the serious and grave situation arising out of Pakistan troops firing resulting in death of an Indian national.⁷⁷ This is a continuing affair and it is stated that all steps are being taken. Has the hon. Prime Minister anything further to say in the matter?

Shri Hem Barua: May I make a humble submission, Sir? It is very often said that this is a continuing matter. It is a continuing matter and it has

72. See SWJN/SS/44/pp. 547-558.

73. Note to Chief of Air Staff, 21 Feb 1959.

74. Lt.-General Robert H. Nimmo.

75. 23 Feb. 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXVI. cols 2423-2427.

76. PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Gauhati, Assam.

77. This was in Karimganj on the Assam-East Pakistan border.

resulted in the death of an Indian national on the 18th February due to injuries sustained from firing—his name is Munawar Ali. The news is that a woman in the kitchen is also having injuries due to Pakistan bullets coming in on the 21st February. There is dislocation of normal life there, and people are evacuating from those areas, and every day telegrams are pouring in. I have got those telegrams. And there are telegrams even from the Chairman of the Local Board in Karimganj which say that normal life is completely dislocated, and there is dislocation of even postal service. If matters are allowed to continue like this—and continuance of a matter like this is reflection on the Government as well—people there are sure to lose morale and they are sure to lose faith in the Government. This is what is happening.

In Kanpur, the Defence Minister made a statement that we can tolerate foolishness to a degree on the part of others. This is not a case of tolerating foolishness on the part of Pakistan. This is a case of adopting measures to stop this altogether, because the conditions prevailing there are of utter helplessness and of insecurity to life and property. Those conditions cannot be judged from the citadels of Delhi. It is the people there who are suffering, people are dying. Munawar Ali has died on the 19th, and a woman is about to die. There is complete dislocation of normal life.

I would like the Prime Minister to go to that area. Often I feel, rightly or wrongly I do not know, it is because that frontier is so much neglected that it has not been able to attract the attention of the Prime Minister or of the Home Minister or of the Government. If it were any other State in the Republic of India, possibly the Prime Minister would have rushed to the place to give succour and relief to the people there.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): First of all, as regards the facts, as you were pleased to say, firing has been continuing for some time. There is no doubt that, as a result of this firing, one person named Mohonar Ali....

Shri Hem Barua: Munawar Ali.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: However that is pronounced, of Kurikhola was injured by a bullet on the 17th February and died the next day; also that a lady named Kotai, wife of Golakram Namasudra of Ulukandi, was hit on the wrist by a Pakistani bullet while washing her clothes on the 17th February; and further that one Ramija Bibi of Himindpura was hit by a bullet on the chest while sitting in the verandah of her house.

These are deplorable incidents, and I naturally share the concern of the hon. Member and others about this. It is unfortunate that a person should be hit, but the more unfortunate thing is that this kind of firing continues. If firing continues, there is always danger of people being hit. It is rather surprising that days and days of widespread firing should result, fortunately, in only a few casualties.

How, the hon. Member says that we ignore this part of the country or this border. That, surely, is hardly justified. I do not quite know what he would have us do, quite apart from our taking any steps or not taking them vis-a-vis Pakistan—that is a different matter. What are we to do? A border is protected in the military sense, in the police sense and the like—and it is protected, I claim, perfectly protected—but when people fire from across the border, (it is very seldom that the border has been crossed; if it is crossed, it is a few yards here and there) the normal reply is, if one wants to do it, to fire across that border. The normal reply is given, and just as, unfortunately some people are hit on this side, some people are hit on this side, some people are hit on the other side. It is folly, I admit, but it is so. One or two Pakistanis are hit, one or two persons on this side. The whole thing seems rather extraordinarily childish, because the Pakistan people are not going to coerce India into some policy by a little firing on the border. I have no explanation of it.

But the point is, apart from what we are doing now, it is not clear to me what the honourable Member would like us to do. He wants me to go there. If I went there—I will gladly go there—I do not quite know what I would do on the border, a border of hundreds of miles. If I spent.....

Shri Hem Barua: At least that sector of the border which is involved in firing.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: At the moment Shri M. J. Desai, our Commonwealth Secretary, is having talks regarding the borders of West Pakistan with the authorities in Pakistan. Could this matter also not be discussed over there and something done about it? Before we start talking about another border, first the firing across this border has to be stopped.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Of course, this matter will be raised. This particular point is going to be raised strongly, quite apart from any border settlement—that is a different thing. This kind of thing goes beyond that. Settlement or no settlement, there should be a measure of decency about these matters.

Shri Hem Barua: May I know what relief measures are brought to the people who are facing the Pakistani bullets?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know. It is for the Assam Government and others, no doubt, and the military. The question of relief, if I may say so, hardly arises except where somebody, unfortunately, has been hit.

Mr. Speaker: However unfortunate it might be, no concrete measures have been suggested. The hon. Prime Minister is certainly willing to adopt all those measures, and all measures are being adopted, except waging war with Pakistan.

Shri Hem Barua: It makes us very sad and concerned.

Mr. Speaker: It is unfortunate. It is no doubt a continuing affair, and it is only, incidentally, a thing which has been going on, however unfortunate it may be, it cannot be the subject matter of an adjournment motion. There may be other remedies. Therefore, I am not called upon to give my consent to this adjournment motion.

(ii) Afghanistan

289. To Subimal Dutt⁷⁸

I think that informally we should give some reply to the Afghan Government to the suggestion they have made. You may do this here to the Afghan Ambassador⁷⁹ and our Ambassador in Kabul⁸⁰ may follow it up.

Our position in regard to the military assistance being given by the United States to Pakistan is perfectly clear. We have repeatedly expressed our concern at it here and in Washington. Our policy in regard to any kind of military pacts or assurances is also clear. We have been against these anywhere in the world because we have felt that these military pacts, instead of helping, only increase the tensions. So far as Pakistan is concerned, we have, as the Afghan Government well knows, many difficult problems to deal with and the relations of India with Pakistan are far from happy. If, however, we entered into military arrangements with Afghanistan or any other country, that would not only be against our firm policy, but would become an excuse for further military aid to be sent

78. Note to FS, 17 Jan. 1959.

79. Sardar Ala General Mohamad Omer.

80. S. N. Haksar.

to Pakistan. It would not lessen tensions, but increase them and, therefore, increase the danger to Afghanistan,

The relations between India and Afghanistan are close and friendly and this itself is of help to both the countries. The best course would be for us to keep in close touch with each other in regard to such matters and take such diplomatic or other steps from time to time that may be considered necessary.

290. Welcome to Mohammad Daud Khan⁸¹

Your Royal Highness,⁸² it gives us very great pleasure to welcome you here in Delhi and India today.⁸³ Last year, we had the honour and privilege of welcoming His Majesty the King of Afghanistan.⁸⁴ Now this visit of yours is in continuation of that and will, I am sure bring our two countries even nearer to each other. We are old friends, our two countries, and our connections go back to thousands of years. It is a long history. Ever since India became independent, we have drawn closer to each other in many ways as is natural because of our old contacts, common interests and broadly common outlook on world problems. Therefore, we welcome you most heartily and warmly and hope that during your brief stay in India you will see something of what we are doing in this country and tell us something of what is happening in Afghanistan so that our understanding and regard for each other may grow. I welcome you once again.

291. In Honour of Mohammad Daud⁸⁵

Your Royal Highness, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,
When I was waiting at our airport today eagerly expecting your Highness's arrival, my mind went back to the long past of our countries. When your

81. At Palam Airport, New Delhi, 5 Feb. 1959. From the *National Herald*, 6 Feb. 1959.

82. Sardar Mohammad Daud Khan (1909-1978); Afghan politician; a cousin and brother-in-law of King Zahir Shah; Minister of Defence, 1946-53; Prime Minister, 1953-63; debarred, along with other members of the royal family, from political activity by the new constitution, 1964; deposed the King in 1973, declared himself President of Afghanistan; killed in coup of 1978.

83. He was accompanied by the Minister for Mines and Industry, Mohammad Yusuf, and the Deputy Minister for Planning, Abdul Hai Aziz, on eight-day tour of India.

84. King Zahir Shah had visited India in February 1959.

85. Banquet speech, New Delhi, 5 Feb. 1959, AIR tapes, NMML.

Highness arrived, and I saw the word inscribed on your Highness's aircraft Ariana, I was again reminded of the long ages during which we were connected. It was inevitable that we should be so connected because we were neighbours, and geography is a powerful thing which cannot be ignored. But apart from that, these long ages of contact, sometimes of conflict too, but never-theless, trade, cultural and other contacts which affected each other so much, came to my mind. Then I thought of the period relatively short in our long history when we were rather cut off from each other, because we were under foreign rule and your Highness's country was also faced with many difficulties, and other great countries from the far were pressing in on your Highness's country. Then came another change when we became independent; and not only we, but the change came all over Asia and in Africa also.

Now, we live in this period of change and any one can see that one of the major aspects of the modern world, apart from the tremendous discoveries of science which are changing it, one of the major aspects has been this re-awakening of the hundreds of millions of people in Asia and the new life that is coursing from the veins of the people of Africa. I am not quite sure if people in other continents have fully realised the strength and the vigour of this new life and also, of course, of the tremendous difficulties that have to be faced by these countries of Asia.

We became independent, and as a result of that other things happened which separated our two countries. The Partition of India separated direct boundaries and direct contacts. But that made little difference to our age long community of interests, and our old friendship survived. And ever since then we have grown closer to each other for a variety of reasons, among them being mutual interest which is always a powerful reason. The long memory of our past contacts was there and the moment it was possible to renew them, we renewed them. And then came, as I said, mutual interest. Ever since then in the many important matters that affect the world there has been a very great community of interests between our two countries. Both our countries decided that we should not in the modern international conflicts become a part of them; become associated with what has been known as the 'cold war', and the military alliances and blocs of great and respected countries. And so there was this basic identity of views in regard to these unfortunate developments of the modern world. That also brought us nearer to each other and so we have followed these policies in spite of difficulties and pressures, and whether at the United Nations or elsewhere, we have often seen eye to eye with each other. For all these reasons it has always been a pleasure to us to welcome distinguished visitors from Afghanistan.

Last year we had the privilege of welcoming His Majesty the King of

Afghanistan who during his brief stay here won all the people who met him with his charm and with his friendly feelings towards India. Today we have you your Royal Highness here and we are happy to have you as our distinguished and honoured guest, and if I may say so, our friend. Your visit here has been long awaited. You have been here in the past, rather many years ago, to Delhi, as your Royal Highness was telling me, when the first foundations of this New Delhi were being laid and the rest was a wilderness. Well, that wilderness has been encroached upon now and New Delhi has grown up into a big city and the centre of this Republic of ours. But even though that might be the nerve centre, the country is big and is not like New Delhi. It is a country of small villages, small towns and a few big towns, and we have to struggle against the burden of ages, the burden of poverty of our people, and because of that we labour to remove it. We have our plans, the five year plans and the like, and your Royal Highness knows every well that when such problems face a nation, even progress itself brings difficulties and great problems. The moment one solves one problem, others appear on the scene. So, we are struggling, but struggling with good heart and with faith and confidence in our country and in our people. And if I may say so, in the friendship and cooperation of our friends elsewhere, and more especially your country.

We have seen in the past decade this growing friendship between the countries of Asia even though sometimes they differ from each other. As between Afghanistan and India I cannot remember any point of real difference and it is odd that when two countries have no particular points of difference, they take each other for granted. There is not much to argue, because we agree more or less. And that has been the case with India and Afghanistan in these ten or twelve years. We may have discussed occasionally matters of trade or some other minor matters, but broadly speaking, we have always been in agreement, and this has been a great satisfaction to us. So if your Royal Highness comes here today, we should like you to feel that you are among friends, among people who not only wish your country well, but who wish your country and our country to cooperate with each other, to help each other and to march together to the many common goals that we have together with other countries.

Today, the biggest thing is peace in the world, because without that no country is going to progress and indeed, every country might meet with disaster. And after that comes the advancement and progress of the countries of Asia, of your country and our country, in this work to which your Royal Highness is devoted in your country and we are devoted in our country, we may be of help to each other. And certainly our friendship itself gives us strength, and so, we welcome you here with all goodwill and friendship, and we hope that after your brief stay in India when your Royal Highness goes back to Afghanistan,

you will carry our good wishes to His Majesty the King and to the people of Afghanistan.

May I ask your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, to drink to the good health of His Royal Highness.

292. Civic reception⁸⁶

Afghans Want to Progress
In Peace, Says Daud

BY A STAFF CORRESPONDENT

Sardar Mohammad Daud, Prime Minister of Afghanistan, told the citizens of Delhi on Saturday that as in India we in Afghanistan want to improve our lot in an atmosphere of peace and tranquility.

The Prime Minister was replying to an address of welcome that the Corporation presented him at a civic reception at Diwan-e-Am in Red Fort.

Sardar Daud said that from ancient times there had existed between India and Afghanistan friendly, cultural and economic relations which became stronger with the passage of time. Only two centuries of colonialism on the sub-continent had led to a temporary break in those happy relations. Now that India is free, he was confident that the two countries, pursuing a policy of strict non-alignment, would enable each other to fulfil the task of reconstruction and maintain friendly relations with the rest of the world.

Through sustained efforts and sacrifices, Sardar Daud continued, many of the countries of Asia and Africa had attained freedom from colonialism. They all adhered to the principles of the United Nations Charter to further the cause of world peace. The achievements of India in laying the foundations of a strong and peaceful nation and the part it was playing to maintain global peace had evoked the sincere admiration of the people of Afghanistan. He conveyed the prayers of his people for the speedy fulfilment of India's national aspirations.

CIVIC ADDRESS

The civic address, printed in golden letters in Hindi on the scarlet and white satin silk and beautifully embroidered, read by Mrs Aruna Asaf Ali, Mayor,

86. Speech at Red Fort, Delhi, 7 Feb. 1959. From *The Statesman*, 8 Feb. 1959.

congratulated Afghanistan on its policy of non-alignment with power blocs and co-operation with all nations on the basis of equality.

Mr. Nehru, in his speech, said that the relations between India and Afghanistan were older than history itself. Both countries were following the same path so far as the major problems of the world were concerned. Both countries had steadfastly rejected all forms of military alliances. The partition of India had separated the two nations geographically but "our relations are stronger and deeper than ever before."

Mr. Nehru said that Sanskrit still continued to enjoy the status of a classical language in Afghanistan, being taught in schools there as Persian is in India. Pushtu, Afghanistan's national language, derived much of its vocabulary from Sanskrit. He hoped that since the development of the two countries was more or less along the same lines, such visits as those of the Prime Minister and of the King last year, would greatly benefit the people of both nations.

The audience hall and the big open park in front were beautifully decorated with flowers and were flood-lit. The Afghan Prime Minister replied in Persian which was later rendered into English by an aide.

On behalf of the Corporation the Mayor presented the visiting dignitary with a finely carved ivory camel.

(iii) China and Tibet

293. To Subimal Dutt⁸⁷

I agree. You might mention this informally to the Chinese Embassy here.⁸⁸ I would have no particular objection to this message being conveyed informally by our Peking Embassy to the Chinese authorities. But probably your suggestion is the better one.⁸⁹

87. Note to FS, 3 Jan. 1959. File No. 10 (3)-EA/59, p. 1/note, MEA.

88. Walter Lippman, editor of *New York Herald Tribune*, had asked B. K. Nehru to find out through Delhi or the Indian Embassy in Peking whether it would be possible for him to visit China.

89. Dutt had suggested forwarding his request to the Chinese Embassy in Delhi.

294. To Subimal Dutt⁹⁰

I have read Shri Acharya's note and your note.⁹¹ These are difficult problems, but I think the line you have suggested is the right one, and we should issue instructions accordingly. We shall have to keep in close touch with developments.

2. I agree also that wounded and sick rebels should be given such first aid as we can give them at the border. Their being allowed to come in will produce embarrassing situations for us. I presume that our border check posts have first aid outfits.

3. Army Headquarters should be informed of the position that has arisen or may arise.

4. I think that we should keep the Foreign Affairs Committee informed of this position. I do not think it is desirable to circulate papers, but when the next meeting takes place, we shall tell them what the position is.

295. To Subimal Dutt⁹²

I agree that a discussion in Parliament at this stage will not be desirable. But I do not like asking the Speaker to disallow this question. It creates a bad impression on Parliament as people get to know about it. I think it should be possible, as you say, to give an answer to the question without embarrassing ourselves or the Chinese. I do not see any harm in mentioning that some negotiations have taken place and will be continued, though Barahoti⁹³ need not be mentioned. We might say that there are small pockets or territories on the border in regard to which there has been some controversy and discussions have taken place. In one or two of these disputed pockets, we received a report that some Chinese soldiers came there just when the winter set in. Owing to climatic conditions, it is not easy to go there till the winter is over.

90. Note to FS, 13 Jan. 1959.

91. For S. Dutt's note to Nehru, see Appendix 8.

92. Note to FS, 6 Feb. 1959.

93. See SWJN/SS/41/p. 673.

2. You will no doubt exercise your ingenuity in drafting a proper answer. I shall answer it myself and see that nothing further goes out.⁹⁴

(iv) Ghana

296. Banquet Speech⁹⁵

Mr. Prime Minister, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,
Some days ago we welcomed you here,⁹⁶ and today we are in a sense bidding you good-bye from Delhi at least.⁹⁷ I am very glad that you are spending some more days in India and going to the southern part of this big country. I am glad of that, because I hope you will have some good rest there as you intend having, and secondly because any person who comes to India and does not go to the South of India has not seen India. South of India is of course an essential part of India, but it is a particular part of India with its own charm, and therefore to form some idea of India it is necessary to see both the north and the south. But even so, you will have seen only a small part of this country, and during the last many years I have seen only a part of this country in spite of efforts and a good deal of travelling.

We welcomed you and you came here for a variety of reasons, personally as a great leader of your people and of Africa, and also as the symbol of the African people who are emerging into freedom. That freedom will have no doubt come to them. But perhaps almost the first essential of that freedom is not the political change that comes but the inner freedom of the spirit that comes to a people when they resolve to be free. I remember how our great

94. To a question about Chinese occupation of Indian territory in Uttar Pradesh, Nehru replied in the Lok Sabha on 23 January 1959: "We have received reports that the Chinese have moved into one or two small pockets of our territory in the UP-Tibet border area after we withdrew our personnel from these areas in September, with the setting in of the winter. These areas are not accessible during winter and we have therefore not been able to obtain confirmation of these reports. We are in touch with the Chinese authorities and hope that a satisfactory solution of these minor border disputes will be found by agreement between the two Governments."

95. At a banquet given by Kwame Nkrumah, the Prime Minister of Ghana, in Nehru's honour, New Delhi, 2 Jan. 1959. JN Supplementary Papers, NMML. Also available in leading newspapers of 4 Jan. 1959.

96. Nkrumah was in India, 22 Dec. 1958-11 Jan. 1959. See also SWJN/SS/45/pp. 744-753.

97. He visited Bangalore, Mysore, Poona and Bombay, leaving for Cairo on 8 January 1959.

leader Gandhiji used to tell us that you will be free when you feel free and that the rest will follow. I think that there is a great deal of truth in that. Any kind of freedom that comes by some change of circumstances without that inner feeling is not a very firm freedom. What one observes in Africa from a distance is that inner spirit of freedom rising among the people, and if that is there, the rest of course follow. Unfortunately we live in a world full of quarrel and trouble, struggle and tension, and often enough the problem is looked at, the struggle is looked at as between two parties involving the victory of one party and possibly the defeat of another which is unfortunate. If it could be so arranged that the victory of one party is also the victory of the other, how good it would be. I remember some words said by a very great son of India who lived long long ago, and he said: the true victory is one in which everybody is victorious and none is defeated. I do not know if that is feasible or possible in this world of ours wholly, but certainly it might be partly possible. At any rate it would be a good thing if we tried to gain our victories in this way even though we do not wholly succeed in conveying the sense of victory to all concerned. Probably we are arriving at a stage in the world's affairs when there really cannot be an ultimate victory of one or the defeat of one without involving the defeat of so many, and so I hope that in this freedom of the people of Africa to which we all look forward so much, in this freedom there will be a sense of victory to all people or nearly all and not a feeling that some one has been defeated.

Well, that is a hope which when, I do not know, will be wholly realised, but, at any rate, if we approach about the question in this way, it does tone down the bitterness of struggle. And what is more important still, when the struggle is ended, it leads to reconciliation much more easily than otherwise. You know, Mr. Prime Minister, and you have seen for yourself the amount of fellow feeling that there is here in India for your country and for the people of Africa as a whole, and your coming here has been very welcome. It would have been welcome in any event, but this helps not merely us, the few gathered here around this table or a select few in thinking of these matters, but it brings the question more vividly to the great masses of people and the individual brings it who comes and with you, in a sense, come a whiff of the Africa here and the beliefs and the longings and the hopes and aspirations of those people, and the masses of India, who had also struggled and had those hopes and aspirations and had a measure of satisfaction in reaching their goal for the time being, can easily understand that and can easily put themselves in the place of others, and so your coming here has been helpful in creating that feeling and sensation in larger numbers of our people that vivid realisation of something that was known to them, about which they read and intellectually appreciated, but now it is something more than intellectual appreciation; it is an emotional

appreciation and that is a deeper understanding and appreciation than merely an intellectual one. So, in the larger causes that you and we have at heart, your coming has been of help, and I am sure it will lead to that greater understanding, sympathy and affectionate following of events as they unravel themselves than what merely thinking of distant events might have done.⁹⁸

You know that you will go back from here with all our goodwill and affection. If I may say so, and that goodwill and affection will be with you even when you are far away from us.

You referred to the possibility of my going to your country.⁹⁹ I cannot at the present moment say when I will be fortunate enough to be able to go there, but I can tell you this that I am anxious and eager to go there and I hope to go there.

And now may I ask your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, to drink to the good health to the good fortune of the Prime Minister of Ghana and the people of Ghana?

297. To Kwame Nkrumah

Raj Bhavan,

Nagpur,

January 10, 1959

My dear Prime Minister,

I was happy to receive your message from Bombay prior to your departure.¹⁰⁰

I hope that our Governor Sri Prakasa conveyed my greetings to you in Bombay.

It was a great pleasure to have you in our midst for some days and to have some leisurely talks.

98. Their joint statement of 3 January 1959 spoke of many informal and friendly talks about the awakening in Africa, their gaining independence through peaceful methods, closer association between Ghana and Guinea, racial discrimination, solving international problems through peaceful methods, disarmament and the immediate stoppage of all nuclear tests. No official record of these talks is available with us.

99. Nkrumah had said: "Before I leave, I do not want to solicit any promise from you, but I hope it will not be long before you will make it possible to visit Ghana and some other parts of the African continent."

100. Nkrumah had expressed his "warmest appreciation and deepest gratitude for this most interesting and valuable tour". He wrote that his talks with Nehru would be of lasting value to him and his Government, and the places and projects he had seen had added greatly to his experience and knowledge.

I have long been attracted to Africa and I remember how powerfully moved I was about a quarter of a century ago or more when I read some books about conditions in Africa. But apart from this rather emotional attachment, it is clear to me that Africa is going to play an increasing part in relation even to world problems. It seems to me of the greatest importance that progress towards political freedom and economic advance should take place there with some speed. I realise that with the best will in the world, one cannot change everything overnight, but there is no room now for slow changes over a long period of time. There has to be some speed about this process.

What I am very concerned about, and I have stated this publicly on some occasions, is that delay in dealing with the urgent problems of Africa may not lead to major conflicts and violence on a big scale. If these flood gates of violence are loosened, then it will take a long time to recover.

Ghana has inevitably become the spearhead in these movements in Africa and, therefore, a great responsibility rests upon you. I am sure that you will discharge it worthily. You can rest assured always of our goodwill and of such help as we can give.

I am writing to you from Nagpur where I came for the annual sessions of our Congress. We have finished most of our work now, and tomorrow the Congress sessions will end. This has been an important meeting, and we have given a definite trend to our political and economic policy.

I hope that you had good rest in Bangalore and were not harassed by people wanting you to accept engagements.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(v) Indo-China

298. To K.M. Panikkar

January 2, 1959

My dear Panikkar,¹⁰¹

I received your letter dated December 10th. 1958, some time ago. This was about the case of Dr. Ho Huu Tuong.¹⁰² I passed it on to our Ministry to find out what we could do in this matter.

As you have mentioned in your letter, we intervened once in Dr. Ho's case. Perhaps, it was because of that intervention that he was saved from death. Instead, he was sent to the island prison at Poulo Condore.¹⁰³ This is apparently like the prison in the Andamans in earlier days. Reading the article of Dr. Ho in "Esprit", one gets some idea of the horrors of this island prison.

I would very much like to do something which might lighten this horror for Dr. Ho, but, as you will appreciate, there is not much we can do. We are, however, drawing this case to the notice of our representative at Saigon¹⁰⁴ and suggesting to him that he might informally, whenever a suitable opportunity occurs, inform the authorities in South Vietnam that we are interested in Dr. Ho. It is a delicate matter and can only be dealt with in a very informal manner.¹⁰⁵

101. India's Ambassador in Paris.

102. (1910-1980); a prominent Trotskyist intellectual of Vietnam; studied in France; returned to Saigon in Jan. 1931 and founded the clandestine organisation, October Left Opposition, which came to be known as the Ligue Communiste Internationaliste; survived the repression after Aug. 1945 revolution but rejected Marxism in 1949, and returned to "literary work"; arrested in 1977 while leading a demonstration but later released.

103. In 1861, the French colonial government established a prison on the island Poulo Condore, off the southern coast of Vietnam in the South China Sea, to house political prisoners. It was turned over to the South Vietnamese Government in 1954 who continued to use it for the same purpose.

104. S. Gupta.

105. Nehru wrote to M. J. Desai on the same day: "I think you must write to our representative at Saigon and tell him of the news we have received about the barbarous treatment of Dr. Ho in the Poulo Condore prison. We do not wish to interfere in this matter as this would probably be resented. But, whenever an opportunity offers, he might mention it to the authorities there that there is some distress among people in Paris as well as here about these reports about his treatment. Knowing as many of us do about hard prison life, we can appreciate what this must be like at Poulo Condore. If the treatment is made somewhat lighter and better, it would be much appreciated."

Some time back, you wrote to me on the subject of the Directorship of the UNESCO and said that you had at no time considered this yourself. I know this. What had happened was that the question of putting up the name of some Indian for this post had come up before us long ago. In the course of our talks, someone mentioned your name. We came to the conclusion, however, that we should put forward no Indian name.

All good wishes for the New Year,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

299. To Wan Waithayakon

February 2, 1959

Your Excellency,¹⁰⁶

Prime Minister Pham Van Dong of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has written to me on the subject of repatriation of Vietnamese refugees in Thailand about which you had preliminary exchange of views with Prime Minister Pham Van Dong at Bandung in 1955. I am taking the liberty to enclose copy of this letter.¹⁰⁷

The repatriation of the Vietnamese refugees in accordance with the wishes of these refugees is essentially a human problem. I am confident that Your Excellency will continue to give sympathetic attention to this matter and facilitate the negotiations between the Red Cross Societies of North Vietnam and Thailand for repatriation of the Vietnamese refugees in accordance with their wishes.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

106. Prince Krommum Naradhip Bongsprabandh Wan Waithayakon (1891-1976); Thai diplomat and politician; Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1924-26; Minister to London, 1926-30; Adviser to Premier's Office and Foreign Office, 1933-46; Ambassador to USA, 1947-52; Permanent Delegate to the UN, 1947-59; Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1952-59; Deputy Prime Minister, 1959-68; Rector, Thammasat University, 1963-71.

107. Pham Van Dong sought Nehru's help for 50,000 Vietnamese refugees in Thailand to return to Vietnam. They had fled to Thailand from Laos and Cambodia after 1946 and were now keen to return to Vietnam, but Thailand was dragging out the process of return, persecuting them, and planning to hand over some to South Vietnam instead of allowing them to choose their ultimate domicile, be it North or South Vietnam.

300. To Pham Van Dong

February 26 1959

Your Excellency,

I have received your letter of 4th February, 1959, requesting that steps should be taken to reactivate the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos.

I am enclosing, for your information, a Note recounting the circumstances leading to the adjournment of the Laos Commission and subsequent efforts made by us to reconvene it. This will indicate the part played by India as Chairman country of the Supervisory Commission in ensuring the continuance of the Commission and in getting it reconvened according to normal procedures.¹⁰⁸

We have, as Chairman country of the Laos Commission, sought to observe the letter and spirit of the Geneva Agreement to the best of our ability and it now remains for the Co-Chairmen to consider the situation and issue their directives.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

108. The note referred to by Nehru described the circumstances leading to the winding up of the Laos Commission, one of the three Commissions formed by the Geneva Agreements of 21 July 1954— for Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam, of which India was the Chairman, and the USSR and the UK were Co-Chairmen. The Laotian Government wanted to wind it up after the supplementary elections of 4 May 1958. North Vietnam objected; India indicated that it would violate Article 39 of the Geneva Agreement on Laos; the USSR objected; and the UK approved. India suggested reducing the delegates' strength on the Commission or transferring its work to the Vietnam Commission. Eventually, the Commission adjourned sine die on 19 July 1958 but remained in existence and could reconvene when required. In December 1958, both the Polish delegate and Prince Souphanouvong of Neo Lao Haksat Party in Laos asked for the Commission to be reconvened in January 1959; North Vietnam also asked for it citing border incidents between Laos and North Vietnam; but the Canadian Government, which had a delegate, objected on the ground that the Laos Government was not willing. Given the impasse, the Government of India, had left it to the Co-Chairmen, namely, the USSR and the UK, to take a position.

(vi) UK

301. Civic Reception to Prince Philip ¹⁰⁹

भाइयो और बहनो,

एक नया तरीका अख्तियार होता है कॉरपोरेशन के कामों में कि मैं पेश कर दिया जाऊँ, जैसे पुराने दरबारों में, वो कुछ लोग हँसी-मज़ाक़ करने के लिए खड़े कर दिये जाते हैं। (हँसी)

अब आप जानते हैं अकसर आप मुझे इज़्ज़त बख़्शाते हैं, लेकिन आज की बारात का दूल्हा मैं नहीं हूँ। लेकिन, चूँकि आपने हुकुम दिया आने का, तो मैं अपनी खुशी का इज़हार किया चाहता हूँ कि दिल्ली के वाशिनटों ने, दिल्ली के खास-खास नागरिकों ने, आज और उसमें जिसमें आपके कॉरपोरेशन के मेयर¹¹⁰ और काउन्सिलर शामिल हैं, और-और भी बुजुर्ग हैं, उन्होंने इस तकरीर का इन्तज़ाम किया, क्योंकि आप जानते हैं पहले तो इसका कोई सिलसिला नहीं था, और आपकी कॉरपोरेशन एक अलग पार्टी रिसेप्शन दे रही थी, सारे साइन्स के जो डेलिगेट आये थे, साइन्स काँग्रेस के, और उसमें ड्यूक ऑफ़ एडिनबरा¹¹¹ भी आये थे, फिर मालूम हुआ कि उस रोज़ यहाँ रहेंगे नहीं, जयपुर और आगरे चले गये,¹¹² और जिस रोज़ यहाँ पहुँचे, उस रोज़ ज़िफ़्र हुआ कि कॉरपोरेशन तो दे रही है अलग, सबों को, देहली के रहने वालों की तरफ़ से, और कॉरपोरेशन भी उसमें शामिल हो, इन्तज़ाम किया जाये जो कि मंज़ूर किया। एक माने में शायद यह बात कोई ज़्यादा ही अच्छी हुई उससे कि ज़ाबिते से कॉरपोरेशन का होता स्वागत, क्योंकि इसमें कॉरपोरेशन तो शामिल है ही, कॉरपोरेशन के मेयर और काउन्सिलर और बहुत सारे और लोग भी उनको शिरकत करने का मौक़ा मिला। तो असल में यह एक हर सूरत से देहली शहर के तरफ़ से यह एक उनका स्वागत हुआ और उनको मानपत्र दिया गया। चार, पाँच दिन से हैं यहाँ प्रिंस फ़िलिप और आप में से कुछ लोगों को सुनने का और यक़ीनन जिन लोगों को ये मौक़े मिले कुछ उन्होंने यह राय कायम की होगी उनके निस्वत कैसे हैं वो, और समझे होंगे कि क्यों वो अपने मुल्क में और मुल्कों में भी, क्यों वो काफ़ी हरदिल अज़ीज़ हो गये हैं। क्योंकि यह एक शख्सियत ऐसी है। तो कोई ताज़्जुब की बात नहीं थी, कि यहाँ भी उनका कुछ एक असर पैदा हो लोगों के दिलों पर, दिमाग़ों पर। लेकिन अलावा इस शख्सियत के, और बातें भी उसमें लिपटी हुई हैं, क्योंकि ज़ाहिर है एक जो शख्स उनकी जगह पर हो, वो यहाँ आये, तो कितना

109. Speech in the honour of the Duke of Edinburgh, Delhi, 27 Jan. 1959. AIR Tapes, NMML.

110. Aruna Asaf Ali.

111. The Duke arrived in New Delhi on 21 January 1959 to attend the session of the Indian Science Congress (see also pp. 529-533) as leader of the British delegation.

112. He attended the golden jubilee celebrations of the IISc and left India on 4 February.

ही वो एक साइन्स काँग्रेस के डेलिगेट की हैसियत से आये, और जो उनकी हैसियत है, वो गायब तो नहीं हो जाती, वह क्रायम रहती है। और एक तो वो हैसियत है, एक खामखा के लिए उसके साथ बँधी हुई हैसियत, यह सवाल कॉमनवेल्थ का उठ जाता है, उसका जिक्र भी मानपत्र में हुआ, उन्होंने भी कुछ जवाब दिया। और तीसरी बात यह जिसका जिक्र भी मानपत्र में हुआ कि वो लॉर्ड माउण्टबैटन के भांजे हैं, और एक माने में बचपन में उन्होंने उनको पाला, बड़े हुए, और दिल्ली को अच्छी तरह से अब तक याद हैं लॉर्ड माउण्टबैटन और लेडी माउण्टबैटन और मुहब्बत से याद करते हैं उनको हम सब। तो कोई उनका अज़ीज़ आये, तो उससे भी इस वजह से भी मुहब्बत करेंगे, अगर और कोई वजह न भी हो। तो ग़रज़ कि मुख्तलिफ़ वजूहात थीं जिस लिए ज़ाहिर था, हम सब जानते थे कि जब आये यहाँ, तो दिल्ली के रहने वाले, और देहली के बाहर भी हिन्दुस्तान के रहने वाले, उनकी क़दर तो करेंगे, लेकिन उसके साथ कुछ मुहब्बत से भी क़दर होगी। तो यों तो दिल्ली की सड़कों पर और मुख्तलिफ़ तकरीरों में गये, और कुछ उन्होंने देखा, लेकिन उनका यहाँ क्रयाम, कुछ ख़ाना ख़ाली रह जाता अगर यह ख़ास देहली के आम बाशिन्दों की तरफ़ से यह रिसेप्शन और पार्टी न होती। चुनांचे मुझे ख़ुशी हुई कि उसका इन्तज़ाम हुआ और इस शान से और कामयाबी से हुआ, वो आप देखते हैं, और जिन लोगों ने इन्तज़ाम किया उन सबों को मैं मुबारकबाद दिया चाहता हूँ। कैसी ख़ूबसूरत शान से इन्तज़ाम हुआ।

और एक और बात वो यह कि प्रिंस फ़िलिप को भी कुछ देहली का तजुर्बा हुआ, यहाँ से, और इस मौक़े पर चूँकि यक्रीनन उनके मुल्क की आँखें और कान कुछ दिल्ली की तरफ़ होंगे। इस मौक़े से मेरा मतलब इस शाम से नहीं बल्कि इन दिनों में जब वो आये, क्योंकि उनकी दिलचस्पी है, वहाँ के रहने वालों की कि हम लोग हिन्दुस्तान में किस तरह से बरताव करते हैं, उनकी दिलचस्पी थी, अब तो मालूम हो गया उन्हें। वो तो महसूस करें कि बहुत बातों में हम सहमत हैं, बाज़ बातों में, बाज़ रायों में हमारी कभी-कभी नहीं मिलती। हम आज़ादी से अपने-अपने रास्तों पर चलते हैं और आज़ादी से अपनी मज़ी से हम कॉमनवेल्थ के सिलसिले में मिलते हैं, मशवरा करते हैं और उसमें हैं। यह तो बातें हैं, लेकिन एक और बात है, कि दुनिया हल्के-हल्के पहचानने लगी है कि वो यह कि देहली का, दिल्ली का यह पुराना शहर जिसने हज़ारों ऊँच-नीच देखीं, लोगों को उठता और लोगों को गिरते और जो आज फिर इस मुल्क जो हिन्दुस्तान की राजधानी है, राजधानी होती है तो वो एक मुल्क का केन्द्र हो जाता है वो बातें भी दिलों में बढ़ती जाती हैं। तो दुनिया देखे कि इस पुराने शहर का दिल कितना बड़ा है। जो लोग आते हैं, यहाँ स्वागत, इस्तक़्वाल उनको मिलता है, वो देखते हैं तो अच्छा है, क्योंकि हमारे स्वागत, देहली के कुछ ज़ाविते के यक्रीनन होते हैं, लेकिन जब देहली चाहता है तो ज़ाविते में एक जान डाल देता है मुहब्बत की। और देहली अकसर यह चाहता है, क्योंकि दिल्ली का दिल बड़ा है। चुनांचे आज भी आपने दिखाया इस सुन्दर और ख़ूबसूरत स्वागत में, कि आपका दिल बड़ा है, और मुझे इस बात से भी ख़ुशी हुई।

[Translation begins:

Brothers and sisters,

This is a new method being adopted by the Corporation of presenting me in all its functions like the court-jesters of the olden times (laughter).

You often accord me great honour. But I am not the groom in this show today. However, since you have ordered me to come, I would like to express my appreciation of the fact that the citizens of Delhi, among whom are included the Mayor¹¹³ and Councillors of the Corporation and other elders, have organised this programme. As you know, this was not scheduled earlier because your Corporation was holding a separate party reception for all the delegates to the Science Congress including the Duke of Edinburgh.¹¹⁴ Then we came to know that he would not be here on that day because he is going to Jaipur and Agra.¹¹⁵ So it was suggested that a civic reception on behalf of all the citizens of Delhi should be organised and the Corporation should also join in it. This was accepted. In a way, this was better than having a formal reception by the Corporation, its Mayor and Councillors, but many others have also got the opportunity to honour him. This is in fact a real welcome from the city of Delhi and a "maanpatra" has been presented to him.

Prince Philip has been here for the last four, five days and many of you would have got the opportunity of seeing him, meeting him or listening to him. Those of you who had this opportunity would undoubtedly have formed an impression about him and understood why he is so popular in his own country and in others. His personality is such, and it is not surprising that he has made an impression on the hearts and minds of people here in India, too. But apart from his personality other things are also linked with him because it is obvious that when a person in his position comes here, even though he has come in the capacity of a delegate to the Science Congress, his status does not fade away. One of the things that is tied up with his status is the question of the Commonwealth which was mentioned in the "maanpatra" and he replied to it. Thirdly, again as the "maanpatra" has mentioned, he is Lord Mountbatten's nephew and in a sense, has been brought up by him. Delhi remembers Lord and Lady Mountbatten well and we think of them with affection. Even if there had been no other reason, we would always fondly welcome a relative of theirs.

113. See fn 110 in this section.

114. See fn 111 in this section.

115. See fn 112 in this section.

So, due to all these various reasons which are obvious, we knew very well that when he comes here, he will be given respect and love by the people of Delhi and elsewhere in India. He has attended many functions and received a warm welcome on the streets of Delhi. But something would have been missing if there had been no reception or party on behalf of the people of Delhi. Therefore, I am happy that this has been arranged. It has been a grand and successful function and I would like to congratulate those who were responsible for the excellent arrangements.

Moreover, it has given an opportunity to Prince Philip to gain an experience of Delhi at first hand. The eyes and ears of his country will undoubtedly be upon us during his visit to India because the people of England were curious to know how we behave. Now they know. They must realise that we agree with them about many things and our opinions differ on certain issues. We follow our chosen path with freedom and it is as a free country that we participate in the Commonwealth. But there is one more thing. The world is gradually beginning to realise the growing importance of Delhi, this ancient city which has seen thousands of ups and downs and the rise and fall of nations and empires, and is once again the capital of India, not merely the political capital but the centre of the country. So, the world can see how large-hearted this ancient city is. Whoever comes here, gets a warm welcome and though undoubtedly some formalities have to be observed, it can be seen that when Delhi wants, it can infuse great warmth and life even in formal functions, and Delhi wants to do this often because it is a large-hearted city. Today all of you have shown by this beautiful reception how large-hearted you are and I am very happy about that too.

Translation ends]

(vii) USSR

302. To Subimal Dutt: On Reactions to "Basic Approach"¹¹⁶

I agree with your analysis. The note I had written¹¹⁷ was of course not directly a criticism of Soviet or any policy. Only a casual sentence or two came in there. In view of the great stress that is being laid by the Soviet Government and even more so by the Chinese Government on ideological correctness, I suppose it was thought that my note might have a bad effect on some people and hence it required to be met or corrected.¹¹⁸

303. Message to N. Khrushchev¹¹⁹

I am grateful to you for your message and greetings for the New Year.¹²⁰ I have appreciated this greatly as we value the friendship and cooperation between our countries and peoples. I hope that the New Year will further the cause of peace, and the solution of important international problems which have led to so much tension and unhappiness in the world. In particular, I hope that nuclear tests will be stopped. I reciprocate warmly your hope that there will be ever

116. Note to FS, 2 Jan. 1959.

117. Nehru had published an article "The Basic Approach" in the *AICC Economic Review* (see SWJN/SS/43/pp. 3-11), Subimal Dutt explained in a note of 2 January 1959 why the Soviet Ambassador in Peking Pavel Yudin was so critical of Nehru in his article "Can We Agree with Pandit Nehru's Basic Approach" (see also SWJN/SS/45/pp. 722-724) when the Soviet Government took great care not to be critical in public, even when strong statements were made in India during the Hungarian crisis of 1956 and when Nehru disapproved of Nagy's execution in 1958. Dutt suggested that however friendly they might be, they could not accept ideological deviation from Marxism-Leninism; and Nehru's calling his policies socialist in his article "The Basic Approach" was just that. It was important at this moment because of the ideological revisionism in Yugoslavia which was subjected to full-throated attack by Communist leaders (see also pp. Press Conference).

118. But Yudin's denunciation earned Nehru this encomium from *The New York Times* in an editorial on 9 January 1959: "Nehru is an outstanding socialist in theory and practice. But he is an enemy of tyranny and totalitarianism and a foe of violence. And precisely, because his voice is strong and his influence great, he is a man to be feared and hated by the communists. He has won new honour and new ground for esteem."

119. 3 January 1959.

120. Khrushchev, expressed the hope on 31 December 1958 that India would make new contributions to cooperation between states on the basis of peaceful coexistence.

widening cooperation between States on the basis of the principles of peaceful co-existence. I send you all my good wishes for your personal health and happiness.

304. To Sampurnanand¹²¹

New Delhi

February 9, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,

Your letter of February 6 and the copy of your article in reply to Yudin's article have just reached me. I have read the article. I think that it will not be desirable for it to be published in the *Economic Review*. Personally, I would have preferred not to carry on a controversy with Yudin or anyone else on this subject, and I said so at a press conference here. But, apart from this, I wish your article had kept to the ideological level and not brought in various references to what has been done by the Soviet Union to individuals or others. This merely creates ill-will and shuts the mind of people.

For the *Economic Review* to publish it would necessarily mean that this is an official reply to Yudin. It is better for the Congress to be kept out of this controversy.¹²²

I am returning the article to you,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

121. U. N. Dhebar Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

122. While answering a question in the Rajya Sabha on 11 February 1959 whether Government proposed to take any action to refute charges made in Yudin's article, Nehru clarified: "I had said that it is rather difficult to discuss an article here which has appeared and which deals or presumes to deal with certain ideological aspects of violence and non-violence, and in the course of which, as far I remember, certain criticism have been made about our Central or State Governments in regard to the question of violence." In reply to another question about diplomatic convention in this matter, Nehru said: "It depends upon the countries concerned and what convention they lay down. Also, for instance, if a diplomat situated in Delhi would write an article about India, we would be concerned about it; but a diplomat in Iceland can write what he likes. We may not like it, but we may not interfere." When asked whether the Indian Government had approached the Soviet Government, Nehru said: "No Sir. We have not raised this question with the Government of the USSR. But we gather that this was supposed to be a personal reaction of the ambassador. How far it represents other people's views or not, I don't know. It may or it may not."

305. To Subimal Dutt: Cultural Exchange with USSR¹²³

About the cultural exchange between India and the USSR,¹²⁴ I do not think we need avoid or delay signing an agreement if the Soviet people are keen on it. We need not raise this question ourselves.

306. Speech to Soviet Delegation¹²⁵

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY
SOVIET LEADERS' TRIBUTE

New Delhi,
Feb. 26.

Prime Minister Nehru said here to-night that the friendship of India and the Indian people with the Soviet Union and the Soviet people was based "not on some passing fancy or some passing advantage but has much deeper roots which can survive even occasional differences of opinion.

The Prime Minister, who was speaking at a dinner given this evening by Mr. A.A. Andreyev, leader of the Government delegation of the Soviet Union,¹²⁶ said he thought that that kind of friendship between India and the Soviet Union was "certainly good for my country", good for the Soviet Union and the rest of the world too.

Earlier, Mr. Andreyev in his speech said the Soviet Union and India had common points of view on such questions as banning of atomic weapons and other means of mass destruction, the termination of atomic and nuclear weapons tests, the general reduction of armaments, and so on.

123. Note to FS, 25 Feb. 1959. File No. 8 (81)-Eur-E/59, p. 1/note, MEA.

124. While the MEA was keen on these exchanges, it pointed out that India did not have the finances to fulfil its side of the bargain, and signing an agreement might lead to embarrassment and even affect other agreements. Therefore, they suggested postponement.

125. Report from *The Hindu*, 28 Feb. 1959.

126. The Soviet Government delegation, headed by A. A. Andreev (Andreyev), was in India from 24 February to 19 March 1959. Other members of the delegation were: N. A. Mukhitdinov, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Supreme Soviet, USSR; M. I. Kuchava, First Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Georgian USSR and Minister of Foreign Affairs; A. G. Sheremetiev, member of the State Committee of the Council of Ministers of USSR for Foreign Economic Relations; V. I. Likhachev, Chief of the South-East Asia Department of the Ministry of External Affairs of USSR.

Mr. Andreyev said the Soviet Government had recently taken a number of important steps directed at the lessening of international tension, the creation of conditions for the removing of common distrusts, the maintenance of peaceful co-existence among countries and a peaceful settlement of differences between the states. "We hoped that the Western countries would follow our example. But unfortunately, nothing of the kind happened" he added.

He said the Soviet people wished to see friendly India a strong powerful state with a highly developed industry and flourishing agriculture.

The Soviet people, he added, highly appreciated the contribution of India to the cause of consolidating peace and her active struggle for the preservation of universal peace. "The foreign policy of the Government of the Republic of India, headed by Mr. Nehru, was met with approval in many countries of the world and secured for India her constantly growing international prestige," he said.

Mr. Nehru in his speech said that in India there was no sensation of any differences with the Soviet Union which might be called conflicting differences. "We have a sensation of following perhaps somewhat different paths to the same goal and I have an idea that as time goes on, many of the things that appear to be different in various parts of the world will progressively converge and come nearer to each other" he said.

He said the "tremendous" achievements of the Soviet Union had become one of the remarkable stories of the world. "Apart from the great advance made there in other fields, you are trying and have succeeded to some extent in conquering space which is indeed an amazing achievement and shows the fight to which your science has reached". Mr. Nehru said other countries were also working for the conquest of space. One conquest, Mr. Nehru added, however, remained and "that is the conquest which leads not to anybody's defeat but to every country's victory and that is the conquest of hearts".

(viii) France

307. To Charles de Gaulle

January 29, 1959

Dear Mr. President,¹²⁷

Monsieur André Malraux¹²⁸ handed to me your letter of the 13th November which I was happy to receive. Monsieur Malraux must have given to you by now his impressions of his short visit in India. I must apologise to you for the delay in writing to you and thanking you for your letter.

I am grateful to you, Mr. President, for having arranged this visit of Monsieur André Malraux. We had several talks with him and found in him a great admirer of our art and culture. He shared our conviction that many common bonds exist between our two peoples in these fields and that much can be done to increase cooperation and mutual appreciation.¹²⁹ I am sure that Monsieur Malraux's impressions will make valuable contribution to this end. It was a great pleasure to have him and our only regret was that his stay here was not long enough.

May I take this opportunity, Mr. President, to send to you my best wishes for the happiness and prosperity of the French nation and people?

Please accept, Mr. President, assurances of my highest consideration.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

127. President of France.

128. French Minister of Culture; also novelist.

129. For Nehru's record of his talk with André Malraux, see SWJN/SS/45/pp. 799-801.

308. To K.M. Panikkar ¹³⁰

February 13, 1959

My dear Panikkar,¹³¹

I have your letter of the 6th February about an Indian Pavilion at the Cite Universitaire.¹³² I remember Maulana Azad telling me something about it and I liked the idea then. I still like it and I think we should agree to have such a pavilion both because it is desirable in itself and necessary for our students and because Maulana Saheb gave his word for it.

So in principle we agree. But I would like to have some further particulars about it, more especially about the cost and when we would have to meet it. I suppose that our Ministries here have some information on this subject. I am enquiring. I am writing to you today telling you that broadly we agree with the proposition. I shall write again.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(ix) Middle East

309. To N. R. Pillai and Subimal Dutt¹³³

I should like to know what the position is in Aden. There are going to be some elections there, and Indians have been given the vote as Commonwealth citizens. Yemen Arabs have not been given the right to vote. There is a feeling, therefore, in Aden among the local people that the Indian community should abstain from voting. Some people have written asking for advice in the matter.¹³⁴

130. File No:40(172)/59-61-PMS.

131. Indian Ambassador in Paris.

132. The Cité Universitaire in Paris had a number of student hostels called Pavilion or House, one for each country that chose to run one. Panikkar strongly recommended running one given the prospect of large numbers of Indian students in Paris. The French Government wanted a commitment in principle by July 1959, without any immediate expenditure; if not, India would lose the land for it.

133. Note to SG and FS, Raj Bhavan, Nagpur, 7 Jan. 1959.

134. One Indian, two Somalis and nine Arabs were elected to the enlarged Legislative Council of Aden on 4 January 1959.

310. To N. R. Pillai: Baghdad Pact Meeting and A. I. Mikoyan's US Visit¹³⁵

On the 26th January afternoon, the Soviet Chargé d' Affaires came to see me. He was with me for nearly an hour. He began by referring to the meeting of the Baghdad Pact which was taking place that day¹³⁶ with the intention of strengthening the Pact and having bilateral military agreements with the US. Evidently, some of these Baghdad Pact countries had in view some military adventure against some Arab countries or India. As a result of these talks at Karachi, the situation might well become more tense in Western Asia and the Middle-Eastern region. This might also happen in South East Asia.

2. On the 26th of December, the Soviet Union had brought this matter to the notice of the Pakistan Government. (This was brought to our notice by the Soviet Embassy earlier). On the 7th January, Pakistan had replied. This confirmed that negotiations for a bilateral treaty were taking place, but denied that these were about foreign military bases. The Soviet Union did not accept this explanation.

3. In December and January, the Soviet Union had addressed aides-memoires to Iran and to Turkey. Iran had stated that the steps they were taking were purely defensive. In the Soviet note to Turkey, US bases were specifically mentioned. The Turkish reply did not deny this.¹³⁷

4. On the 25th January, the Soviet press published a general statement about the Baghdad Pact. In the near future, the Soviet Union will further explain its position regarding the Baghdad Pact.

5. I was asked what India had done or proposed to do in connection with the Baghdad Pact. I replied that we had made it clear to some of the governments concerned and, more particularly, to the USA and Pakistan our concern. We could not do very much more. The Chargé asked if this fact had been brought out in the press. I replied that we had not issued any kind of an official note to the press on this subject, but it was generally known and I think I had stated something to this effect at a press conference.

6. He then went on to tell me of the confidential talks which Mr. Mikoyan had in the United States recently. This was an unofficial visit by Mr. Mikoyan

135. Note to SG, 28 Jan. 1959.

136. Held at Karachi, 26 - 28 Jan. 1959. Iraq did not attend, and, on 24 March 1959, withdrew from the Pact.

137. The US entered into Bilateral Agreements with Turkey, Pakistan and Iran on 5 March 1959.

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to spend his vacation there.¹³⁸ There were no official engagements. Among the subjects discussed were the German problem, Berlin; disarmament and cessation of nuclear tests; Near and Middle East, Far East and some other problems.

7. In regard to the Near and Middle East, Dulles pointed out the vital importance of oil to Western Europe as well as of the communication lines. Dulles expressed his great concern at what was happening in Iraq. Mikoyan replied that the Soviet Union had nothing to do with what was happening in Iraq and there were no Russians there.

8. Dulles minimised the importance of military aid to the various Baghdad Pact countries. Mikoyan referred to the speech delivered by the Indian Ambassador to the United States at Washington at the Economic Club¹³⁹ and to Pakistan's truculent speeches.

9. In regard to the Far East, Dulles said something about China being also a divided country like some others. Mikoyan pointed out the great difference between China and divided countries like Korea and Vietnam. Further Mikoyan said that North Korea had been developing very rapidly in its industry.

10. Thereafter, the interpreter started reading out from a big bundle of notes about further conversations between Mikoyan and Dulles, more especially about Germany and Berlin and nuclear tests. This was a very long document and after about 45 minutes I had to ask them to stop reading these notes as I had to go. I suggested to the Charge' that he might see the Foreign Secretary and inform him of these conversations. We appreciated the courtesy of being told in detail of these conversations.

11. There was nothing very new about what was told about these conversations and the general policy of the Soviet Union was given in some detail. While the Soviet Union would welcome reunification of Germany, they would never agree to just an annexation of East Germany by the West. A peace treaty should come first and some gradual process of common working.

12. I suggest that the Foreign Secretary might meet the Charge' and discuss these matters with him.

138. A. I. Mikoyan, the First Soviet Deputy Prime Minister, made an "unofficial" visit to the US from 4 to 20 January 1959, when he met prominent trade union leaders, industrialists, bankers and businessmen, besides Eisenhower and Dulles.

139. In fact, New York. See p. 577 fn 55.

(x) Nepal

311. To Subimal Dutt: Jayaprakash Narayan's Proposed Visit to Nepal¹⁴⁰

We can have no objection to Vinobaji or Shri Jayaprakash Narayan going to Nepal. But it would obviously be desirable for the Nepal Government to give their approval to these visits. In our Ambassador's¹⁴¹ letter, it is said that Tulsi Mehrji¹⁴² is approaching the King¹⁴³ and the Ministers. That is right. But the Ambassador should be told definitely on behalf of the Government that they have no objection to these visits or to the speeches that these people may deliver. These speeches are not likely to be political.

2. It must be remembered, however, that Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, both personally and as an old member of the Praja Socialist Party in India has been fairly intimately connected with the Koirala brothers. It is possible, therefore, that some of the opponents of the Koirala brothers¹⁴⁴ or of the Nepal Congress might think that Shri Jayaprakash Narayan's visit might be used for political purposes. I am mentioning this merely for information. No action is to be taken in regard to it.

3. Tulsi Mehr is a simple and good man whom I have known for many years.

140. Note to FS, 2 Feb. 1959.

141. Bhagwan Sahay.

142. Tulsi Mehrji Shrestha (1896-1978); Nepali social reformer; exiled for campaigning against caste and oppression of women; stayed in the Sabarmati, Wardha and Sewagram Ashrams with Mahatma Gandhi; returned to Nepal, 1923; founded two social service organisations, amalgamated in 1973 as Nepal Charkha Pracharak Gandhi Smarak Mahaguthi; received Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding, 1977; used award money for welfare centre for widows and destitute women.

143. King Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah of Nepal.

144. M. P. Koirala, B. P. Koirala, and G. P. Koirala of the Nepali Congress.

312. To S.K. Sinha¹⁴⁵

February 27, 1959

My dear Sri Babu,¹⁴⁶

You will remember writing to me some time ago inviting me to lay the foundation stone of the Hanuman Nagar Barrage of the Kosi Project. I think I sent a reply to you saying that in this matter we must consult the Nepal Government first.¹⁴⁷

Our Ambassador in Nepal has written to me pointing out that the place where this foundation stone will be laid, though very near to the Indian frontier, lies entirely in Nepal. It would, therefore, be desirable, from many points of view, to invite the King of Nepal to perform this ceremony. I agree with him.

I need not go into the reasons for this as some of them at least are obvious. There has been in the past some opposition in Nepal to India forcing herself in various matters on that country, and more especially in regard to this Kosi scheme. We should, therefore, deal in a way so that the Nepalese Government and people do not play a secondary part. The King and the Government and people of Nepal are bound to be pleased by our inviting the King to perform this ceremony.¹⁴⁸ The Project also will have more cooperation from the Nepalese Government later. Generally speaking, this will help Indo-Nepal relations.

I suggest to you, therefore, that an invitation be sent to the King to perform this foundation stone ceremony. If you agree, as I hope you will, you might write a letter to the King and send it to us. We shall forward it to our Ambassador for delivery. Probably I shall write to the King also on the subject.

In writing to the King you might suggest roughly the time or period when you would like this to be done. Final date will have to be left to him.

I shall also try to attend this function if it is at all possible for me to do so.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

145. Prime Minister's Office, File No. 17 (9)/-59-69-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

146. Chief Minister of Bihar.

147. See p. 547.

148. King Mahendra of Nepal laid the foundation stone of the Barrage near the small Nepalese township of Hanuman Nagar on 30 April 1959 in the presence of Nehru.

(xi) East Germany

313. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit

January 12, 1959

Nan Dear,¹⁴⁹

On my return here today from Nagpur, I received your letters of the 6th and the 9th January. The East German Prime Minister¹⁵⁰ had reached Delhi¹⁵¹ before I got here, and we had a talk lasting about three hours.¹⁵² Later, I gave him an informal dinner at my house. We had to be rather careful about this reception as we do not officially recognise the East German Government. At the same time, we did not wish to be discourteous in any way. He came here at his own request, on his way to Vietnam and to China. We dropped the ceremonial part of the reception and I was not present at it. We are also not giving him a banquet, which is normally given to a visiting Prime Minister.

Tara told me she had written to you from Nagpur. Both of them came to see me there, and I had long talks with them, jointly and separately. I think that my talks did some good. Tara is likely to come here about the beginning of February and stay a month.

Of course, if you feel like coming here to see Padmaja, you can do so. You should, of course, come to Delhi after Calcutta. Prince Philip will be staying with me for two or three days from the 25th January to, I think, the 28th morning.

Love,
Jawahar

149. Nehru's younger sister and India's High Commissioner in London.

150. Otto Grotewohl (1894-1964); Prime Minister of German Democratic Republic, 1949-64.

151. On 12 Jan. 1959.

152. No record of these talks are available, but Grotewohl issued a statement which referred to his talks with President Rajendra Prasad, Vice-President Radhakrishnan and Nehru.

314. To A. C. N. Nambiar¹⁵³

13th January, 1959

My dear Nanu,

Thank you for your letter of the 6th January¹⁵⁴ in which you have told me of your talk with Dr. Globke.¹⁵⁵

I am myself convinced that the Berlin affair is not going to lead to a war even though it might add to the crisis.

We have the Prime Minister of East Germany here now. We are treating him with every courtesy, but, nevertheless, not agreeing to only diplomatic exchanges, etc.

I hope you are keeping well,

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

315. Reply to M. L. Vinayak¹⁵⁶

Please reply to this letter as follows:

"Dear Sir,

The Prime Minister has received your letter of January 20th.¹⁵⁷ The facts are as follows:

The Mayor of Delhi¹⁵⁸ enquired from the Prime Minister—as an official civic reception is not being given to the Prime Minister of East Germany, would there be any objection to some citizens giving a reception to him. The Prime Minister replied that there is no such objection, and if citizens wanted to give

153. A. C. N. Nambiar Papers, NMML.

154. Nambiar reported that he had met Dr Globke, Adenauer's Secretary of State. Globke appeared confident of peace owing to the Soviet Government's domestic preoccupation.

155. Hans Josef Maria Globke (1898-1973); State Secretary to the Chancellory in West Germany, 1953-63.

156. Note to Private Secretary, 23 Jan. 1959.

157. The letter was from M. L. Vinayak, Director, Public Relations Council of India, New Delhi.

158. Aruna Asaf Ali.

him an informal reception, they could do so. As the Government of India had no diplomatic relations with the Government of East Germany, official receptions could not be given. But he was being treated as a distinguished guest.

Yours faithfully,"

(xii) West Germany

316. To Subimal Dutt: The German Problem¹⁵⁹

I agree with you. I am surprised that Shri Tyabji¹⁶⁰ should put forward a proposal which is bound to create trouble for us everywhere and will not help in any way. Please send the following reply to him by telegram:

"To Indembassy, Bonn.

Personal for Ambassador from Foreign Secretary.

I have received your letters of January 19th and placed them before Prime Minister. He is definitely of opinion that no step of the kind indicated should be taken by us, formally or even informally. Any such communication by him would lead to many complications and would harm the objective aimed at. We have during the past few years deliberately avoided any interference in regard to the German problem. All that we have said is that we think that re-unification of Germany is desirable and we hope that this will be achieved through peaceful methods. For us to take any initiative as suggested, would be positive action which is likely to be resented. More particularly, at the present critical juncture, this is wholly undesirable. In spite of critical situation, we feel that there is no great likelihood of conflict and there are some forces working in the right direction. In any event, we should avoid the slightest interference.¹⁶¹

159. Note to FS, 23 Jan. 1959.

160. B. F. H. B. Tyabji, India's Ambassador in Bonn.

161. On 10 January 1959, the Soviet Government had sent identical notes to the USA, UK and France, and to East and West German Governments, proposing the holding of a peace conference within two months either in Prague or Warsaw to draw up a German Peace Treaty, along with a Soviet draft of a peace treaty which proposed for a demilitarized free city of Berlin. See also p. 9 fn 29.

317. Message to Konrad Adenauer¹⁶²

I was gratified to receive your telegram on the occasion of the opening of the Rourkela Steel Plant.¹⁶³ We are grateful for all the help and encouragement we have received from you, Mr. Chancellor, your Government and German industry in this big undertaking. We are happy that the Plant has now begun production and have every confidence that it will be completed as arranged and will contribute substantially to our future plans for development.

With warm personal regards,

Jawaharlal Nehru

(xiii) Other Countries

318. To Bibi Titi Mohamed

January 4, 1959

Dear Bibi Titi Mohamed,¹⁶⁴

Thank you for your letter of the 31st December, which you sent me. This evening, I had the pleasure of meeting you also, and you told me about the great need for education in Tanganyika and of the earnest efforts that the Tanganyika African National Union was making in order to provide college education.

I have no doubt that education is the greatest need of under-developed countries, and more particularly those in Africa. It was with a view to help a little in this very important work that we arranged to give scholarships to students

162. New Delhi, 5 Feb. 1959.

Konrad Adenauer was the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany.

163. Rourkela Steel Plant was inaugurated by President Rajendra Prasad on 3 February 1959.

164. (1926-2000); Tanzanian politician and freedom fighter; a member of Tanganyika African National Union (TANU); was asked to chair Women's Section of TANU, 1955; after independence of Tanganyika in 1961, founded All African Women's Conference; appointed a junior minister for community development; lost her parliamentary seat, 1965; resigned from the central committee in 1967 in protest against banning central committee members from renting properties, which, for an uneducated woman, was one of the few options; convicted for alleged plotting to throw the Government, 1969; received presidential pardon, 1972; honoured during celebrations of 30 years of Tanzania's independence, 1991.

from Africa for study in India. We have welcomed these African students in India, and my information is that they have done well in their studies. I hope that when they go back to Africa, they will be able to serve their countries effectively.

Within the limits of our capacity, we should like to help in the spread of education in Tanganyika. Our desire to do so is great, but our capacity at present is unfortunately rather limited. I suggested to you to see our Minister of Education, Dr. K.L. Shrimali, with whom you can discuss these matters.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

319. To G. Samboo

January 30, 1959

Dear Dr. Samboo,

Thank you for your letter of the 24th January, which I have read with interest. We are naturally greatly interested in the Algerian problem and have expressed our general views about it on many occasions.¹⁶⁵ It seems to me, however, that we cannot do anything more positive at this stage.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

165. Algeria, a French colony, was fighting for independence; an army junta had seized power on the night of 13 May 1958 (see SWJN/SS/42/pp. 671, 674-675); and the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) had formed a provisional Government of the Algerian Republic in Cairo (see SWJN/SS/43/p. 558) but India, though supporting the cause of gaining freedom through peaceful means, had not recognised it at this stage (see SWJN/SS/45/p. 765).

320. To N. R. Pillai and Subimal Dutt¹⁶⁶

I enclose a letter from our Ambassador in Cairo.¹⁶⁷ Please acknowledge it.

2. I have already said that I shall gladly meet President Nasser whenever he chooses to come to India, I am certain to be here till the middle of May, though I might have minor engagements outside Delhi.

3. I think that it might be worthwhile for our Ambassador in Baghdad¹⁶⁸ to meet Kassem and informally to refer to the possibility of a meeting between him and President Nasser. He might refer to the invitation that Nasser has made and express the hope that such a meeting will take place as we felt that it would be to the interest of both countries as well as peace and stability in that area for an understanding between these two countries.

321. To J.J. Singh¹⁶⁹

February 18, 1959

My dear J. J.,¹⁷⁰

I have received your telegram informing me that the India League of America will be dissolved from February 28.¹⁷¹ When any organisation, with which one is intimately connected, ends its career, there is an element of sadness about it, and yet changing circumstances compel us to meet them in different ways.

The India League has done good service during these past years and helped in the important task of making India and her aims and objectives known to the American people. It is of high importance that these should be understanding between India and America and their peoples. In promoting this understanding,

166. Note to SG and FS, 16 Feb. 1959. File No. 5(20)-WANA/59, p. 12/corr., MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

167. R. K. Nehru had reported that Nasser accepted Abdul Karim Kassem, the Prime Minister of Iraq, as the leader of Iraq, and that he wanted to meet Kassem and assure him that he had no designs on Iraq.

168. I. S. Chopra.

169. J.J. Singh Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

170. President of the India League of America, 1941-59.

171. The India League was dissolved after 21 years when J. J. Singh, its President, decided to return to India. Singh had been running a successful import business in Indian textiles in Manhattan.

the India League deserves credit. But, even though the India League as it was will cease to be soon, that work, I hope, will be carried on in other ways.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

322. Message to Harold MacMillan¹⁷²

Thank you for your personal message in which you tell me that full agreement has been reached at the Conference on Cyprus in London.¹⁷³ I am very happy to have this good news. I have not seen the details of this settlement yet. But what I am most concerned with is the fact that a settlement has been arrived at by agreement with all the parties concerned. Such an agreed settlement helps to tone down the bitterness of past conflicts and to pave the way for a healthy future of cooperation. I should like to congratulate you and others concerned on this happy culmination of your labours at the Conference which has put an end to a most distressing conflict.

2. If and when independent Cyprus expresses a wish to become a member of the Commonwealth or to maintain some form of association with it, I am sure that my Government would view such a proposal with sympathy.

323. To M. J. Desai¹⁷⁴

It does not seem to me enough to say, as we do repeatedly, that we cannot obtain any information about South Africa because we have withdrawn our Mission. Surely there are other ways of obtaining information such as through the U.K. Government. We should try to do so. The fact that the children are not Indian Nationals has not much to do with this. After all, we are carrying on an agitation against the treatment of people of Indian origin in South Africa, even though they are not Indian nationals.

172. 20 Feb. 1959.

173. At the closing session of the London Conference on 19 February 1959, it was announced that Cyprus would become an independent republic with a Greek—Cypriot President and a Turkish-Cypriot Vice-President. Detailed provisions of the agreement were published in a white paper.

174. Note to CS, 27 Feb. 1959.

2. Therefore, the answer should be as follows:

“(a), (b), (c) & (d). We have seen a newspaper report to this effect. We have no further information, but we are trying to find out how far this report is correct. It is not an easy matter for us to get factual information from official sources as we have withdrawn our Mission in South Africa. We can only, therefore, try to get information through indirect sources. That we are endeavouring to do.”

3. It appears from the note that we have already asked our High Commissioner in London for factual information. You might remind the High Commissioner about this.

4. The Question should be answered by Parliamentary Secretary, Shri Sadath Ali Khan.

324. To M. J. Desai: Ramiah's Case¹⁷⁵

I agree with you. We should inform the Government of Malaya that we are prepared to accept Ramiah's repatriation to India, in case the Federal Government arranges for the remission of the rest of the sentence.

2. As you have said, we have to agree to his repatriation at the conclusion of his sentence, that is, at the latest, eight months from now. For us to insist on his serving out his term would be very improper and cannot be justified. In one of the notes, it is said that Ramiah was tried and sentenced on a very grave charge according to the laws of Malaya and it is not correct to call him a political prisoner. I do not agree with this. I know nothing about Ramiah, but we cannot judge people according to the laws of Malaya, but our own laws or views. To be sentenced to seven years for possessing some Communist documents would normally be considered not justifiable. I have not seen the documents; therefore it is difficult for me to give much of an opinion. In any event, that point hardly arises now.

3. I shall not accept the Short Notice Question. Please send the following note to the Lok Sabha Secretariat:

“The Prime Minister is unable to accept this Short Notice Question. He is making enquiries into this matter and this will take some days. On receipt of further information, he is prepared to give an answer to a normal Question. It may be stated, however, that Shri Ramiah is serving a long-term imprisonment at Kuala Lumpur. So far as we know, he has not undertaken a fast.”

175. Note to CS, 27 Feb. 1959.

325. Message to Gamal Abdel Nasser¹⁷⁶

Thank you for your message.¹⁷⁷ I am happy to know that you will be able to come here in the month of June. I look forward greatly to our meeting. There is a great deal to discuss and the pace of events is fast.

May I suggest that you might come here in the first week of June, if that is convenient to you. I hope it will be possible for you to spend some days here and visit some of our major projects. It will, of course, be very hot then in North India, but we shall try to make it as convenient for you as we can.

With all good wishes

Jawaharlal Nehru

176. 28 Feb. 1959. File No. 28 (48)-WANA/58, MEA.

177. President Nasser of Egypt had conveyed a message to Nehru that he would like to visit India in June 1959.

V. DEFENCE

326. To O. Pulla Reddy¹

Shri U.C. Patnaik, M.P.,² came to see me two days ago. He has been much agitated about various matters in connection with Defence and he spoke about them in the Lok Sabha.³ He came to me partly to express his regret but at the same time to express his sense of apprehension. This apprehension was due to developments in Pakistan and our not having taken enough steps having enough civil defence etc. I spoke to him about these matters.

He then expressed his concern at recent promotions in the Army⁴ and gave me a note. I gave him some reply. I am however sending his note to you.

327. Speech at Delhi⁵

The Indian Army A Symbol of Unity
Mr. Nehru's Tribute

New Delhi

January 15, 1959

The Yugoslav President, Marshal Tito, and about 20,000 spectators, men, women and children, today witnessed an impressive "Army Day" parade here at which Prime Minister Nehru took the salute.

Before the start of the march past the Prime Minister in a brief address to the men on parade declared that the Indian Army was "an army of peace and not of aggression", and described it as a symbol of national unity.

The marching detachments greeted the Yugoslav President, standing by the side of the Defence Minister, Mr. V.K. Krishna Menon, with the slogan 'Marshal Tito Ki Jai,' which was repeated thrice.

1. Note to Defence Secretary, 4 Feb. 1959.
2. Independent, Lok Sabha MP from Ganjam, Orissa.
3. For Nehru's reply to Patnaik's interventions, see SWJN/SS/45/pp. 815-832.
4. Chief of the Army Staff, General K. S. Thimayya, had submitted certain proposals for reorganisation of the Army in May 1958 (see SWJN/SS/42/pp. 484-485 & 487-488). Subsequently, some promotions were made in August 1958.
5. Report of a speech on the Army Day, New Delhi, 15 Jan. 1959. From *The Hindu*, 16 Feb. 1959.

Marshal Tito and Mr. Nehru arrived together at the flag bedecked parade ground in the Cantonment, about eight miles from the centre of New Delhi.

The spectators greeted them with enthusiastic cheers.

As the two leaders alighted from their car near the saluting base, Gen. K.S. Thimayya, Chief of the Army Staff, received them and the Yugoslav National Anthem was played by the Rajputana Regimental Centre band.

The Prime Minister then accompanied by Gen. Thimayya and the Parade Commander, Maj. Gen. U.C. Dubey, G.O.C., Delhi and Rajasthan area, reviewed the parade standing in a jeep flying the National Flag.

Units of cavalry and the camel corps led the one hour march-past. Mass bands, including pipes and drums, were in attendance.

AN ARMY OF PEACE

Mr. Nehru in his address said that the main object of the armed forces of India was to serve the people. "It is an army of peace and not of aggression," he added.

In a warm tribute to the armed forces, the Prime Minister said that men and officers of the Indian Army had been performing their duties loyally and efficiently, whether they were in the rugged Himalayas in the north or in the jungles of the east.

"Our armed forces," Mr. Nehru added, "have nothing to do with other countries, excepting when they are called in on a peace mission,"

The Prime Minister referred to India's development plans and reminded the Army that it had an important role to play in fulfilling the targets of the Second Five Year Plan.

He said it was essential for India to achieve self-sufficiency in the manufacture of modern defence equipment "without which our army will be useless."

The Prime Minister described the Indian Army as a symbol of national unity. Coming from all national parts of the country, irrespective of their different languages, men and officers of the Indian Army had set an example of discipline, unity and team spirit, Mr. Nehru said.

The Prime Minister praised the Army for its cooperation in civilian needs during floods and similar other crises. In a reference to nuclear weapons, Mr. Nehru said what was more important than these weapons was the human element. It was the quality of men, which counted in an army and not merely weapons.

In the past, the Prime Minister said there were various social differences in the country. "In the new India we must forget these differences and work

together for the prosperity of the nation.”

The Prime Minister also praised the Army for its literacy drive and its successes in sports and athletics.

Referring to the five year plan, the Prime Minister said that the country had now the greatest task before it, namely, to raise the living standard of the forty crores of Indian people. The Army had also to play a part in it as it concerned every citizen of the country.

Mr. Nehru called for concerted efforts to increase production at all levels and march towards self-sufficiency. The Prime Minister expressed the hope that the Army would realise its great responsibilities in the building up the new India and would live up to expectations.

328. Speech at Ambala⁶

MR. NEHRU INAUGURATES “AMAR PROJECT”

GLOWING TRIBUTE PAID TO ARMY

Great Achievement, Says P. M.

COMMENDABLE WORK DONE BY JAWANS

—GEN. THIMAYYA

FROM OUR SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE

AMBALA, January 16.

Affectionate praise was showered upon officers and all ranks of the famous 4th Division of the Indian Army here today by Prime Minister Nehru on their great achievement in having built up 1,500 quarters in about 1,400 working hours under a scheme known as Operation “Amar”.

The Prime Minister, who arrived here this morning by air, had specially come to inaugurate the Project which has been built at a cost of Rs. 1.14 crores.

The Prime Minister, who was accompanied by the Defence Minister of India, Shri V. K. Krishna Menon, Deputy Defence Minister, Sardar Surjit Singh Majithia, Shri K. C. Reddy, Minister for Housing and Supply and Shri A.K. Chanda, Deputy Minister for External Affairs S. Karnail Singh, Member, Railway Board, Shri A. K. Chanda, Auditor-General and Dewan Chaman Lal, M. P., was received at the aerodrome by the Chief of the Army Staff, General

6. Report of a speech, Ambala, 16 Jan. 1959. From *The Tribune*, 17 Jan. 1959.

Thimayya, Air Marshal Mukherjee, Chief of the Air Staff and Commandant Chatterjee, Deputy Chief of Naval Staff, Lt.-General Kalwant Singh, G. O. C.-in-Chief, Western Command, Lt.-General B. M. Kaul, G.O.C. Fourth Division who was the central figure in today's function, Group Captain H. A. Hussain, Brig. Anup Singh, Commander, Independent Sub-Area, Ambala and many other high ranking military officers. At the aerodrome were also present, the Chief Minister of Punjab S. Pratap Singh Kairon, Prime Minister of Kashmir, Bakhshi Ghulam Mohd., Pandit Mohan Lal, Ch. Suraj Mal, Punjab Ministers, Shri Girdhari Lal Dogra, Minister, J. & K. Government, Deputy Minister, Punjab, Shri Banarasidas Gupta and the Chief Parliamentary Secretary, Shri Hans Raj Sharma, President, State Congress Committee, S. Darbara Singh, M. L. A., Shri K. L. Budhiraja, Commissioner, Ambala Division, S. Waryam Singh, I. G. Police, Mr. Manley, D. I. G. Police, Ambala Range, S. Ajaib Singh, D.I. G. Police, Shri A. K. Kaul, A. I. G. Police, Shri C. D. Kapur, Deputy Commissioner, Ambala and Shri B. R. Chadha, Superintendent Police, Ambala.

The Prime Minister was very happy to receive one flower each from many of the distinguished persons who were present at the aerodrome. He remarked, "It seems the Punjab is on the right path and is advancing. I like the presentation of these flowers instead of huge garlands wherein such large quantity of flowers is wasted."

The PM was immediately conducted by Major-General Kaul, around the various construction sites of the Operation 'Amar' wherein the Prime Minister and all other dignitaries were shown the construction of the various types of houses by Col. Shamsher Singh who was over-all incharge of the construction work. This work was completed within a period of seven months beginning from 16 June 1959 when the foundation-stone was laid by the Defence Minister of India, Shri Krishna Menon, at a place in Ambala Cantonment near the Topkhana Bazar. 1450 Houses, including 1200 for all ranks and 250 for officers, have been built by labour provided by the jawans of the 4th Division, who attained distinction for their achievements in the previous world war and earned laurels for the unique service that they rendered at the time of evacuation which followed Partition of the country.

General Kaul and Col. Shamsher Singh explained to the Prime Minister, the Defence Minister, the Army Chief and others, how the entire construction work was done and the manner in which everyone continued his share to the building up of the much needed housing accommodation for the military officers and 'jawans'. A display was given of the method of shell concreting. The Prime Minister ensured by striking with his baton a slab of shell concrete that it was "pucca". Both the General and Col. Shamsher Singh showed him the accommodation in the various types of houses and the amenities provided for

those who were going to live there. The Prime Minister who went into many of the houses meant for other ranks as also the officers evinced keen interest in their accommodation and specification, particularly in respect of those which are to provide shelter to the other ranks and was heard making a number of useful suggestions to improve upon what had been done. He expressed his great satisfaction that the construction work had been done at such speed and with such thoroughness. He made many enquiries about the suitability or otherwise of the accommodation which had been provided particularly for the other ranks. He also ensured about the electricity and water arrangements.

Having gone around a number of construction sites, the last one to be visited was where the foundation-stone of the Project was laid by the Defence Minister, exactly seven months back. Here the Prime Minister and the party were served tea and light refreshment.

Poems Recited

While many children, who could get an opportunity surrounded the Prime Minister who patted them and chatted with them, an old man with grey hair Ch. Pran Nath Dutta who retired as a Deputy Inspector of Schools, came forward and wanted to recite a self composed poem to the Prime Minister. Pandit Nehru, who was in a very happy mood after having seen so much development work, said that he would not be so selfish as to listen the poem himself alone, but would like others to share with him also the joy. The large number of guests and others who had assembled there, got around the Prime Minister to whom Ch. Pran Nath recited his self-composed poem in which high tributes had been paid to the Prime Minister after having mentioned his career as a "soldier and then as a General of the Indian people in their struggle for freedom." Some of the English words had been used by the poet which the Prime Minister fully enjoyed. When the poet mentioned him as an 'able Barrister' besides mentioning him as an 'Administrator', the Prime Minister had a hearty laugh. As the old poet, who recited his composition with great 'shraddha' completed his recitation, Pandit Nehru shook hands with him and thanked him for three copies in Urdu, Hindi and Punjabi of a collection of poems written by Ch. Pran Nath Dutta which he presented to the Prime Minister.

Perhaps encouraged by the performance of an old man, a 'jawan' of the A.M.C. Shri Yadya Datt came forward and asked for permission to recite a poem composed by himself.

Pandit Nehru heard the 'jawan' as he recited his composition and shook hand with him also. The 'jawan' was presented to the Chief of Army Staff by General Kaul who patted Shri Yadya Datt.

All along the route, the Prime Minister was cheered by large crowds which stood on both sides of the roads almost at every place. The people including young and old men and women alike shouted 'Jai Hind' and 'Jawaharlal Nehru Zindabad' as they saw the Prime Minister standing in the open jeep and waving to every one of the large crowds which waited to have his 'darshans' along the route.

After the tour of the various construction sites, the Prime Minister was conducted to the Red Eagle stadium by Major-General Kaul, the Prime Minister being accompanied by the Defence Minister of India, Shri Menon, Deputy Defence Minister, Sardar Surjit Singh Majithia and other dignitaries. The Prime Minister of Kashmir, Chief Minister of the Punjab and other Ministers and various officers of Army, Air Force and the Navy had taken their seats earlier.

There were also present here a large number of prominent citizens and members of the Central and State Legislatures including Mr. Ram Chandra, M.L.C.; Shri Darbari Lal Gupta, M.L.C.; Shri Gorakh Nath, M.L.A., General Secretary State Congress; Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, M.L.A.; Shri Dev Raj, M.L.A.; Mr. S.F. Dean, M.L.C., and others.

A renowned Sanyasi Swami Hari Har and Bhikshu Chaman Lal among the guests were conspicuous by their 'Bhagwa' and yellow dresses.

At the Stadium

As the Prime Minister appeared at the Stadium which was occupied by over 35,000 jawans of various formations and units and their officers, dressed in their uniforms, with full decorations from all sides which the Prime Minister acknowledged with folded hands and smiles.

It was a sight to see the Indian Army men and their officers sitting around the whole vast stadium with their families including children in front of them, watching with great joy and pride the coming in of the Prime Minister and others.

The huge gathering was enthused when the army men sang the Div. song in chorus. The song said:

Ae Hind Ke Nivasio

Ae Four Division Ke Vasio

Uthao Milke Desh Ko

Barhao Milke Desh Ko

Joshe Watan Barhaenge

Bharat Ko Jagmagaenge

Ham Hind Ke Saput Hain

Jai Jai Hind Gaenge

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Raksha Apna Dharm Hai
Sewa Apna Karm Hai
Shahid Hone Ke Liye
Ragon Men Khun Garm Hai

Maj-Gen. Kaul's Welcome

Major-General B.M. Kaul, to whom goes the credit of having achieved a unique distinction by building, with the help of his 'jawans' and officers, a project which had not been known to the history of India's army heretofore, went up to the raised platform amidst cheers and extended a warm welcome to the Prime Minister on behalf of all the officers and 'jawans' of the Fourth Division and himself.

The G.O.C. of the Fourth Div. then paid a tribute to those of the few persons who had either died or had been injured in the course of the construction of the Project and said, "I bow my head to those of them who are not with us today."

It was a great day for them to have their Prime Minister with them to inaugurate the operation 'Amar' on this auspicious day of the birthday of Guru Gobind Singh, he said. He thanked the Prime Minister, the Defence Minister, the Chief of the Army Staff and various other Corps commanders as also the Deputy Chief Engineer and in particular, Col. Shamsher Singh, Col. Wadia and Col. Lamba, the first three for their patronage, guidance and help and others for the work which they actually did. There were often great difficulties in the way of construction work. But, he said, these were got over by the courage and determination of the officers and 'jawans'. The General thanked the Railway Board for the assistance that it gave as also the Housing Ministry and the Ambala Civil authorities for their help. He said it was a matter of pride for them to have the Prime Minister of Kashmir with them also from whom very valuable help was received. General Asrapa, whom he described as "my big brother" was also thanked for the valuable assistance he got from him and the Corps of Engineers. He mentioned that about 1450 houses had been built for providing accommodation to their men and officers. This had been a unique experiment successfully completed and provided a fine example of self-help and determination to do work. He said that there were great apprehensions in the beginning about the scheme. He, however, was happy to be able to say that the whole thing went off well and those whose profession, it was not to construct houses but to defend the freedom of their country and its frontiers had set a fine example of work for others to follow.

Chief of Army Staff

General Thimayya, Chief of the Army Staff who paid his personal tribute to Major General Kaul for having provided the leadership and motive power for the project without which, the project could not have been completed in the short space of seven months as it has been done, said that he was thankful to the officers and jawans to whom credit was due for the devotion to duty and the co-operation they had given to their Commander in completing the project. He said he was speaking to them not only as the Army Chief but also as one who was the first Indian Commander of their Division following the Partition of the country. He had known of the Division's great achievements on the war field as also the great part that they played in restoring law and order in the Punjab and in rescuing and protecting thousands of refugees, moving from the North down to India.

Drastic Step

As a result of Partition, India got two-third of the army but only one-third of the accommodation. They had therefore, been looking forward to build accommodation for their men and officers. It seemed difficult to do something big in the matter on the basis of the allotment of Rs. 4 crores yearly because it would have taken them about 30 years to complete that work. Therefore, some drastic thing had to be done in order to spend that money without a single pie going to any other source but for the construction of the accommodation.

"I have always been against utilising troops towards any other work except for their real role—which is to train for war, except of course for an emergency in 'Aid to Civil Power and Administration.' Morale and comfort also pay a very important part in the fighting efficiency of the army and I, therefore, had to balance on one side, the technical fighting efficiency of the unit, on the other side, the lack of accommodation and separation of families which leads to demoralisation and consequently inefficiency. When the Defence Minister first suggested that the troops may take part in this experiment I reacted rather adversely but after giving it much thought and deliberation I decided that some justifiable risk had to be taken if the fighting efficiency of the troops was involved. This I did and we selected Ambala. As the first experiment and your Division Commander, Maj-General Kaul was selected to undertake this huge task, I directed that as far as possible the musketry of the Division should not suffer and that the officers and men should continue to get their normal leave.

This, I understand, has been adhered to and those few officers and men who have not had their leave will be given their due this year."

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

The General assured the 'jawans' who he said had been through a gruelling time, that it was not undignified work that they had done. 'Dignity of labour' had been preached by their Prime Minister. They had fully justified the high prestige and discipline which the army had always held. They had set a fine example of self-help for the rest of the Indian Army. He had every intention to encourage the army to continue that work while ensuring in each project that it will be balanced with the risk involved in any kind of loss of fighting efficiency.

Defence Minister's Speech

The Defence Minister of India, Shri V.K. Krishna Menon extended a warm welcome to the Prime Minister of India and said that they had been looking forward to his visit and they were all very happy to have him with them. The credit for this achievement naturally goes to the Commander who inspired his men to build up the 'Operation Amar' which would provide about 1700 houses including those for the servants and others. As it happened at the time of Partition a larger part of the army was shared by India but larger portion of the housing accommodation for their men and officers went over to the other side. They had been trying to find out and build living accommodation for their men and officers. If the 5 crores of rupees which were budgeted yearly, Rs. 3.5 crores were meant for the construction of the houses. If they would have been depended upon that allocation, it would have taken about 28 ½ years to complete what had now been done in seven months of which three were of heavy monsoons. Humourously he referred to many of the formalities which have to be undergone whenever any money has to be spent on any kind of project. It had often happened that the money lapses before the actual formalities are over. They were, however, now able to devise means to avoid all that and they adopted a different pace and method of working. The result had been that they were able to build this project of which the cost of building, said the Defence Minister, was in keeping with the orthodox specification sanctioned by the government. It has not been a philanthropic work. Every pie had been counted towards the cost of construction which was paid to the people who worked at the project as also the salaries and other dues of their men and officers. Four crores of bricks had been utilized and 10,000 tons of cement besides 8000 tons of coal, 1500 tons of steel and 1000 tons of asbestos sheets. The Defence Minister assured the Prime Minister that certain amenities yet remained to be provided and these will be done in the due course of time. For this the Defence Department had to make internal allocation and it will be done.

Shri Krishna Menon said that the Fourth Division had earned great honours on the field of war. That was creditable indeed. But what had come to be a

matter of greater credit was the sense of devotion with which they had carried out their duties in connection with the building up of the present Project. He was sure that this kind of project would be continued and extended to other places too because such construction would now prove to be less costly on account of the experience that they had gained. He said that they had always to pay some price for gaining experience.

The Defence Minister availed of the opportunity to thank the Prime Minister of Kashmir for the help that came from Kashmir in connection with the construction and the wood work for that purpose. He concluded by saying that it would be for the first time that these brave men would be living with their families under roofed houses accommodation (cheers). He requested the Prime Minister to inaugurate the Project.

The Prime Minister received a loud ovation as he went up to press the electric button to mark the inauguration of the Operation "Amar". As he pressed the button a big archway with the inscription Operation 'Amar' written thereon in red bold letters with an emblem of Eagle at the top appeared from behind a huge curtain, the booming off a gun heralded the inauguration. There was loud applause again.

Celebrating Victory

The Prime Minister said that they had gathered today not to celebrate a victory in any theatre of war but a victory of another kind which was unique indeed. It was a matter of happiness and satisfaction for him that the 'jawan' and officers of the Fourth Division had all put in a united effort to achieve what they had seen for themselves today. It was a matter of satisfaction that the inauguration of an achievement by the united effort of the officers and 'jawans' synchronized with the birthday of Guru Gobind Singh (cheers).

Biggest Enemy

What India needed most today was unity of its people and integration of the country as also united effort of all people to maintain and preserve the freedom that they had won after a long struggle and sufferings. They had many enemies to fight, said the Prime Minister. "But none is greater than our own weaknesses and internal strife over petty matters", he added. If they wanted to make progress, they had to get rid of their internal petty quarrels. The big task of maintaining their freedom lay ahead and he asked his countrymen to be engaged in the discharge of that responsibility by giving up petty quarrels and thinking and acting in a big way. They should learn to show respect to all religions alike

because all religions were good and the basic principles were common to every one. Whatever religion he might profess, he should, as a good man, show respect to every other religion. Then alone he could be a true follower of his own religion.

Many Problems

India had a great history whose chapters were full of deeds of gallantry. But undoubtedly there were chapters which made them feel ashamed of themselves. However, since they had become free people and were now the masters of their own destiny, they had now won the respect of other nations. That respect was shown to them because they were free people now. The people of India who were now respected had before them now many problems to be solved, said the Prime Minister. The problem of making the people of their own country happy and prosperous was the most important. Their great leader and benefactor Gandhiji had once said, "If I could do so, I would like to wipe off every tear in every eye of my countrymen," meaning thereby that he wanted to see the end of sorrows and misery of every countryman of his. As his humble followers, they were also engaged in that huge task of wiping off every tear in every eye of anyone of their countrymen. That task was huge but they had to accomplish it by maintaining the freedom of their country by remaining vigilant and alert and by raising the standard of the people of their country and arousing the crores of their countrymen from their slumber and ignorance, by telling them what great results can be achieved by self-help. "We are on a long pilgrimage of work and action in order that we may build India anew. That can be done by self-help and unity among the people of our land," added the Prime Minister.

He was sorry that in a big country like India, people were prone to ignoring the essentials and exploiting the petty differences created by vested interests. He was sorry that they quarrelled over the demarcation of their States, on certain religious issues and on the question of the language that they speak. It was, however, a matter of satisfaction that in this great country of theirs, which had many facets, the heart and the mind of India—its people—was sound. To those who exploited petty differences, the Prime Minister made an appeal to give up that worthless talk and work for the internal unity of India. That was the basis of the greatness of their country. They must live as one unit and have faith in the greater unity of India and the welfare of its people rather than think in terms of this state or that, big and brave as it is, will be so only so long as it is a part of India which is greater than the Punjab, Bihar, Bombay or any other state treated separately. All put together the unit becomes strong with the whole. That is what he wanted the people to realise.

Have Faith in Your Destiny

In order to help people to become prosperous, they had the First Five Year Plan and now they were working on the second. Community blocks had been opened. May be that they had erred here or there. But he wanted the people to have faith in their destiny and to be unmindful of the difficulties which may come their way. There was no need to be disheartened because he said, they were sure to reach the goal. He conceded that they had many problems and more were being added. But he asked his countrymen to remember that only a nation struggling to march ahead would be faced with increasing problems. A dead nation has no problem at all. "If we walk and fall down, it should not matter so long as we can get up and walk again," said the Prime Minister.

No Walls

The great Indian Army of today, said the Prime Minister, formed a part of the Indian Nation. There no longer stood a wall between the people and their country's army—as it was during the British regime. They symbolised the unity, among all classes of people and the 'jawans' of the Fourth Division had set a fine example of that unity and equality among people of different faiths. That unity and united efforts, said the Prime Minister, he would commend to the people of India.

He was very happy to see the houses which the jawans and the officers of the Fourth Division had built for themselves. He did not want to congratulate any one individual because he could not weigh the work done by one or the other from among them all. He was sure that these houses would provide good living accommodation to those who come to occupy them and they would live in happiness and prosperity. To him the houses even were not so important as the result of a united effort which they had seen today for themselves.

Concluding the Prime Minister said, "What I want is that we should be able to create a confidence and establish faith in the unity of India and goodness of man. Let us make an effort to make men with wide visions and large hearts. They are the people who will be able to make India as we wish her to be. Let our people be large-hearted and shun petty-mindedness or narrow thinking. If that can be done, we shall see the India of our dreams being built up as you have built up these houses for yourself through united effort (loud and prolonged applause).

The Prime Minister then gave away awards to the Commanders of various Units and Formations as a mark of appreciation of the work done by the completion of the Operation "Amar".

Community Lunch

The Prime Minister joined the 'community lunch', which was served to about 35,000 people including the army men and their families and children present at the function. Every Unit had brought its own lunch. There was no special menu for anyone and all ate together at the same time; the army personnel having so arranged that lunch was served to everyone within 10 minutes after conclusion of the speech by the Prime Minister. It was a wonderful achievement in itself and spoke volumes of the sense of discipline and duty of the army personnel. It showed equally how full arrangements can be made by a Commander who is so practical in planning. Before leaving the stadium, the Prime Minister, Chief of the Army Staff, Lt.-Gen. Kalwant Singh, Maj.-General Kaul and other officers went round the stadium. He was greeted by their respective war-cries by various units and formations as also shouts of 'Jai Hind' by the 'jawans'. He was very happy to meet and find the army men in such high spirits and their families and children, who greeted him with folded hands and shouts of 'Jai'.

A hearty send-off was given to the Prime Minister as he left the stadium by every one shouting 'Jai Hind'. The Prime Minister congratulated and thanked Maj.-Gen. Kaul before the Chief Minister of Punjab took over charge of the Prime Minister from Major-General Kaul and conducted him to the public meeting.⁷

329. To Kumari Kamal Kumari Goindi

January 16, 1959

Dear Kamal Kumariji,⁸

I am sorry for the great delay in answering your letter of the 4th December, 1956.

I do not think it is desirable or feasible for our armed forces to be required to reclaim land in a big way. They can help occasionally in times of emergency, or they can lend their equipment for this purpose where this is possible. But, to entrust a big task to them, which is normally done by others, is to interfere greatly with their training and other work and, in fact, is rather expensive.

7. See pp. 18-24.

8. Congress, MLA from Karchana, UP.

They can, however, do many things, and they are, in fact, doing them. Only today, I went to Ambala where they have built up about 1,700 houses for the use of their own personnel.⁹

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

330. Speech at N.C.C. Rally¹⁰

प्यारे लड़को और लड़कियो,

हर साल इस एन. सी. सी. की रैली में मैं आता हूँ और तुम लोगों को देखता हूँ और कुछ कहता भी हूँ और कभी-कभी और स्टेड्स में जाता हूँ, और शहरों में, युनिवर्सिटीज़ में, या स्कूलज़ में, तो यहाँ भी एन.सी.सी. के कैण्डिडेट्स को देखने का मौका मिलता है।

आज भी मैंने देखा और खुशी हुई मुझे। देख कर तुम्हारे काम को, तुम्हारी शक्तों को, किस तरह से खड़े होते हो, बैठते हो, उठते हो, क्योंकि मेरी राय में हिन्दुस्तान में हर बच्चे को, लड़के और लड़की को इस तरह की कुछ-न-कुछ ट्रेनिंग हासिल करनी चाहिए। मैं यह नहीं चाहता कि हिन्दुस्तान में लोग सब फ़ौजी हो जायें, और फ़ौजीपन हिन्दुस्तान में बहुत आये, लेकिन कुछ जो एक फ़ौजी डिसिप्लिन में बातें हैं, वह बहुत अच्छी होती हैं और बहुत ज़रूरी है खासकर हमारे मुल्क के लिए, क्योंकि हमारे मुल्क में लोग आम तौर से ढीले-ढाले रहते हैं। ढीले-ढाले इस माने में कि उनका जिस्म चुस्त और चालाक नहीं होता, सीधे खड़े भी नहीं होते हैं, झुक जायेंगे, वो चलेंगे तो पैर मिला के चलना नामुमकिन है उनके लिए, न टाँगें सीधी होंगी, न सिर ऊँचा होगा, अजीब हालत है यहाँ के लोगों की। तो सब नयी पीढ़ी जो है, यानी तुम लोग, इस वक़्त जो स्कूल और कॉलेज में लोग पढ़ते हैं, उनको तो यह कुछ पुराना ढीला-ढालापन नहीं रखना चाहिए। कुछ चुस्ती होनी चाहिए, और एक उससे शरीर की, जिस्म भी अच्छा होता है और दिमाग़ भी अच्छा होता है और उससे एक-दूसरे से सहयोग करने की आदत होती है, मिल कर काम करना।

अब एन.सी.सी. के जो ध्येय हैं, मक़सद है, बहुत सारी बातें उसमें लिखी हैं। यह भी लिखा है कि इससे फ़ौज अफ़सर ले। ठीक है, अच्छा है और लेना चाहिए, लेगी यक़ीनन। लेकिन फ़ौज में अफ़सर न भी लिये जायें, सब तो नहीं लिये जाते, जो लड़के या लड़कियाँ इसमें आती हैं और कुछ उसको ट्रेनिंग मिलती है तो पहले से ज़्यादा अच्छा हो जाता है, इसमें कोई शक नहीं, चाहे बाद में कुछ काम करें वो। वो उसके लिए अच्छा है, और वो काम ज़्यादा अच्छी तरह से करेगा। इसलिए ज़्यादा-से-ज़्यादा लोगों को मैं चाहता हूँ, लड़के और लड़कियाँ, इस ट्रेनिंग को हासिल करें।

9. See the preceding item.

10. New Delhi, 27 Jan. 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

एक और बात है, और वह यह कि तुम लोग यहाँ आये अलग-अलग हमारे देश के राज्यों से, स्टेट्स से, यहाँ रिपब्लिक डे, जनतन्त्र दिवस यहाँ देखा, लोगों से मिले, और कुछ-न-कुछ, यहाँ से जाओगे तो अपने-अपने घर तो कुछ विचार खयाल ले के जाओगे, इस दिन का नहीं, इन तमाशों का खाली नहीं, वह तो होवेगा ही जो तुमने देखा, परेड वगैरह। और बातें दिल्ली में, लेकिन कुछ-न-कुछ हिन्दुस्तान का, भारत का, हिन्दुस्तान की एकता का, अलग-अलग भाषाएँ हमारी हैं, अलग-अलग सूबे हैं, राज्य हैं, बहुत सारी बातों में हममें फ़र्क है। जो लोग हिमाचल से आते हैं, कश्मीर से आये, वो बड़ी सर्दी के देश से आते हैं, दक्षिण में और जो केरल में, मद्रास में, बहुत गर्मी वहाँ है, बहुत सारे फ़र्क हैं, लेकिन सब मिल कर भारत होता है, किसी को छोड़ कर भारत नहीं होता है। भारत के अलग-अलग यह रूप है, और सब मिल के उसका एक रूप भारत का है। यह सब में बड़ी बात है हमारे सीखने की, क्योंकि लोग इसे भूल जाते हैं, समझते हैं, उन्हीं का कोना भारत का भारत है, और सब लोग बाहर वाले हैं। और हर सवाल को अपने कोने से देखते हैं, सारे देश को सामने रख के नहीं, लेकिन सारी बात तो यह है कि हर देश का कोना, या हर देश के राज्य की तरक्की जभी होगी, जब सारे भारत की तरक्की होती है।

हमें आज़ादी मिली, स्वतन्त्रता मिली, तो सारे भारत को मिली, एक भाग को तो नहीं। हम आगे बढ़ेंगे, बढ़ रहे हैं और बढ़ेंगे तो सारा भारत बढ़ेगा, उससे हर हिस्सा बढ़ेगा, अलग हिस्सा नहीं। तो हमेशा अपने सामने सारे देश की तस्वीर रखनी है। यों तो जो कुछ हम काम करते हैं, अपने यहाँ करते हैं, अपने राज्य में, अपने शहर में, अपने गाँव में। वह तो है ही। सारे देश में चक्कर लगा के तो काम नहीं करते दौड़-दौड़ के। अपने एक जगह करते हैं, लेकिन विचार हमेशा यह रखना कि सारे देश का अपने मन में।

सुन्दर-सुन्दर गीत गाते हो तुम कि हम अपने देश के लिए और भारत के लिए जान देंगे, कि क्या-क्या करेंगे। खैर, वह तो ठीक है, लेकिन जान देने की आम तौर से ज़रूरत नहीं होती है। काम करने की आम तौर से ज़रूरत होती है और अक्सर लोग जो एक जान देने को तैयार हैं, वो कहते हैं, वो काम कुछ नहीं करते हैं। तो ऐसे जान देने से तो मैं बाज़ आया। किसी के। जो चाहिए आजकल भारत में, वो काम करना। जो-जो काम हमारे सामने है, उसको अच्छी तरह से करना, क्योंकि देश के रहने वालों के काम से देश चलता है, अपने आप तो चलता नहीं है। करोड़ों आदमी जो देश में रहते हैं, अपने-अपने काम करते हैं। कोई खेती करता है, कुछ करता है, कोई कारीगरी करता है, कोई कारख़ानों में करता है, कोई डॉक्टर है, कोई कुछ है, कोई वकील है, कोई इंजीनियर है, कोई फ़ौज में है, कोई नेवी में है, कोई एयर फ़ोर्स में है, और लाखों काम हैं, इन सभी काम को मिल कर देश चलता है। जितने ज़्यादा काम करने वाले, सीखे हुए हैं, उतना ही देश अच्छा चलेगा, जितना अधिक काम करें वो।

दुनिया में जो बड़े-बड़े देश हैं आजकल, जो बहुत खुशहाल देश हैं, धनी देश हैं, तुम देखो अगर या कभी बाद में जाओ तो देखो कि वहाँ के लोग कितनी मेहनत करते हैं। खेल-कूद भी करते हैं, लेकिन काम के वक़्त काम करते हैं और मेरा मतलब यह नहीं कि तुम लोग या कोई और लोग दिन-रात काम करो, [...] खेल-कूद करने का मौक़ा न हो, यह मेरा मतलब नहीं है,

क्योंकि हमें दोनों काम करने हैं, और काम वह सब में अच्छा होना है जिसमें दिल लगे। पढ़ना यह सब में अच्छा होता है। जिसमें दिल लगे, यानी पढ़ना भी एक खेल हो जाय और खेल भी एक खेल हो जाय और खेल भी एक पढ़ना हो जाये। तब दोनों बातें अच्छी लगती हैं और दोनों से लाभ होता है।

मैंने देखा, मैं नाम तो नहीं लूँगा, लेकिन मैंने देखा कि कुछ हमारे राज्य हैं वहाँ तो एन.सी. सी. अच्छी तरह से चल रही है, कुछ हैं जहाँ ठण्डी है या कम चलती है, कम दिलचस्पी वहाँ के लोगों को है। तो यह बात अच्छी नहीं है, और यह ज़रा नाइन्साफ़ी है उस देश के लड़के-लड़कियों के साथ, उस राज्य के लड़के-लड़कियों के साथ, कि वहाँ की हुकूमत राज्य की, उसमें दिलचस्पी कम लेती है। सभी को लेना चाहिए अधिक-से-अधिक। अभी तो शायद मालूम नहीं, मैंने पूछा तो कितने मैं भूल गया, पौने दो लाख हैं, भाई कितने, खैर, क्या शायद सत्तर हज़ार कहा, हाँ, एक लाख अस्सी हज़ार, खैर बार-बार पूछने से कुछ समझ में आ गया। (हँसी) तो एन.सी.सी. में एक लाख अस्सी हज़ार और सीनियर, जूनियर। और ए.सी.सी. में सात, आठ लाख हैं। सारे हिन्दुस्तान की आबादी को देख कर बहुत कम हैं यह, ज़्यादा होने चाहिएँ दोनों में। मुझे एक बात की खुशी है कि कुछ लड़कियाँ उसमें बढ़ती जाती हैं, उनको ख़ास तौर से आना चाहिए, क्योंकि लड़कियाँ आयेंगी तो शर्मिन्दा हो के लड़के भी आयेंगे (हँसी)।

तो मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि जो हमारे राज्य हैं, वो ख़ो, उसमें दिलचस्पी ज़रा कम ले रहे हैं, वह फिर उधर ध्यान देंगे और समझेंगे यह कोई उनको मैं कोई मैं ऐसी बात नहीं कहता जो उनको कोई बोझा बढ़े। यह ऐसी बात है जिससे उनके राज्य को लाभ पहुँचेगा, क्योंकि हर स्टेट की धन-दौलत असल में वहाँ के नौजवान हैं, लड़के-लड़कियाँ, बाल-बच्चे जो बढ़ के उसका बोझा उठायें, और जितना उनको इस समय सिखायेंगे, उतना ही अच्छा है।

अब जिन लोगों को, कि जिन टूप्स को या जिन प्रदेशों को प्राइज़ेज़ मिले, इनाम मिले, उनको बहुत मुबारकबाद और ख़ास कर जो कैण्डिडेट्स को लड़के और लड़कियों को ख़ास प्राइज़ेज़ मिले हैं।

जय हिन्द!

मेरे साथ तीन बार कहो—जय हिन्द, जय हिन्द, जय हिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Dear Boys and Girls,

I come to this N.C.C. rally every year and meet you and say a few words. I go to the states too, to different cities and universities or schools and there too I get to meet the N.C.C. cadets.

I am very happy to be here with you today, to observe what you are doing, how straight you stand, your posture, etc. In my opinion every boy and girl in India should get physical training of some kind. I am not saying that everyone in India should join the Army or that India should get militarized. But there are

some excellent things to be learnt from Army discipline. That is particularly essential for our country because in general our people are slack in posture, meaning that people are not physically fit and trim, many people cannot even stand straight, they cannot march in step with legs straight and heads held high. It is a strange situation. Now the people of your generation, boys and girls who are reading in schools and colleges cannot afford to continue in the old slack manner. You should learn fitness and be smart. This will make both the body and the mind function better, and it teaches you to cooperate with one another and work together.

The N.C.C. has some goals and principles. One of them is that cadets from the N.C.C. should be recruited into the Armed Forces. That would certainly be a good thing. But not everyone from the N.C.C. can be taken into the Armed Forces. However, there is no doubt about it that the boys and girls who enrol in the N.C.C. and get training become better. No matter what they do in life later, this training will stand them in good stead and enable them to function more efficiently. That is why I want more and more boys and girls to join and be trained.

Another thing, and that is that you are all assembled here from the different states in India for our Republic Day. You witnessed the parade and met people, and will go back to your own homes with some new ideas and impressions—not merely of the pageantry and the sights and sounds of Delhi, though you will have those memories too—but of the unity and diversity of India. We have so many different languages and provinces. There are many differences—the people of Himachal and Kashmir are all from a cold climate while in the South, in Madras and Kerala, it is always very hot. So, there are many differences but together they make up India. None is left out. India has different aspects and together they make up the country that is India. This is the most important lesson to be learnt because people often forget this and think it is only their little corner which is India and everyone else is an outsider. People look at problems from this narrow perspective and do not keep the larger national picture in mind. But the fact of the matter is that every nook and corner of India will make progress only when India as a whole progresses.

India got Independence and that was for the entire country, not to just one part of it. We are progressing and will continue to do so, and that too will be when every part of the country grows and makes progress. So we have to keep the larger picture of the entire country before us. We work in our own state, our city, our village—that is obvious. We cannot work all over the country—we work wherever we live. But we must bear the picture of the whole country in mind.

You sing beautiful songs, expressing great sentiments about being prepared

to lay down your lives for the country and what not. Well, that is alright, but normally, it is not necessary to lay down your lives. It is more essential to work hard for the country. Very often you find that people who talk about laying down their lives for the country don't do any work. I am tired of such sentiments. The most essential task before us today is that we have to work hard and do whatever we are doing, well. After all, a country can only progress by the effort of its people; it does not happen on its own. There are millions of people living in the country following their own professions, some work on land, others do carpentry or work in factories, some are doctors, lawyers, engineers, and others are in the army, navy or air force. There are thousands of avenues of work and the sum total of all this work goes towards a country's progress. Hence the larger the number of people who are skilled and trained, the more a country will progress.

You will find that there are big powers in the world today. They are very rich and prosperous. If you go there, you will see how hard they work—they play too—but when they are at work they perform very efficiently and work hard. I do not mean to say that you should work day and night with no time to play. That is not my meaning. We must do both and the work of one's own choice is the best. It is the best thing to study, get education. If a subject interests you, even learning becomes a game and vice versa, a sport can become education. This is how you can benefit from both.

I will not single out any state but I have seen that there are some states where N.C.C. is doing well and in others, it is slacker—people are less interested. That is not a good thing and in fact, it is unfair to the boys and girls in those states that the state governments should take less interest. Every state should take the utmost interest in N.C.C. I have forgotten but I think I was told that about one lakh seventy thousand cadets are enrolled—one lakh eighty thousand, something like that. Well, I understood finally after asking repeatedly (laughter). So there are one lakh eighty thousand cadets, senior and junior, and about seven or eight lakhs in A.C.C. This is a very small number compared to the entire population of India. More should be enrolled in both. I am happy that more girls are getting enrolled. That is particularly good because once the girls join in large numbers, boys will be shamed into joining (laughter).

So I hope that states which are not taking much interest in this will start paying more attention. I am not suggesting something which is likely to increase their burden. This is something which will benefit their state. The youth, the boys and girls, are the wealth of a state and the more they are trained and educated, the better they can help in sharing the state's burden. I congratulate the groups and states which have won prizes especially the boy and girl cadets

who have won special prizes.

Jai Hind. Please say Jai Hind with me thrice. Jai Hind, Jai Hind, Jai Hind.

Translation ends]

331. To K. S. Thimayya

28th January 1959

My dear Thimayya,¹¹

Shah Nawaz Khan came to me today and spoke about the ex-INA people. He said that the way seniority had been calculated in regard to them was not quite accurate. According to the rules and practice they have got an year extra and this has made a good deal of difference to many. I understand that he had a brief talk with you and you told him that you were looking into this matter in regard to a particular person. Of course, if any obvious error has been committed, we should rectify it. I hope you will look into it fully. If necessary, you can see Shah Nawaz Khan and find out exactly what he has to say about it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

332. To Vishnu Sahay¹²

I am returning these papers to you and adding to them some previous papers that I possessed on this subject.

2. It seems to me that this is no suitable time for us to raise the question of basic changes in budget procedures and utilisation of budget provision etc. in the Ministry of Defence. Since there is considerable difference of opinion on the subject, we might allow the present arrangements to continue with such minor changes as can be easily made. By "present arrangements" I mean the new arrangements that have come into force in other Ministries, giving greater control to the administrative Ministries and greater flexibility.

3. The Defence Ministry has started on some new lines of work. At present these lines are on a small scale and chiefly deal with research work and

11. Chief of Army Staff.

12. Note to Cabinet Secretary, 28 Jan. 1959.

small pilot plants and experiments. These will have to be continued. As a matter of fact, separately, we are considering a proposal to enlarge very considerably the Defence Science establishment. Probably this paper will come up before the Defence Committee of the Cabinet tomorrow. It is necessary to enlarge that establishment in order to build up persons trained in Defence Science matters. This is necessary not only for enlarging the scope of our production, but also to have competent checks on what we buy from abroad, or in regard to arrangements for building up plants with the help of experts from abroad. To some extent, we are often helpless in dealing with foreign firms and experts because of our lack of trained personnel. However, that is a matter to be dealt with separately.

4. All this, however, requires a rather dynamic and flexible approach, and we have to avoid cumbrous procedures which delay matters. The Finance Ministry are naturally concerned with the amount of money spent by Defence. Within the allotments made, however, the major responsibility rests with the administrative Ministry, that is Defence, subject to the normal checks. At present, the Defence Ministry is trying hard to reduce their annual expenditure and they have promised us to be able to bring about a reduction of possibly fifteen crores of rupees this year, and about double this amount the following year. All this requires flexibility and it will be difficult to bring about reduction in expenditure if the whole frame-work is too rigid.

5. Some flexibility has already been provided for in the new rules applying to all Ministries. Whether this is adequate or not for the purpose aimed at, I do not know. A little experience will show. Anyhow, for the present, no further argument need take place on this subject and, as I have said above, the new rules framed for other Ministries should apply to the Defence Ministry also. But it should be remembered by all concerned that the approach should not be a rigid one and necessary internal variations should be allowed.

6. I have spoken to the Defence Minister who was more or less of the same opinion, that is, that while they feel that certain basic changes in procedure are called for in order to encourage production and reduce expenditure, they do not wish to press for these changes at present. They hope, however, that the necessity of flexibility in approach will be recognised and acted upon.

7. I have not discussed this matter with the Finance Minister yet, as he has been away for a considerable time, but I mentioned this to him briefly a few days ago and he agreed that there should be this flexibility of approach.

8. Therefore, this matter need not be pursued further at present, and you may keep these papers for reference. You might, however, send a copy of this note of mine to the Finance Ministry and the Defence Ministry.

333. Note to Home Ministry¹³

This matter was rather fully discussed at the meeting of the Defence Committee. So far as I am concerned, I should like the Home Ministry to exercise its judgment in this matter now as to what equipment is necessary.

2. I would like to point out, however, that I do not understand why fire-fighting equipment is necessary for border States like Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab, West Bengal etc. Obviously this is connected with enemy activities. Those enemy activities take the shape of bombing from the air or actual ground invasion and bombardment. If there is a ground invasion and bombardment, the situation that would arise is utterly beyond the scope of so-called civil defence or fire-fighting. As for bombing from the air, probably the places least liable to it, even in case of war, are the border areas. The enemy would like to hit at military centres, major communications and industrial plants. There would be little point in bombing border areas. Secondly, border areas are full of our own troops and it will be up to the troops to take such action as they can. To introduce any other kind of element there might produce confusion.

3. It seems to me that a great deal of the thinking behind these proposals is concerned with hostile enemy action in case of war. That thinking also is related to what was considered necessary prior to the Second World War. There have been many debates on this in other countries, including the U.K., and experts agree that such precautions serve little purpose.

4. The problem, therefore, should be viewed entirely from the point of view of possible civil emergencies. If so, then the question of border areas drops out completely and only some large cities have to be considered where fire may do a great deal of damage. I can understand Calcutta being well provided but I do not know of any other place in West Bengal that would qualify from this point of view. Nor do I think that any place in the Punjab need be considered or for the matter of that in J. & K. State. Perhaps in Srinagar, adequate fire-fighting equipment should be placed because there are plenty of wooden houses there.

5. Delhi, of course, should be fully provided for.

6. I am a little anxious to avoid building up organisations and structures at the top which become a permanent burden on our finances. If they are essential, of course, we should have them just as we have the Army. I would much prefer spending money on the normal training of citizens. That discipline would be of far greater importance even in emergencies than a few individuals being given special training for fire-fighting etc.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS

334. To Sri Prakasa

Raj Bhavan, Nagpur
5th January 1959

My dear Prakasa,

Thank you for your letter of January 5 and the cheque for Rs 1,500/-. I am sorry that Mohanlal Saksena¹ has not accepted this help.

I have been anxious to help him in some way. Apart from the personal factor, I think that we should utilise his experience and capacity for public work. I have spoken about this matter to Pantji repeatedly and he has agreed that something should be done. Personally I can do little because I deal with Foreign Affairs. It might be possible for him to be appointed to some of our Commissions etc. Somehow or other, while many people have regard and affection for Mohanlal, they are not keen on putting him in a responsible position of that kind. We shall, however, go on trying.

I think the best thing would be for him to come to the Rajya Sabha. If there is a vacancy from the U.P., I shall certainly suggest this. But in such election matters, my own recommendation does not go very far.

You might speak about Mohanlal to Pantji again. Perhaps we can jointly talk to him.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Congressman from UP.

335. To S. N. Mangalamurti²

Raj Bhavan, Nagpur
January 8, 1959

Dear Shri Mangalamurti,³

Thank you for your letter of the 6th January.⁴ I am somewhat surprised to learn that you have formed a committee to publish my biography. You have undertaken rather an ambitious task because biographies are more difficult than any other type of writing. Normally, in India, people write just in praise of a person. That is not good biography. Also, it seems to me that your idea of completing this within a year is rather an ambitious one. Tendulkar spent eight years of his life on his book 'Mahatma'.⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

336. To Rukmini Devi Arundale

Raj Bhavan,
Nagpur,
January 9, 1959

My dear Rukmini Devi,⁶

I have seen your letter to Srinivasan dated 6th January. I have myself been anxious to expedite the Bill for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. In fact, I wrote about this to the Food and Agriculture Ministry some time ago. They assured me that they would put up the Bill soon.

2. File No. 9/8/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

3. Managing Editor, Pandit Nehru Biography Publication Committee, Dhantoli, Nagpur.

4. Mangalamurti had written that following the pattern of Tendulkar's *Mahatma*, this Publication Committee had undertaken the task of compiling an eight-volume biography of Nehru depicting his three distinct roles as "Emancipator, Socialist builder of New India and lastly as the leader of peace-loving mankind" to be dedicated to Nehru on his 70th birthday.

5. The reference is to D. G. Tendulkar's eight-volume biography *Mahatma: Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi* (New Delhi, Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, GOI). The eight volumes were published between August 1951 and January 1954.

6. Bharatnatyam exponent, and nominated Member of the Rajya Sabha.

I have received rather an unusual type of letter from Dr. Thomas Singh.⁷ He appears to be an odd kind of person. I am replying to him separately.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

337. To H. P. Mody⁸

Raj Bhavan, Nagpur
January 10, 1959

My dear Mody,⁹

Thank you for your letter of the 3rd January which has been forwarded to me here in Nagpur.¹⁰

Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy¹¹ was certainly a great philanthropist whose memory should be honoured. There is, however, a certain difficulty in issuing a commemorative stamp. We have issued quite a number of special commemorative stamps recently, and this kind of thing should not be overdone from the philatelic point of view. Also I am not quite sure that Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, well known as he was, can be considered to be an All India figure known all over the country to the extent that would justify the issue of a particular stamp. The Minister of Communications who, as you know, is a Bombay man, wrote to me on these difficulties. I replied to him that I agreed with him.¹²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. Nehru asked his PS to send this reply to Dr Thomas Singh on 9 January 1959: "So far he (Nehru) is concerned, the minorities in India should have every consideration shown to them and should enjoy equal rights with the others. But he is quite unable to give any assurance about representation in Government."
8. File No. 27 (19)/57-62-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
9. An industrialist of Bombay and former Governor of UP.
10. Mody had written to Patil, the Communications Minister, about issuing a special stamp on the death centenary of Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy; a memorial with 11,000 signatures was subsequently presented to him.
11. (1783-1859); businessman and philanthropist; made five business trips to China; responsible for numerous charities, and established J. J. Hospital, J. J. School of Arts, J. J. Benevolent Institution, and Poona Bund and Waterworks among others.
12. However, a postage stamp of 15 Naya Paisa denomination was issued on 13 April 1959 on the death centenary of Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy.

338. Publication of *Nehru: The First Sixty Years*¹³

I think that your re-draft of article 25 goes too far. Personally, I do not see any particular objection to the original draft.

2. In effect, this original draft does two things: (1) it limits my right to publish the book within the United States of America, its dependencies, Canada and the Philippines, and (2) if it is published outside these territories, suitable compensation is to be given to Dorothy Norman¹⁴ by agreement with her.

3. Wherever this particular book is published (that is, outside the U.S., Canada, etc.) Dorothy Norman, who has prepared the Anthology¹⁵, should be compensated. We cannot take advantage of her work and publish it elsewhere without such compensation. That, of course, does not mean that some other and different Anthology cannot be prepared.

4. As for the publication in the U.S.A. etc., obviously, it would be improper for another firm to publish it within the normal period of copyright without the consent of the editor, that is, Dorothy Norman.

339. To Martin Luther King, Jr.

January 14, 1959

Dear Dr. King,¹⁶

I have today received your book *Stride Towards Freedom*¹⁷ which you have kindly sent me. I am grateful to you for this.

I have long been interested in the work that you have been doing and more especially, in the manner of doing it. This book will give me a greater insight into this and so I welcome it.

13. Note to M.O. Mathai, 13 Jan. 1959.

14. American writer, civil rights advocate.

15. *Nehru: The First Sixty Years* (Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1965).

16. (1929-1968); American *clergyman*, activist, and leader of the *African-American civil rights movement*; President, Montgomery Improvement Association; founder, Southern Christian Leadership Council; Member, National Association for Advancement of Coloured Peoples; awarded Nobel Peace Prize, 1964; assassinated on 4 April 1968.

17. *Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story* (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1958) is King's account of the Montgomery bus boycott from 1 December 1955 to 21 December 1956, which began with the refusal of Rosa Parks to vacate her seat for a white man in a bus.

I understand that there is a chance of your coming to India. I shall look forward to meeting you.¹⁸

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

340. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit

January 15, 1959

[Nan dear,]¹⁹

I have today received your letter of the 12th January. I have been wanting to write to you at some length a personal letter, but I just have not the time. The Prime Minister of East Germany came here and Marshal Tito has been here for two days. Tonight he had dinner at our house. He is leaving early tomorrow morning. I am going to Ambala tomorrow.

Tara had agreed to come to Delhi round about 1st or 2nd of February and stay for about a month here. I suppose she could easily manage to come here two or three days earlier. The 1st of February was partly fixed so that she might be in Bombay when Prince Philip arrives there. Sri Prakasa is giving him a dinner party on the evening of 28th January and he had invited Gautam²⁰ and Tara.²¹ Even if she wants to go to this dinner, she could come to Delhi on the 29th. I am writing to her accordingly.

Prince Philip will be reaching Calcutta on the 2nd February at about 5 p.m. and will of course stay at Raj Bhavan where there is a dinner party that night. He is leaving Calcutta for Durgapur and Jamshedpur on the 3rd February morning and returning the same evening. He will finally leave Calcutta on the 4th February morning for East Pakistan.

You will thus see that you may meet him in Calcutta which will be desirable.

18. King, who arrived in New Delhi on 10 February 1959 and met Nehru for dinner that same evening, remained in India till 10 March 1959.

19. Nehru's younger sister, and India's High Commissioner in London.

20. Gautam Sahgal, a business executive, married to Nayantara Sahgal.

21. Nayantara Sahgal, second daughter of Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit.

You can of course come here on the 29th or 30th as you have suggested. If you had come to Delhi before the 28th, you would have found our house quite full up with Prince Philip's party.²²

[Yours,
Jawahar]

341. To Nayantara Sahgal

January 17, 1959

[My dear Tara,]

I wrote to you a day or two ago suggesting that you might come here on the 29th or the 30th. I had asked you to come after Republic Day because I expected our house to be full up during those two or three days, as Prince Philip with his entourage will be here and we expected Edwina and Pammy²³ also. Today, I learnt that Edwina has been rather ill with chicken-pox and, therefore, has postponed her visit to India by some days. Perhaps, she will come here by the end of the month, after Prince Philip goes away. This means that we may have a spare room here for you even when Prince Philip is here.

I should like you to come here, if you can, to see Republic Day in Delhi. I do not remember your having been here before for it, though I am not sure. Anyhow, it will be a good thing if you come here on the 24th or the 25th. Your mother will come here some days later and then you can accompany her to Calcutta and, later, return to Delhi.²⁴

I am writing to Gautam about this also. I hope you will be able to come.

[Yours,
Mamu]

22. Nehru wrote to Nayantara on the same day that Mrs Pandit was leaving London for India on 29 January on a private visit, chiefly to visit Padmaja Naidu, a close family friend and Governor of West Bengal, who had lost her sister Leilamani Naidu on 7 January 1959.
23. Pamela Mountbatten, younger daughter of Lord Mountbatten.
24. In reply to Nayantara's letter of 17 January about her not going to Calcutta, Nehru replied on 19 January: "But I still think that you might come here earlier, that is, by the 25th. I should like to be here when Prince Philip comes to stay with us for a couple of days. That will also enable you to be present on the Republic Day."

342. To Krishna Hutheesing

January 17, 1959

[My dear Krishna,]²⁵

I have just heard today that Edwina will not be coming here on the date arranged. She has been rather ill with chicken-pox and is now in quarantine. She still hopes to come here, but this will be probably some days later when she has recovered sufficiently. As she is not likely to be here when Prince Philip is here, there is likely to be a room available in our house for you and Amrita.²⁶ I am not yet sure of Prince Philip's entourage and what accommodation they will require.

[Yours,
Jawahar]

343. To Gautam Sahgal

January 17, 1959

My dear Gautam,

You will remember that we had arranged for Tara to come here about the end of this month and to stay here for some weeks. Since then, several developments have taken place. Vijaya Lakshmi is paying a brief visit to India, chiefly for the sake of Padmaja. She is due here on the 30th January. After spending a day or two here, she will proceed to Calcutta. She wrote to me that Tara might meet her in Delhi and go with her to Calcutta. Tara could return from Calcutta to Delhi after a few days.

I had asked Tara to come here towards the end of the month as our house was likely to be full up for Republic Day and a day or two after. Prince Philip will be staying here with his entourage, and Edwina Mountbatten and her daughter, Pamela, were also expected to be here. I have now had news that Edwina has had a bad attack of chicken-pox. She is recovering now, but it will take her about two weeks more before she can come here. This will mean that we will have a little more room on Republic Day here. I am, therefore, suggesting

25. Nehru's youngest sister.

26. Wife of Ajit Hutheesing, Krishna Hutheesing's son.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

to Tara to come here on the 24th or the 25th. We shall be able to find some odd room for her then. I thought it would be a good thing if she saw our Republic Day Parade etc.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

344. To Rita Dar

January 18, 1959

[My dear Rita,]²⁷

Your letter of December 22 came to me some little time ago. We have all been tremendously busy during the last few weeks with the Congress Session and other matters and now the Republic Week is approaching with all its visitors and functions. The star visitor on this occasion is going to be Prince Philip, the Duke of Edinburgh, and I am told that the young girls of Delhi are rather excited about it.

You may have heard that your mother is coming here. This decision was rather a sudden one. As soon as I had news of Leilamani's death,²⁸ I sent a cable to your mother about it. She telephoned to Padmaja mousi and finding that Padmasi was all broken up by her sister's death, she decided to pay her a visit. And so she is coming on a private visit mainly to spent some time at Raj Bhavan, Calcutta. She will, of course, pass through Delhi and spend a day or two here. She is expected here on the 29th of this month.

Edwina and Pammy were coming here and were due to arrive in Delhi on the 23rd of January, but I learnt yesterday that Edwina has had a bad attack of chicken pox and is now slowly recovering. So her coming has been postponed. Perhaps she might come by the end of the month.

The hula hoop that you sent was immediately put in action and Sanjay²⁹ developed rapidly into a high expert. In fact, he was using it so much that Indu had to lock it up. She thought that he was thin enough and too much hula-hooping will make him thinner.

27. Youngest daughter of Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit.

28. Leilamani Naidu, who had retired from Indian Foreign Service in October 1958, was staying with her elder sister Padmaja Naidu in Calcutta. She was taken ill on 27 December 1958 and died on 7 January 1959.

29. Younger son of Indira and Feroze Gandhi.

When you and Avtar³⁰ go on your transfer to Cairo, I hope I shall see both of you on your way. Cairo is a good place to go to. Personally I prefer it much to Singapore.³¹

Yours,
Ma:nu]

345. To Padmaja Naidu³²

19. 1. 59

Bebbee³³ dear,

Thank you for your letter of the 14th January which came today. I have not written to you as it is difficult to write on such occasions. But I thought of you and Papi³⁴ often. I have arrived at an age when old friends gradually drop off and a sense of loneliness creeps upon me.

You will of course be very welcome in Anand Bhavan when you go to Allahabad. The house is in a habitable condition, though there is an air of reproach about it—reproach for being ignored and not used. Tell me when you are likely to go there and who will accompany you. Would you like any special arrangements made?

Indu is going to Allahabad on January 30th to perform her padyatra in the villages nearby.

Love,

Jawahar

30. Avtar Krishna Dar, husband of Rita Dar, an officer of the Indian Foreign Service.

31. Dar was First Secretary in Singapore and was going to Cairo as Counsellor.

32. Padmaja Naidu Papers, NMML.

33. Nick name of Padmaja Naidu.

34. Nick name of Leilamani Naidu.

346. To K. Kelappan³⁵

January 23, 1959

My dear Kelappan,

Your letter of the 19th January.³⁶

I have always resisted the use of my name in buildings, roads, etc., but in spite of this, many people have used it. However, if you wish to name your ward as suggested, I leave it to your judgement and shall not object.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

347. To Z.A. Ahmad

January 23, 1959

My dear Zain,³⁷

I have seen your letter of the 20th January addressed to Srinivasan.

I suggest that you and your wife Hajrah Begum and Salima might come to breakfast with me at 8-30 in the morning on Saturday, 31st January. I should like to meet Salima and give her my good wishes personally.

I am afraid I shall not be able to come to the wedding. I have avoided going to weddings for some considerable time, and only recently I did not agree to go to the houses of some friends for this purpose. Apart from this, the 5th of February is a peculiarly difficult date. I shall be returning to Delhi that day from Bangalore about mid-day. Almost immediately after, the Prime Minister of Afghanistan comes and keeps me busy for the rest of the day.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

35. File No. 9/30/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

36. Kelappan, of the Kerala Sarvodaya Mandalam, Kozhikode, had expressed his gratitude for Nehru's contribution to the "Pariyaram Sanatorium Childrens' Ward Fund; and sought his permission to name it "Chacha Nehru Ward".

37. CPI, Rajya Sabha MP from UP.

348. Publication of Interviews with Ram Narayan Chaudhary³⁸

Please have the following answer sent to Shri Ramnarayan Chaudhary:³⁹

- (1) I should like to see both the Hindi version and the English version. It would be better if the original manuscript is sent to me before it is sent to the press, so that I may be able to judge as to how all this is presented.⁴⁰
- (2) I am not interested in the royalty of these books, that is, I do not wish to have any part of it.
- (3) I agree that any royalty coming from it should be given to political sufferers in indigent circumstances.
- (4) I do not think a Trust would be suitable for a relatively small sum. But a small committee might be appointed to administer this fund in aid of political sufferers.
- (5) I do not wish to hold the copyright of these books. Shri Ramnarayan Chaudhary may have the copyright. But it must be understood that—
 - (i) my consent should be taken to any further publications of this book in Hindi, English or any other language; and
 - (ii) the proceeds are used for helping political sufferers.

349. To Lord Mountbatten

January 27, 1959

[My dear Dickie,]

I have just received your letter of the 22nd January. It has taken a little longer to reach me than it should have done, probably because of Republic Week holidays etc.

38. Note to the PS, 24 Jan. 1959.

39. Ram Narayan Chaudhary was Information Secretary, Bharat Sewak Samaj.

40. This refers to the first two interviews given by Nehru to Ramnarayan Chaudhary (see/ SWJN/SS/44/pp. 144-165) in a series of 19 interviews, which were published Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad in 1962 in Hindi as नेहरूजी, अपनी ही भाषा में: विविध प्रश्नों के नेहरूजी द्वारा दिये गये उत्तर and in English in 1964 as *Nehru—In His Own Words: His Replies to Various Questions*.

I am glad you have written to me about Edwina. I had vaguely heard about her operation and ill-health,⁴¹ but I had no idea of how bad it was. I did not like to write to her about it. I need not tell you how distressed we were to hear of her illness and, later, about the chicken-pox. I hope she has recovered from the chicken-pox completely. We shall see to it that she has absolute rest here and is not dragged into any engagements in so far as we can help it. Of course, she is very welcome to stay here as long as she likes. I shall do my best to persuade her to stay over Easter and till the end of March.

Prince Philip's visit to Delhi is now almost over. Tomorrow morning, he goes away to Ahmedabad, and from there to Bombay. The few days here have been full of a variety of engagements and in between he has visited Bhakra-Nangal, Chandigarh, Jaipur and Agra. He has had a very affectionate welcome here. I knew he would get this, but it has exceeded even my expectations. This evening, there was a reception in his honour given by the citizens of Delhi in the Old Delhi municipal grounds. That reminded me of the reception the Delhi Municipality gave you when you and Edwina were leaving Delhi. I went with Prince Philip in an open car down Chandni Chowk for the first time since you and I went that way. The streets were crowded, but there was a little better order and organisation on this occasion. We have improved in this respect. It may interest you to read the welcome address that was presented to him. I am enclosing it.⁴²

Please rest assured that we shall do everything in our power to help in Edwina's healing process.

[Yours,
Jawaharlal]

41. In 1956, Edwina Mountbatten was told by her doctors that she had mild angina. In the autumn of 1958, a growth in the parotid gland caused swelling on her face and had to be surgically removed. In January 1959, she caught chicken pox.

42. See also pp. 601-604.

350. To Gunnar Myrdal

January 30, 1959

Dear Dr. Myrdal,⁴³

Forgive me for the delay in answering your letter of January 8th. In this letter, you referred to the birthday gift you had got from the Swedish Social Democratic Labour Party. It is a very worthwhile gift and I can well understand your feeling pleased with it. In carrying out the purpose of this gift, you have asked me to suggest a name of a suitable Indian who could go for six months' study in Sweden. When I got your letter, I sent it on to my daughter and asked her if she could recommend anyone. She tells me that she has no particular person in view at present. If you like, I shall now extend my course of enquiry.

You suggest a young politician with some good prospects in Indian politics. I suppose there are quite a number of such persons. It is never an easy matter to pick out one. However, if you so wish it, I shall make a further attempt.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

351. To the PS: A Gift for Prince Philip⁴⁴

I do not think it is feasible or desirable to present this female leopard to the Duke of Edinburgh. Leopards are not rare animals. They are in every zoo, and in any event, the Duke cannot carry the leopard about. He will be going to Pakistan in two or three days' time.

43. Swedish economist and politician, Professor of International Economy, Stockholm University.

44. Note to PS, 31 Jan. 1959.

352. To Raj Dulari Nehru

13th February 1959

My dear Raj,⁴⁵

I have your letter dated 10th February. Thank you for it.

I note your wish to bequeath your property to the Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital. Further that you would like a General Ward to be built and named after you. I am sure the Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital people will gratefully accept your gift, but I am not quite clear what you mean by a General Ward, and how will this fit in with the present hospital. I suggest that you might have a talk with Dr. Vatsala Samant, Superintendent of the Hospital about this matter.

In your letter, it is not clear as to how much your property will consist of. The size of the General Ward would depend upon that.

You have asked me to keep your letter in safe custody. I shall do so, but I get such a vast number of letters that I am not the best person for keeping special documents. Apart from this, you will of course write a will and the original of that should definitely be kept in a bank, copies being kept by others.

Should you so wish it, I shall agree to being one of the executors of your will, but it would be far better for younger people to be appointed.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

353. To Maharajkumar of Vizianagaram

February 14, 1959

My dear Maharajkumar,⁴⁶

Someone has sent me the menu for a banquet which you gave to the President of the Board of Control for Cricket in India on December 13, 1958 at Kanpur. I must say that I was astonished and a little shocked to see this. Such a thing would have been improper anywhere; in India it was specially so.

As you probably know, reference has been made to this in Parliament and newspapers have criticised it.

45. Wife of Shridhara Nehru, a cousin of Jawaharlal Nehru.

46. Dr Vijayananda Gajapathi Raju.

I should like to point out also that Padma Bhushan should not be used as a title.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

354. To Morarji Desai

February 17, 1959

My dear Morarji,

Your letter of the 17th February with which you have sent a letter from Shri Badve of Pandharpur.

I hardly think it would be advisable to write to Sir Winston Churchill about this matter, although there can be no doubt that his statement is incorrect. In writing the only point we could really raise is that he did not take Glucose. That is a fact. The rest is his own judgment of a situation about which we can say little.

Churchill is very old and nobody has paid any particular attention to his statement about Gandhiji's fast. What might be done, however, is for Indian newspapers to refer to this and to correct him. Some record of correction should be there.

I am returning Badve's letter.

Yours sincerely,

355. Foreword to *India and Japan*⁴⁷

Bhikshu Chaman Lal has asked me to contribute a brief foreword to this book. I hesitated to do so because I have been unable to read it and because of other preoccupations. But he has given me some idea of the book and shown me some parts of it in manuscript. Because I am greatly interested in this new era of the development of closer cooperation between my country and the other countries of Asia. I gladly welcome this book which is meant to serve this purpose.

47. New Delhi, 17 Feb. 1959.

India and Japan : Friends of Fourteen Centuries (VVR Institute, PO Sadhu Ashram, Distt. Hoshiarpur, Punjab, 1959).

The story of these old contacts between Asian countries has been a fascinating and absorbing one for me. Those contacts were essentially in the commerce of thought and ideas, the great message of the Buddha, and of art and culture. This commerce has not been a one-way traffic. Each country has had to give as well as to receive.

The countries of Asia represent great civilisations with their own special outlook and message and yet there are so many common links between them, coming down from past ages that a certain sense of unity is present in spite of the rich diversity that we find in this great continent.

It is well, therefore, that this sense of unity is emphasised, leading to greater friendship and cooperation. In the troubled world today, which is so full of tumult and conflicts, every effort to bring about greater understanding and mutual respect is to be welcomed.

356. To Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim

February 19, 1959

My dear Hafizji,⁴⁸

I spoke to you today about the dispute in regard to the assets of Maulana Azad. The dispute is between his nephew Nooruddin Ahmed and his sister Fatima Begum. Fatima Begum has appointed her son-in-law Mohd. Tahir to represent her and has given him power of attorney.

Both the parties have agreed about the disposition of all Maulana Azad's property except the books he wrote and the royalties thereon. They have agreed to refer this remaining point in dispute to you as an arbitrator for a final decision, and have declared that they will abide by that decision, whatever that might be.

I enclose a copy of a joint letter from them to this effect.

I shall be grateful if you will kindly undertake this delicate work and help in finally settling this dispute. Both the parties are in Delhi. Perhaps you could send for them at your convenience, meeting each of them separately as well as jointly, as you choose. You can get in touch with them through Humayun Kabir.⁴⁹

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

48. Union Minister of Irrigation and Power.

49. He helped him with his memoirs *India Wins Freedom*. See also SWJN/SS/41/pp. 827-848.

357. To Subimal Dutt ⁵⁰

I have read through the transcript which Mr. Serge Groussard⁵¹ has sent me.⁵² Two copies of this have been received, one through our Embassy in Paris, and the other through the French Embassy in New Delhi.

2. I find it a little difficult to make any suggestions or corrections in this transcript. That would involve re-writing it completely. What M. Groussard says in the report of the interview is broadly correct and represents what presumably I said on the occasion. But the language is his own, and not mine, except here and there. The result is that in some places, greater emphasis has been given than I would have done, and the balance is thus rather disturbed.

3. Presumably M. Groussard took some notes of the conversation in French and then elaborated them. This elaboration was subsequently translated into English. Hence these discrepancies.

4. On page 6 of the transcript, at the top, something is said as follows: "Be that as it may, by the years 14, we ought to have been independent. This obviously does not make much sense. I cannot remember what I said and what year I gave. I think, therefore, that the year should be left out.

5. On a subsequent page which is separately numbered 4, at the bottom, it is said that "we are among the nations producing the largest quantity of atomic energy". I could not have said this as it is not true. I might have said that apart from some of the major powers, we have advanced considerably in our atomic energy work.

6. On page 5 (subsequent numbering), the part dealing with languages is confusing. We have, in fact, adopted officially fourteen languages in India, and they are equally State languages for their respective areas. What we have said in addition is that for official purposes in India, we should use the most widely used of these languages, that is, Hindi.⁵³

50. Note to FS, 26 Feb. 1959.

51. (b. 1921); French writer and journalist; fought in the Resistance, winner of literary prizes; Chief Reporter, *Le Figaro*, 1954-62, *L'Aurore*, 1962-69; Special Contributor, *Le Figaro*, 1969-75.

52. Groussard met Nehru on 10 October 1958 in New Delhi.

53. This interview was published in *Le Figaro* in two parts on 31 March and 1 April 1959.

358. To Lord Mountbatten

February 27, 1959

My dear Dickie,

I am thoroughly ashamed of myself for not having replied to your letter which Edwina brought. My initial reason for delaying a reply was connected with oil. You had sent me a note which Lord Monckton⁵⁴ had given you on this subject. I wanted to find out what the position was here before replying to you. Also, of course, I have been terribly busy.

I shall write to you about oil later. Meanwhile, I want to tell you that Edwina has improved in health. She and Pammy have been paying brief visits to various places. They have been to Agra for two days, and they have just been to Bhakra-Nangal and Chandigarh. Soon they will be going to Jaipur and, later, to Ajanta and Ellora and Bombay.

Pammy has picked up old threads again and renewed many contacts here, and so she has a busy programme.

I shall write to you more later. This is just to give you some information about Edwina and Pammy.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

54. Walter Monckton, British lawyer and politician.

APPENDICES

1. Amrit Kaur to Jawaharlal Nehru

11 January 1959

My dear Jawaharlal,

I have seen with a measure of surprise some newspaper items about the Chechamma Memorial Trust of which I am the Chairman. I should like to give you some background information about this trust, which is a public charitable trust registered under the Societies Registration Act.

A few years ago some personal friends, whom I have known for a large number of years, placed at my disposal certain sums of money (a little over rupees six lakhs) to be spent at my discretion for specific humanitarian objects. I put these funds in a separate bank account to begin with. Later I decided to form a trust as I did not wish to continue holding the moneys. I, therefore, invited Mr. M.O. Mathai and Miss Padmaja Naidu to join as trustees. This was before Miss Padmaja Naidu became the Governor of West Bengal.

Before Mr. M.O. Mathai consented to be a trustee, I know he consulted the Comptroller and Auditor-General about the propriety of his being a trustee. He was assured that there was no impropriety in any Government functionary being a trustee of a public charitable trust and that no Government permission was necessary for this. Nevertheless, he took the additional precaution of obtaining written formal permission from the Ministry of Home Affairs to become a Trustee.

I myself have for some time been a trustee of the Guru Nanak Engineering College and of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi from its inception. Group Captain Leonard Cheshire has a Trust in India for his "homes" and I am a Trustee of that also.

I take full responsibility for naming the Trust, Chechamma stood in her life for what countless Indian women have stood for throughout the ages – devoted mothers of the race. I felt it would be a good thing to have an unknown name as a symbol of womanhood of which I, as an Indian woman, am proud. Furthermore, it is the objects of the Trust that count and the moneys from the Trust have to be spent for such objects as are declared as charitable. I give below the objects of the Trust:

1. Grant of scholarships to students who, in the opinion of the trustees, deserve such scholarships for general and specialised education, research and educational travels. (2) Grant of financial assistance to hospitals and other public institutions devoted to medical relief. (3) Grant of financial assistance to persons wholly devoted to voluntary social service. (4) Grant of financial assistance to institutions established for the purpose of advancing the welfare of women and children. (5) Grant of financial assistance for writing and publishing books of historical and educational value.

The Press write-ups give wildly exaggerated accounts of the corpus of the Trust. The total amount of the Trust, including the money spent on acquiring the house property, is only Rs.10,73, 683.31. Again it is stated that Mr. Shanti Prasad Jain and several Bombay businessmen are among the donors. This is totally incorrect. I strongly repudiate the insinuation that Mr. Haridas Mundhra may have contributed to the Trust. I should like to make it perfectly clear that I have accepted no contribution for the Trust from any person whom I have not known personally for the last 25 years.

We have so far spent Rs.25, 000.00. This was given to an educational institution in Northern India devoted to the training of village women for constructive work. This was done on my initiative.

The donation of the house property to the Trust was made through me by a friend who has been known to me for a large number of years. My agreement with the donor was that the Trust would reimburse the donor of the expenditure in connection with the transfer of the house property. This expenditure has amounted to approximately Rs.75, 000.00.

It has, however, been pointed out to me that since the rent of the rather dilapidated house property is only Rs.189,06 per month, the acquisition of the house property has not been a sound proposition from the investment point of view because the bank interest on Rs.75,000.00 would be much more than the rent. I also found it difficult to get the present tenant, who is a hair-dresser, to vacate the house in the normal way. For these reasons, the Trust will be obliged to sell the house property at the best possible terms. It is, therefore, my intention to dispose of it.

The responsibility of executing the Gift Deed was entirely the donor's. The trust is in no way responsible for it. However, I should like to point out that, according to Wealth Tax Act, a house property is to be valued at twenty times its annual rental. On this basis the value of the house property donated to the Trust comes to only Rs.45,374.40. Presumably the donor fixed the value of the House Property in the Gift Deed at Rs.50,000.00 on the basis mentioned above. Anyhow, the Trust cannot be held in any way responsible for it.

ADMINISTRATION OF FUNDS

As Chairman of the Trust I take the fullest responsibility for the administration of its funds. No moneys of the Trust can be spent without my personal approval. Shri M.O. Mathai is not the Managing Trustee as has been stated in the press write-ups. The accounts of the Trust are audited by a firm of Chartered Accountants on the approved list of Government.

I have been noticing, with sorrow, a gradual deterioration in our public life. People are attacked, charges are leveled and insinuations made without making the least effort to verify the facts. In so far as certain personal attacks on Shri M.O. Mathai are concerned, he will no doubt deal with them.

You are free to make such use of this letter as you deem proper.

Yours ever,
Amrit Kaur

[From *The Hindu* of 17 January 1959]

2. M.O. Mathai to Jawaharlal Nehru

12 January 1959

My dear Panditji,

I have already placed before you clippings from certain Communist newspapers and from two other journals which normally specialise in sensationalism. In these Press write-ups, which are couched in not very elegant language, there are references which are not very flattering to me. What has appeared in the Communist Press is from a "news release" by the so-called IPA (Indian Press Agency) which is a Communist organ.

You do not personally need explanations in regard to the allegations because you have been aware of the facts. Nevertheless, I consider it appropriate to state them in this letter.

TRUST NAMED AFTER MOTHER

In so far as the trust is concerned, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur has written to you. The trust is named after my mother who died a few years ago. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur as well as my other personal friends had heard of my mother from me and when Rajkumari suggested that the trust might be named after my mother, I did not object. I shall confine myself to other specific personal attacks on me. I shall ignore flippant, silly and childish remarks as well as unworthy

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

insinuations with the contempt they deserve.

When I joined you in Allahabad in January, 1946, at a time when it was not monetarily profitable to do so, you were aware of my background. You were also generally aware of such personal assets as I possessed then—which enabled me to work in an honorary capacity indefinitely. You will also remember that I refused to work in Government when you joined the Interim Government on September 2, 1946. When Independence came on August 15, 1947, you asked me to work with you in Government also. I was not at all enthusiastic about it because I felt that temperamentally I was not suited for Governmental work. Also, being a bachelor, I had enough to live on and I was not in need of paid employment. Since you thought that my joining Government would facilitate your work, I agreed to do so without payment. But you did not, as a matter of principle, approve of my not taking a salary.

So, ever since then I have been a sort of ad hoc temporary Government employee much to my distaste. You will also remember that during these past several years I have requested you at least a dozen times to release me from Governmental work. I have all along been staying in your house and my personal expenses have been extremely limited as I do not have to maintain a household establishment.

I have always held the view and continue to hold the view that what I do with my money is my own business so long as I pay the taxes imposed by Parliament. I am not answerable to anyone for it.

Yes, of course, I bought an orchard with a fully furnished house in Kulu Valley early in 1952 from two Scottish sisters at a price of Rs. 1,20,000. Registration and other incidental expenses amounted to a little over Rs. 5,000. All this money came from personal assets possessed before I joined you.

Before I purchased the property in Kulu I informed you of my intention to do so both orally and in writing. I shall have in my possession the detailed note I submitted to you then. After some time I found that it was difficult to manage the property efficiently unless I myself stayed on the spot—which was not possible. So I sold the property. It was bought by Morton and Company of Calcutta, a firm engaged in the manufacture of fruit preservatives and the like. The price I received was Rs. 1, 25,000. All that has accrued to me in this transaction was a loss of a few hundred rupees. I should like to publicly declare that when I am a free man it is still my intention to acquire a suitable place in the Himalayan region which was irresistible attraction for me.

The last allegation is that I have an insurance annuity policy. If the Communist friends had taken the trouble of asking me I would have gladly told them that I have more than one—I have two in fact. The annual premium on these two policies amount to Rs. 18, 290. 62. I had informed you sometimes

ago in writing about these insurance policies. For the benefit of our Communist friends I might state that my personal nett income from my salary and investments, after payment of income-tax, etc. in approximately Rs. 27,500 per year. These figures will speak for themselves. In fact, I happen to have some small surplus savings every year. All these savings are invariably invested in Government in some form or other.

It is stated in the IPA news release that my friendship with American circles is sometimes becoming far too conspicuous. This had amused me greatly. You are aware that I am not a social bird and I keep to my work. Americans, Russians and all others are my friends and none my enemy. I have no capacity to compete with Communist friends in extra-territorial loyalties. Mine are rooted deeply to the Indian soil.

I am inclined to believe that the scurrilous attack on me by Communist friends has a definite political motive. It seems to be clear that it is an indirect attack on you and the Government. I fear it is the beginning of an infantile political shift which so frequently takes place in the Communist Party. I am afraid some of our Congressmen fall victims to this nefarious game.

You have more than one person to defend periodically and sometimes perpetually. I have no claim or right to join that distinguished company. I wish to be free to defend myself. In my present position it is not possible for me to do so. Therefore, I beg of you to allow me to terminate my association with Government. After all, I joined you long before you had anything to do with Government, and perhaps I can still be of some little use to you outside of Government. In doing so I lose nothing but my chains; and this is a phrase the Communist friends will readily understand.

I seek permission to release this letter of mine to the Press together with Rajkumari Amrit Kaur's letter to you. More than direct personal attacks it is the ugly rumours that I am concerned about. Let all our people know about it even though it is somewhat embarrassing to me to make public intimate personal details. A person like me, who has had the great honour and privilege of working closely with you during the most momentous period in the history of our nation, should be prepared to stand in the sun for public gaze; and I gladly and willingly submit myself to it. Thereafter, I shall consider the question of taking such steps as are open to me against the newspapers which have published defamatory statements about me.

I very much wanted to deal with this matter earlier; but I considered it proper to await your return to Delhi from Nagpur before taking any step.

Fortunately, I still possess some strength to withstand attacks. But the ever-mounting tendency in our Parliament and our Press to attack public servants without caring to verify facts is having a devastatingly demoralising effect.

Under such deplorable conditions very few self-respecting persons will care to enter Government service or public life.

I do hope you will comply with my request. I am deeply grateful to you for all the indulgence you have shown me for 13 years. My love to you as always wherever I happen to be.

Ever yours affectionately,
(Sd) M.O. Mathai

[From *The Hindu* of 17 January 1959]

3. Mahavir Tyagi to Jawaharlal Nehru

16, क्वीन विक्टोरिया रोड,
नयी दिल्ली।
जनवरी 31, 1959

प्रिय जवाहरलाल जी,

मैं जानता हूँ कि इस चिट्ठी के बाद मेरा काँग्रेस में रहना कठिन हो जायेगा। पर अपने स्वभाव (स्पष्टवादिता) को बेच कर काँग्रेस में रहा भी तो क्या? मेरी हैसियत उन जैसी हो जायेगी कि जो मैत्री का व्यवसाय करते हैं।

गोस्वामी तुलसीदास आपके लिए एक दोहा कह गये हैं:-

सचिव, वैद्य, गुरु तीनी जो प्रिय बोलहि मय आश,
राज, तनु, धर्म तीनि कैर, होय बेगहि नाश।

जब किसी के चारों ओर खुशामद-ही-खुशामद होने लगती है तो उस बेचारे को अपनी सूझ-बूझ और बुद्धि पर अटूट अन्धविश्वास हो जाता है। यही कारण है कि आजकल आपके भाषणों में अधिकाधिक तीखापन झलक रहा है। विरोधी ग़लत भी हो तो क्या? प्रजातन्त्र में उनका भी एक स्थान है। क्योंकि विरोधी मत द्वारा हम अपने विचारों की उचित जाँच और छान-बीन कर सकते हैं।

यदि बुरा न मानें तो मैं आज आपको यह तहरीर देना चाहता हूँ कि आपके दरबारियों ने केवल अपने निजी स्वार्थवश आपके चारों ओर खुशामद के इतने घनघोर बादल घेर दिये हैं कि आपकी दृष्टि धुँधला गयी है। और अब समय आ गया है कि आप इन चरण चुम्बकों (touchfeeters) से सचेत हो जाओ, वरना आपकी मान-मर्यादा, सरकार और पार्टी सब का हास होने जा रहा है।

जैसे कि मुगलों के ज़माने में मन्त्रीगण नवाबों के बच्चों को खिलाया करते थे, आज इसी तरह आपकी आरती उतारी जा रही है और आपके इन भक्तों ने इसी प्रकार आपकी भोली-भाली

इन्दु का नाम काँग्रेस प्रधान पद के लिए पेश किया है और शायद आपने आँख मीच कर इसे स्वीकार भी कर लिया है। इन्दु मेरी बेटी के समान है, उसका नाम बढ़े, मान बढ़े, इसकी मुझे खुशी है। पर उसके कारण आप पर किसी प्रकार का हर्फ़ आये सो मुझे स्वीकार नहीं है। मैं नागपुर, हैदराबाद, मद्रास, मैसूर और केरल का भ्रमण करके अभी लौटा हूँ। वहाँ के काँग्रेस वाले क्या टिप्पणी करते हैं, आपको उसकी इत्तला नहीं है। इस खयाल में मत रहना कि इन्दु के प्रस्तावकों और समर्थकों में जो होड़ हो रही है कि उनका नाम भी छप जाये, यह केवल इन्दु के व्यक्तित्व के असर से है। सौ फ्रीसदी यह आपको खुश करने के लिए किया जा रहा है। इतनी छोटी-सी बात को यदि आप नहीं समझ सकते तो मैं कहूँगा कि आपकी आँखों पर पर्दे पड़ गये हैं पर्दे। मैं यह पत्र इतना कटु इसलिए लिख रहा हूँ कि आँख के पर्दे केवल फिटकरी से ही कटते हैं। फिटकरी तो बेचारी पिस कर गल-घुल जाती है। यह समझ लो कि अब काँग्रेस में पद-लोलुपता और व्यक्तिवाद का ऐसा वातावरण छा गया है कि मुझे कोई दो ऐसे व्यक्ति बता दे कि जो मित्र हों और आपस में दिल खोल कर बातें कर सकते हों। इस बात को मान लो कि अब वह पुराना मुश्तरका सपना कि जिस में हर रंग भरने वाले को हम हृदय से लगाते थे, टूट कर छिन्न-भिन्न हो चुका है। अब हमारे व्यक्तिगत महत्वाकांक्षाओं के सुपने अलग-अलग हैं, और उन्हीं के पीछे हम दौड़ रहे हैं। इसी को व्यक्तिवाद कहते हैं। ऐसे वातावरण में भय, स्वार्थ और सन्देह की मनोवृत्ति होना अनिवार्य है।

आज जब कि शासन का ढाँचा ढीला पड़ चुका है, रिश्वत और चोरबाज़ारी का बोल-बाला है, साथियों में 'वह काटा,' 'वह मारा' वाले पतंगबाज़ी के नारे लग रहे हैं, जबकि अधिकांश नेतागण मिनिस्ट्री और लोक सभा और विधान सभाओं की मेम्बरी कर रहे हों, और केवल चार आने वाले साधारण सदस्य मण्डलों में रह गये हों, ऐसे जर्जरित ढाँचे को इन्दु बेचारी कैसे सँभाल सकेगी? अभी तक लोग आपको यह कह कर क्षमा कर देते थे कि बेचारा जवाहरलाल क्या करे उसे सरकारी कामों से फुर्सत नहीं है। काँग्रेस ठीक करने की ज़िम्मेदारी डेवर भाई की है। इन्दु के चुने जाने से यह सुरक्षा-युक्ति (safety valve) भी हाथ से निकल जायेगी। लोग काँग्रेस संस्था को 'सरकार-पुत्री' कहने लगेंगे।

इसलिए मेरी राय है कि इन्दु को काँग्रेस प्रधान चुने जाने से रोको। या फिर आप प्रधान मन्त्री पद से अलग हो कर इन्दु की मार्फ़त काँग्रेस का संगठन मज़बूत कर लो। आपके बाहर आने से केन्द्रीय सरकार वैसे तो कमज़ोर हो जायेगी, पर आपके द्वारा जनमत इतनी शक्ति प्राप्त कर लेगा कि प्रान्तीय सरकारें भी आपके डर से ठीक-ठीक कार्य कर सकेंगी और काँग्रेस के साधारण कार्य-कर्ताओं को आप से बहुत बल मिलेगा। केन्द्रीय शासन भी अधिक सचेत होगा। पार्लियामेण्ट्री कांग्रेस पार्टी भी, जो आज आपके बोझ से इतनी दब गयी है कि बावजूद कोशिशों के लोग स्वतन्त्रतापूर्वक किसी भी विषय पर बहस करने को तैयार नहीं होते, आपके बाहर चले जाने से उसमें भी जान आ जायेगी। और शायद यही एक ढंग हो सके कि जिससे बिना अधिक पैसा खर्च किये और बिना पूँजीपतियों से सहायता मांगें, काँग्रेस फिर से बहुमत में चुनी जा कर प्रान्तीय और केन्द्रीय शासन को सँभाल ले।

नागपुर काँग्रेस ने जो समाजवाद की ओर कदम बढ़ाया है, उससे काँग्रेस को बड़े-बड़े प्रभावशाली तबकों से मोर्चा लेना पड़ेगा। इसके लिए भी अभी से तैयारियाँ करनी चाहिएँ। मेरी आपसे अपील है कि आप कोई ढंग ऐसा निकालिये कि जिससे इस विलासिता और अकर्मण्यता के वातावरण से देश को निकाल कर फिर से त्याग और जनसेवा की भावना जागृत कर सके। गाँधीजी के बनाये हुए उस पुराने वातावरण को बिगाड़ने की ज़िम्मेदारी भी हमारी ही है। इसलिए हमीं को उसे फिर से फैलाना होगा। यह काम कोरी दिल्ली की दलीलों से नहीं हो सकता, इसके लिए दिल की प्रेरणा चाहिए। माफ़ करना मैंने अटरम-सटरम जो क्लम में आया लिख दिया है। पर बिना यह लिखे मुझे 15 दिन से नींद नहीं आ रही थी, अब इस पत्र को तकिये के नीचे रख कर दो-चार दिन सोऊँगा। ईश्वर आपको दीर्घायु दे। बन्दा तो इस वातावरण से ज़्यादा दिन टिक न सकेगा।

आपका
(महावीर त्यागी)

[From Mahavir Tyagi Papers, NMML]

[Translation begins:

16, New Victoria Road
New Delhi
January 31, 1959

Dear Jawaharlalji,

I know that after writing this letter it will become difficult for me to continue in the Congress. But what is the use of staying on in the Congress at the price of suppressing my character and outspokenness. My status will become that of people who barter their friendship.

Goswami Tulsidas has left a couplet meant for you:-

The Minister, Physician and Teacher who only speak pleasing words,
Very speedily destroy the polity, body and dharma.

When someone is surrounded by flattery, that poor human being gets an exaggerated notion of his own wisdom and intelligence. This is the reason there is more and more sharpness in your speech. What if the opposition is wrong. There is a place for them also in a democracy because we can test the rightness of our views against the opposite point of view.

If you would not take it amiss, I would like to give you some advice—your courtiers, entirely for their own selfish purpose, have surrounded you with the dark cloud of flattery, that your sight is dimmed. Now the time has come for

you to beware of these touchers of feet. Otherwise, your dignity and stature—your government and your Party will all become a laughing stock.

Just as in the days of the Mughals, Ministers used to play with the Nawab's children, today you are being worshipped. Your worshippers have put up your innocent Indu's name for the post of the Congress President. And perhaps you have accepted it without blinking an eye. Indu is like my own daughter, and I would be happy to see her name and fame grow. But it is not acceptable to me that there should be any slur on your name because of your daughter. I have just returned after a tour of Nagpur, Hyderabad, Madras, Mysore and Kerala. You have no idea about how critical the Congressmen in those states are. Please don't be under the misapprehension that this lining up of supporters for the proposal to put up Indu's name is due entirely to the force of her personality. It is being done hundred per cent to please you. If you are unable to understand this little fact then I would say that there is a curtain over your eyes. I am writing this harsh letter because it is only with alum that this cataract can be excised from your eyes though the alum itself gets dissolved in the process. You must understand that today there is such an atmosphere of self-serving greed for position and that you would be hard put to it to point to two individuals who are true friends and can talk to each other openly. You must accept that the old values and dreams when we would take people of all hues to our bosom have shattered. Today the dreams of our individual ambitions are separate and we are all running after them. This is what is known as individualism. In this atmosphere it is natural to have a mindset of fear, selfishness and suspicion.

Today when the structure of governance is weakening, bribery and blackmarketeering are holding sway, each one is engaged in stabbing the other in the back, when most of the leaders are adorning ministries and the Lok Sabha and State Assemblies and only the four-anna ordinary members are left in the Congress cadres, how is poor Indu going to hold up this weakened frame? So far the people have been forgiving you saying, what is poor Jawaharlal to do when he gets no time from government preoccupations. The responsibility for reforming the Congress is Dhebar Bhai's. Indu's election will take away this safety valve. People will start calling the Congress an offspring of the Government.

Therefore my opinion is that you should stop the election of Indu as the President of the Congress. Or you should give up the post of Prime Minister and through Indu strengthen the Congress organization. Your coming out will perhaps weaken the Central Government in a way but public opinion will become so strong through you that out of fear of you the State Governments will also start functioning properly and the ordinary Congress workers will be strengthened by you. Central Government will also become more vigilant. The

Congress Parliamentary Party, which is so suppressed due to your weighty presence to discuss any issue independently, will get energized by your going out. And perhaps this is the only way by which once again Congress candidates will be elected by majority vote to state and Central Governments without spending too much money or seeking funds from capitalists to fight elections.

The step that the Nagpur Congress has taken towards socialism will mean that the Congress will have to take on very powerful vested interests. Preparations must be made for that from now onwards. I appeal to you to think of some way by which the country may be taken out this atmosphere of indulgence and indolence and a spirit of sacrifice and public service may be awakened. We are responsible too of ruining the old atmosphere created by Gandhiji. And therefore it is we who must bring it back. This is not something that can be done by exhortations from Delhi—it has to be prompted by our hearts. Please forgive me for writing whatever nonsense came to my pen. But I have not been able to sleep in the last fortnight for not writing this letter. Now I shall put the letter under my pillow and sleep over it for 3-4 days. May God bless you with long life. I for one cannot last long in this atmosphere.

Yours
(Mahavir Tyagi)

Translation ends]

4. C.S. Jha's note on Japanese Agriculture

SOME THOUGHTS ON JAPANESE AGRICULTURE AND ITS POSSIBLE LESSONS FOR INDIA

Shortly after my arrival in Japan, I had the occasion to listen to an address by Professor Dudley Stamp of the London University at a meeting of the International Geographical Society in Tokyo. Speaking on land and demographic problems of the world, Professor Stamp disclosed that on an acre of land in Japan, the farmer produced food equal on an average of 7 standard nutrition units. A standard nutrition unit (S.N.U.) is reckoned to be 100,000 calories a year— 90,000 roughly for the requirements of an individual to which 10% is added to make allowance for damage and wastage. The next highest figure is in Italy where an acre of land produces 4-5 S.N.U.s. Japan thus has the highest yield of food per acre in the world. (Countries like the U.S.A. which have large farm lands have a lower S.N.U. yield per acre, since agriculture is extensive

rather than intensive). It produces about 13 million tons of rice a year in about 7 million acres of rice land.

2. I was struck by this statement. During my tours in Japan I have seen enough to confirm the soundness of what Professor Stamp stated. Japanese agriculture is not only intensive; it is practised with great efficiency. Between crops, the land is seldom kept fallow and the Japanese farmer extracts the maximum from the little plots of land of which he is owner. One cannot but be filled with admiration at the excellence of Japanese agriculture.

3. Not more than 18% of the total land of Japan, which is a little over 140,000 square miles, is cultivated. Only 40% of the total population of 91 millions are engaged in agriculture, and of these 15% only are whole-time occupied on agriculture, the rest being engaged part-time in farming and part-time in subsidiary occupations. Yet Japan has to a large extent solved its food problem. It is registering record production year after year and in rice it is almost self-sufficient. Indeed, the longer one lives in Japan and the more one has the chance to see the country, the more one is convinced that highly industrialised as the Japanese are, the basis for their prosperity is the excellence of their agriculture and that their industrial greatness rests on a sound agricultural base. Japan, of course, is favoured in the matter of rainfall and in the distribution of rainfall throughout the year, though it is frequently subject to severe natural calamities like typhoons. It is, however, true to say that if Japan should have a succession of bad harvests, even its industrial eminence could not prevent it from facing a severe economic crisis.

4. The question which is obviously of great interest to us is what is the secret of Japan's success in agriculture. This question deserves a thorough study—study which should extend to the Japanese field and farming village, with a view to make use of the Japanese experience and reproduce their practices and techniques in suitable areas in our country.

5. I would confine myself to a brief and rather inexpert appreciation of the methods and practices which make Japanese agriculture so successful and pre-eminent.

6. The results produced by Japanese farmers can be traced to the excellence of:

- (i) their organisation and methods,
- (ii) their farming techniques, and
- (iii) the manner in which the results of experiment and research are passed on to the farmers.

7. In the latter category may be mentioned the well known Japanese method of rice cultivation, the use of fertilizers including composts and a large proportion of human manure, and the use of insecticides, combined above all

with the application and industry of the farmers. No cultivated land is left without crop for more than 15 or 20 days — the minimum preparation time between harvesting one crop and sowing or planting another.

8. In the field of organisation and methods, the following are the more striking features of Japanese agricultural economy:

(1) Land tenure: The Japanese population today is one of peasant proprietors. This is the result of far-reaching reforms introduced in the occupation period by which the feudal system was abolished, the landlords were compensated (according to them very poorly) and the land was turned over to the farmers. The latter were permitted to pay for occupied land in instalments. Practically, all Japanese farmers are by now proprietors of the land cultivated by them. They are now free from the dead weight of centuries and instead of having to pay as much as 60% of their produce as rent, they now enjoy the entire fruit of their labour and enterprise. The reforms were no doubt drastic, brought into operation within the space of one year or so, and they initially created grave maladjustments in society and considerable hardships. But that period has now passed; and thanks to these far-reaching reforms, the Japanese village now presents a cheerful spectacle of prosperity and well-being. There has been a new awakening among the farmers; the farmer has now an increasing incentive to produce more. He is now in direct touch with the market instead of having to hand most of his produce to the landlord as rent. The savings of the farming community which are deposited with the Agricultural Cooperatives form the backbone of national savings and industrial investment. A significant psychological change has come over Japanese society which has made for stability and progress. The change of outlook of the farmer provides a good ground for the growth of democracy and the latter in turn has influenced the farmer's outlook and effected an important change in the status of women and the extent of their contribution to the life of the village community and to the management of the farms.

(2) Village Cooperatives: Japanese agriculture and the rural community generally owe a great deal to the network of agricultural cooperatives which cover the whole of Japan. The agricultural cooperative movement in Japan has a long history and the structure of such Cooperatives has undergone many changes responsive to changing conditions. Originally started under the Meiji era, these were to a considerable extent improved and supervised and controlled by the State. In their latest forms, however, they are governed by the Agricultural Cooperatives Law of Japan enacted in 1948. Agricultural cooperatives are now democratically elected by the union of farmers, the latter being entirely responsible for management and control with a minimum

of State supervision.

Agricultural cooperatives are classified in two groups — (i) multi-purpose or general purpose cooperatives, handling the credit, purchasing, marketing and other business, (ii) specified cooperatives dealing with specific activities, e.g. sericulture production and marketing, livestock and dairy, horticultural production and sales, reclamation and settlement, rural industries, etc. The multipurpose cooperatives hold a dominant position in Japan today.

Agricultural cooperatives are systematically bound up with each other through local unit cooperatives which function within a city, town or village under a Prefectural (Provincial) Federation and the National Federation of Agricultural Cooperatives. There is also a Central Cooperative Bank and Central Union.

On March 31, 1956, the number of General Purposes Unit Cooperatives was 12,789 which exceeds the total number of cities, towns and villages. Thus, sometimes more than one or two general purposes Unit Cooperatives exist in the same village or town.

Agricultural cooperatives carry on a wide range of activities; among these credit, purchasing and marketing are the most important. In recent years cooperative insurance has shown remarkable progress. Apart from these there are operations and guidance activities on agricultural cooperatives which are being carried on.

(3) Credit activities: Agricultural financing in Japan falls under three heads — (i) Cooperative financing (through the three stage link up of the Unit Cooperative, the credit federation and the Central Cooperative Bank), (ii) financing by City Banks and other general financing institutions, (iii) financing by Government funds. The last source is usually available at the time of natural calamities or disasters of which Japan has many every year. Loans from Cooperatives form about 25% of the farmer's financing. The greater part of the agricultural cooperative funds are loaned to farmers but surplus funds are deposited with the parent Federation.

The largest source of funds of cooperative financing is savings. The farmers on an average put 50% of their savings in agricultural cooperatives, 15% in Banks, 9% in Postal savings, 11% in Post Office Insurance and Annuities and 6% on life insurance etc. etc.

(4) Purchasing activities: The purchasing activity of agricultural cooperatives aims at supplying material required for production as well as material for daily needs of member farmers.

The items mainly handled by the Cooperatives are fertilizers, which forms 45% of their total purchases, agricultural chemicals, cattle feed,

farm machinery and implements. In addition, the Cooperatives are handling increasing business in consumer goods. The Cooperatives themselves have to carry on their purchasing and selling activities in competition with small private enterprise. They have to face the resistance and competition by manufacturers and distributors, and from retail shops in the villages. But, nevertheless, they appear to be handling increasing volume of business every year.

It is estimated that the farmer on an average purchases 65% of his fertilizer requirements, 20% of cattle feed, 10% of agricultural tools and machinery, 45% of agricultural chemicals and 10% of clothings from his agriculture cooperatives.

(5) Marketing activities: Marketing is the most important activity of the cooperatives. Since the variety of farm products are numerous the marketing of these is proving an increasing strain; the marketing of perishable goods in particular is proving difficult. The percentage of goods marketed through the marketing cooperatives are roughly —

rice	....	98%
barley and wheat	....	75%
sweet and white potatoes	....	40%
fruits and vegetables	....	10%
cocoons	....	30%

The agricultural cooperatives operate agricultural warehouses which perform a remarkable function in carrying on Government control over rice in Japan and storing goods sold or purchased by farmers.

The quantity of rice sold by farmers to the Government under the present food policy is about 4 million tons. The total capacity of agricultural warehouses operated by agricultural cooperatives exceeds this amount and, therefore, all the rice collected by Government can be stored in the existing agricultural warehouses.

(6) Cottage Industries: The agricultural cooperatives also help farmers in operating subsidiary cottage industries. Most of the farms in Japan are small and families proportionately large. The farmers, therefore, take to some simple subsidiary cottage industries operated by themselves and their family members. The capital required is small. There is no expenditure on buildings. The farmer operates his small machines in one room of his farm house and the investment on these simple machines seldom exceeds Rs. 400-500. The raw material utilised are farm products, e.g. bamboo, straw, mulberry leaves for silkworm, etc. The agricultural cooperatives guide farmers in these cottage enterprises and undertake the marketing of their products. I have myself visited several farm houses where farmers and

their families were engaged in such subsidiary occupations and I was greatly impressed by the practical and inexpensive way in which Japanese farmers and their families utilise their leisure time to supplement their income from their fields. Fortunately, Japan specialises in making small machines suitable for such subsidiary occupation by small and rather poor farmers at very cheap prices. It would be a great advantage for us to buy a whole range of such machinery, which are both hand-operated and power-driven, adopt such as might be useful to us and thereafter ourselves manufacture such simple machines for sale or loan to farmers.

(7) Medical facilities: Among the other activities of village cooperatives are medical services, mutual relief insurance service, educational and national guide service. Owing to inadequate social security system in Japan, the farmers in general are not in a position to enjoy better medical facilities. Therefore, medical services by agricultural cooperatives are of primary importance. Hospitals are maintained by the Federation of Agriculture Cooperatives and medical services to member farmers of the Unit Cooperatives in the Federation. In April, 1955, there were 149 cooperative-operated hospitals, 90 health centres, 17,715 sick beds, 1,173 physicians and 4,252 nurses and technicians. These handled in a year over 5 million in-patients and about 9 million out-patients.

(8) Insurance: Agricultural cooperative insurance is a new enterprise. Three kinds of insurance are being undertaken — life insurance, building reconstruction insurance and cooperative building fire insurance. Today the most popular one is life insurance followed by building reconstruction insurance.

(9) Education and guidance: Through the medium of movies, film slides, radio broadcasts, pamphlets and leaflets, etc. the activities of the Cooperatives are publicised among farmers. Appropriate direction and assistance are given by Administrative authorities and National Guidance Federation of the agriculture cooperatives to the respective individual cooperatives. In this campaign of education of farmers the Cooperatives combine with Prefectural and National authorities and organisations. In Japan, however, the education of farmers is a relatively simple matter. Literacy exceeds 99% and practically every family owns a radio set. I was impressed by the village radio net-work in each Prefecture (about the size of an Indian district) which serves as means of dissemination of knowledge to farmers about weather, crop prospects, methods of dealing with insect pests, public health, education, etc. The village net-work is usually operated by small transmitters operated by the Prefectural Government.

9. Conclusion: The above description is rather inadequate but may serve

to give an idea of the important role that Agricultural Cooperatives play in Japan and the contribution they have made to the evolution of a healthy economy and a prosperous Japan. Indeed, they may be said to be the backbone of Japan's agricultural pre-eminence.

10. The question arises whether and the extent to which Agricultural Cooperatives in Japan can be reproduced in our country. This requires detailed field study by experts who should be charged with not merely writing learned reports, but with the practical task of reproducing in particular areas in India projects on the Japanese model. Our Community Development Projects are already a live organisation with much the same objectives as Japanese Agricultural Corps. I feel that the good points of Japanese Agricultural Cooperatives can be dovetailed into our Community Development organisation. It is perhaps within the framework of the latter that we can best utilise the experience of Japan. Development of Agricultural cooperatives as in Japan will be of the greatest help to Government in operating the monopoly whole sale purchase and distribution of foodgrains.

Sd/- C.S. Jha
Ambassador of India.
TOKYO,
1st January, 1959

5. Lakshmi Menon's Note to Jawaharlal Nehru

Secret

MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Mr. Zealey of the American Friends Service Committee called on me the other day and he made certain comments which I thought should be communicated to you. Mr. Zealey is the Director of International Seminars in South East Asia and the purpose of these seminars is to promote international understanding and bring about also an understanding of the principles of peace and non-violence as preached by Gandhiji and the Quakers. In recent years, two such seminars were held in Allahabad and Bangalore and also in Thailand and Ceylon. He said that he was pained at the marked contrast between the seminars held in Bangalore and in Ceylon and Thailand. The extreme interest shown by the local police and the CID was in marked contrast to the behaviour of the police in Ceylon and Thailand. In India, they interrogated the members of the seminar in an unpleasant way even after they have been registered with the police. Mr.

Zealey said that since these seminars are opened to outsiders, if they so wish, the Government could easily depute a member of the Intelligence Bureau to be present there as an observer without coming into contact with the members of the seminars in this obvious and unpleasant manner. I am told that the American Friends Service Committee's activities have no political content.

Mr. Zealey also mentioned about the Education Ministry's Circular dated the 27th of October 1958, to the Registrars of the Universities, instructing them to see that cultural scholars and foreign students in India do not participate in non-Indian organizations. This has caused a certain amount of distress and fear among the students. The Quaker Centre provides a meeting place for African and other students who are neglected and feel home sick in India. I have myself seen them being treated with great consideration and affection by the Centre. The Education Ministry's circular seems to threaten the sense of security that is being gradually created among the foreign students in India. I suggest two things which the Home Ministry may be requested to consider:

- (1) That an observer from the Central Intelligence Bureau may be sent to attend their seminars without making his presence known except as a Government deputy and he may submit his report to the Government.
- (2) The American Friends Service Committee, if there is nothing against them, may be excluded from the list of non-Indian organizations, if any, mentioned in the Education Ministry's circular.

I participated in one of their seminars on non-violence and I was surprised to find a group of intelligence [sic] professors and students, foreign and Indians, participating in the discussion in an intelligent way.

I do not know whether the Home Ministry has any information more than what everybody knows, about the activities of the American Friends Service Committee.

Lakshmi N. Menon
19.2.1959

[From File No. 57/37/59-Poll(I), p. 2, MHA]

6. Violet Alva's Note to G. B. Pant

MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

Copy of Deputy Minister for External Affairs note dated the 19th February, 1959, to P.M., is attached.

1. I do not see how a foreigner could advise us on the type of Intelli-

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

gence Service we run. Strange still is the comparison made with Ceylon and Thailand.

2. I have not seen the Education Ministry's Circular dated the 27th October 1958, but from what is stated in the attached note, it appears to me that the Circular is justified. Ours is a democracy in which all shades of opinion exist and influences operate.

3. Since the Deputy Minister for External Affairs has drawn the attention of the Ministry of Home Affairs, a reply be sent to her.

Sd/- (Violet Alva)
Deputy Home Minister
24.2.59

H.M.
SECRETARY

[From File No. 57/37/59-Poll(I)., p. 3, MHA]

7. K.D. Malaviya to Jawaharlal Nehru

January 15, 1959

My dear Jawaharlalji,

In the Nagpur Session, while addressing the Subjects Committee Meeting you said that there was hardly any country in the world which paid as much attention to the population problem as we are doing. Perhaps this speech was made in reply to some irrelevant remarks made on the Planning Resolution. But I must confess my sense of utter surprise at what you said. I may be completely unaware, but I do not think India has paid enough attention to this most urgent and ravaging problem. If others have not done it, it is not my concern. We started by just not attaching sufficient importance to this problem. Then came the Mystics and Spiritualists who thought that population was uncontrollable by man or science; if at all Brahmacharya was the only practical solution! Till very recent times some of your most important colleagues in the Cabinet and the Congress have been ignorant or ridiculing scientific efforts to solve the problem of population growth. Our President of the Indian National Congress himself does not believe in the scientific approach of controlling the population growth because he too believes in "spirits and not in flesh". Some Ministers openly doubted the wisdom of those who were attaching any importance to population growth. The progress report of last year's working of family planning and the spread of organisation and education in this connection is a disappointing

story and yet on the background of all this, you say that we are making the greatest effort in the whole world to control the population. Either I completely misunderstood what you said or it was a statement made most casually.

2. Why do I draw your attention to this? Because increasing per capita income is inconceivable without controlling population. Theoretical precaution and calculation of this factor in the Plan will not take us any far. I should claim without irritating you that in the Congress—through the first paper read in the Socialist Forum— I drew the attention of Congressmen and others to the seriousness of this problem. Therein I drew some inferences from the study made in Princeton, U.S.A., on the population of India and Pakistan. This study in Princeton, U.S.A., has attempted to correlate India's population growth and economic potential. I suggested then that the question was getting beyond our control and the crisis had already begun. Nevertheless a marginal saving in our food expenditure could be assured only by great effort to check this population growth. I also ventured to state that the problem could not be brushed aside by inevitability of long range results of our efforts in this connection. I still hold that if a mass organisation like Congress is really convinced of the necessity of this problem, we can effect a marginal reduction in the population which may be capable of saving millions and millions of foreign exchange. It can be done very soon. The little paper effort that has been made should not be worth your satisfaction. It is a mere nothing.

3. The propaganda of a political party may not go far in getting to a solution of population growth because I know that basic factor like capital formation in a backward country and a high rate of increase of economic production are necessary factors to control the increasing birth rate. Nevertheless in our peculiar conditions, the situation demands that a mass organisation like the Congress should take up this question as a social problem. Given the necessary conviction and determination I am sure we can reduce the number of early marriages and many things which will ultimately reduce the birth rate at least by half a million children to begin with. This is worth saving involved in several big State farms. You will excuse my agitation on this.

Yours affectionately,
Keshavadeva
(Keshava Deva Malaviya)

8. Subimal Dutt's Note to Jawaharlal Nehru

Prime Minister may kindly see Shri Acharya's note of December 30 (flag E) in the file below. It summarises a number of points on which our instructions have been sought by the NEFA Administration and others. Prime Minister need not see the correspondence referred to in the note.

2. My advice would be as follows:

- i) We should not let Khampa rebels come to Tawang. The Chinese have not yet raised a dispute with us about Tawang, but I am not sure that they will not do so some time in future. Meantime, if we allow Khampa rebels to assemble in Tawang that will provide the Chinese with an excuse for raising the bigger question of their claim to Tawang.
- ii) We should not give prominent Khampas asylum in our territory, either in the North East Frontier Agency or elsewhere. We should adhere to our general policy of not admitting able-bodied Khampa rebels into our territory and border outposts should be instructed to enforce this rule strictly.
- iii) Women and children may be admitted out of humanitarian considerations. If later the menfolk want to join them, we should not automatically give them permission to do so. Each case will have to be treated on its merits.
- iv) We should prevent further congregation of Khampas in Kalimpong. Those who are already there have given rise to a law and order problem. There is no particular reason why Kalimpong should be the permanent home of a large number of Khampa and other Tibetan refugees. Even those who are allowed to stay there should be brought within the scope of the Foreigners' Registration Act so that they would have to report to the police station from time to time. That at least will provide a check on these people.
- v) I do not agree with Shri K. L. Mehta's suggestion that wounded and sick rebels who reach our border outpost should be brought down to Tawang, treated there and later pushed back into Tibet. In practice we would find difficulties in doing so. Also it would not be humane to push back people after we have treated them, against their wishes, when we know for certain that they will be severely dealt with on the other side. PM will remember that some months ago a group of such people, in a similar situation, killed some members of the escort party and ran away. Later some of the persons who had escaped were found dead from cold and hunger. It will be better for our border post to give such first aid as is possible but not to take charge of the people and

bring them to Tawang.

- vi) There remains the case of the five Khampas who are now in detention in Gangtok. Their families are in Kalimpong. I think we should advise the Sikkim authorities to set them free, which, indeed, they wish to do. These people, when they come to Kalimpong to join their families, will be treated as foreigners and will be subject to the restrictions under the Foreigners' Act.

(S. Dutt)

9-1-59

[From S. Dutt Papers, NMML]

GLOSSARY

(Including abbreviations and names of places)

ACC	Auxiliary Cadet Corps
AFSC	American Friends Service Committee
AICC	All India Congress Committee
AIIMS	All India Institute of Medical Sciences
AIR	All India Radio
AMC	Army Medical Corps
Bangalore	Bengaluru
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BCSO	British Commonwealth Scientific Offices, London
BHU	Banaras Hindu University
Bombay (State)	Maharashtra
BSS	Bharat Sewak Samaj
Burma	Myanmar
Calcutta	Kolkata
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
Ceylon	Sri Lanka
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
CM	Chief Minister
CPI	Communist Party of India
CPP	Congress Parliamentary Party
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

CRO	Commonwealth Relations Office
CSIR	Council of Scientific and Industrial Research
CWPC	Central Water and Power Commission
DAE	Department of Atomic Energy
DC	Deputy Commissioner
DGHS	Director General of Health Services
DIG	Deputy Inspector General
EROPA	Eastern Regional Organisation for Public Administration
Formosa	Taiwan
Gauhati	Guwahati
GOC	General Officer Commanding
GOI	Government of India
Gram Sahayak Camps	village volunteers camps
HM	Home Minister
IG	Inspector General
IAS	Indian Administrative Service
IB	Intelligence Bureau
ICAR	Indian Council Agricultural Research
ICCR	Indian Council of Cultural Relations
ICJ	International Commission of Jurists/Indian Commission of Jurists
ICS	Indian Civil Service
IFAS	Indian Frontier Administration Service
IFS	Indian Foreign Service
IIPA	Indian Institute of Public Administration
IIT	Indian Institute of Technology
INA	Indian National Army

INTUC	Indian National Trade Union Congress
J&K State	Jammu and Kashmir State
JCOs	Junior Commissioned Officers
Jullundur	Jalandhar
KLM	Koninklijke Luchtvaart Maatschappij
LIC	Life Insurance Corporation
Maanpatra	an address of welcome
Ma-baap government	a paternalistic government
Madras (city)	Chennai
Madras (State)	Tamil Nadu
Malaya	Malaysia
Maund	unit of weight, about 38 kilograms
MCI	Medical Council of India
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
MJP	Mahagujarat Party
MKP	Mazdoor Kisan Party
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
MP	Member of Parliament
Mysore (State)	Karnataka
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NCC	National Cadet Corps
NEFA	North East Frontier Agency
NES	National Extension Service
NHTA	Naga Hills Tuensang Division
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
NPL	National Physical Laboratory

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Orissa	Odisha
PAC	Public Accounts Committee
PCC	Pradesh Congress Committee
Peking	Beijing
PEN	Poets & Playwrights, Essayists and Novelists
PEPSU	Patiala and East Punjab States Union
PIB	Press Information Bureau
PMS	Prime Minister's Secretariat
Pondicherry	Puducherry
Poona	Pune
PRC	People's Republic of China
PRO	Public Relations Office/r
PSP	Praja Socialist Party
PTI	Press Trust of India
PWD	Public Works Department
Rangoon	Yangon
SC	scheduled castes
SEATO	South East Asia Treaty Organisation
Sevak (of the Seva Dal)	volunteer
Sevika (of the Seva Dal)	volunteer
SG	Secretary General, MEA
SGPC	Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee
Shramdan	voluntary labour
SNU	standard nutrition unit
SP	Socialist Party
SS	Special Secretary
ST	scheduled tribes

SWJN/FS	Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru/First Series
SWJN/SS	Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru/Second Series
Taccavi	cash advances by government to farmers
Tanjore	Tanjavur
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
TISCO	Tata Iron and Steel Company
Trivandrum	Thiruvananthapuram
TUC	Trades Union Congress, UK
TWA	Trans World Airlines
UCRC	United Central Refugee Council
UCRW	United Council of Relief and Welfare
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UP	Uttar Pradesh
UPI	United Press of India
US/USA	United States of America
Usar	saline/alkali land
WAY	World Assembly of Youth
WHO	World Health Organisation
WHS	[Ministry of] Works, Housing and Supply
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

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- Malaviya complained to Nehru that their own colleagues preferred brahmacharya to scientific birth control as policy.
- Tyabji, the ambassador to West Germany, commented in detail on one P.R. Chakraverti, a Congress office-bearer, who travelled in Europe without the knowledge of Indian embassies, “invoked the magic name of Mr Nehru”, and resembled Leilamani Naidu “facially as well as in way of talking and other mannerisms.”
- B.C. Roy wanted Rs 500 extra monthly allowance for Keshub Chandra Sen’s daughter on the basis of close family friendship and Brahmo Samaj links; she was already receiving Rs 3000 a month as the Rajmata of Mayurbhanj.
- Nehru wanted artists and writers to have accommodation at the Constitution Club at the concessional rates that officials and journalists enjoyed.
- Nehru was outraged at the lavish banquet that the Maharajkumar of Vizianagaram had arranged for the President of the BCCI.
- Sri Prakasa was High Commissioner to Pakistan in 1948. Jinnah died on 11 September, the Indian army entered Hyderabad on the 13th, and a mob stormed the Indian High Commission in Karachi. He pacified the crowd by claiming that GOI had postponed the Hyderabad action by one day out of respect for Jinnah! They then wanted Pakistan to go to war with India; he welcomed the idea, but reminded them that only their PM could order it. So they streamed off to Liaquat Ali Khan’s house and smashed its doors and windows.

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